

# MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

*Edited By*  
RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Vol. XLVIII Numbers 1 to 6  
July to December 1930



The Modern Review Office  
120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Annual Subscription in India Rs 88, Foreign Rs 10

# Index of Articles

	page		page
bdul Bari Chaudhuri, <i>notes</i>	584	Biography of Hakim Ajmal Khan <i>notes</i>	118
bomb Indian Insurance Companies <i>f p</i>	451	Blaines (U S A Senator) Resolution	
fridi Inroads <i>notes</i>	3-1	<i>notes</i>	237
fter Gaodhi—Motilal Nehru <i>notes</i>	122	Bombay meeting in condemnation of	
ut Bhattacharya's death <i>notes</i>	720	police methods <i>notes</i>	717
Allegations against the Police and the		Bombay Precigoods "Hartal" <i>notes</i>	239
Military, <i>notes</i>	108	Bombay's Quota of "Volunteers" <i>notes</i>	221
Alternatives in India <i>f p</i>	84	Bombay Tilak Day Prosecution <i>notes</i>	336
Agencies at the Round Table <i>notes</i>	602	Boycott the Mun Success <i>notes</i>	476
American Comment on the Breakdown		Brief Survey of the Dharasana Raid	
of the "Peace" Negotiations, <i>f p</i>	561	<i>notes</i>	110
American Comment on Simon Commission		British Attitude towards India <i>notes</i>	347
Report <i>notes</i>	219	British Commercial Interests and Govern	
American Imperialism in the Caribbean		ment Propaganda <i>f p</i>	183
—Malcolm Douglass	310	British M P on British Rule in India	
American Marriage <i>f p</i>	445	<i>f p</i>	183
American Opinion and India <i>f p</i>	441	British Policy in Palestine <i>f p</i>	661
American View of the Simon Report, <i>notes</i>	593	British Propaganda in America <i>f p</i>	86
American Woman's College <i>illustration</i> —		Business of General Insurance in India	
Dr Sudhindra Bose, <i>ru p</i>	612	—Dr S C Roy	646
America's Campaign against Illiteracy, <i>f p</i>	79	Buddhist Jatanas in Bengal <i>notes</i>	716
Amongst the peasants of Kwantung, <i>illustration</i>	683	Calcutta Municipal Gazette Annual	105
—Agnes Smedley		Caste and the Coming Census <i>notes</i>	238
Andrews (Mr C F) Prefers Independence,		Causes of India's Industrial Inefficiency	
<i>notes</i>	113	—Rajani Kanta Das <i>ru p</i>	8
Anglican Church and Birth Control <i>f p</i>	564	Causes of the Present Economic Crisis	
Anglo-American Rivalry and the Future		<i>notes</i>	263
—Dr Tarakanath Das, <i>ru p</i>	19	Central Medical Research Institute	505
Anti Indian Propaganda in America <i>notes</i>	593	Ceylon Art Exhibition <i>notes</i>	478
Appeal for Help, <i>notes</i>	226	Champaklata Devi <i>notes</i>	222
Arabs and Jews asked to follow Gandhi		Change of Heart <i>notes</i>	112
<i>notes</i>	597	Character Training—Dr Sudhindra Bose	26
Art and Archaeological Treasures at		Child Marriage in West <i>notes</i>	581
Polonbarua <i>illustration</i> —St Vibhaji Singh	30	Christ and the Mahatma—Nagendra Nath	
Food Industry, <i>f p</i>	330	Gupta	120
Attack on Simon Report by Srinivasa		Christ in Anglo India <i>notes</i>	547
Sastri <i>notes</i>	221	Christian Mission on the Cross-roads <i>f p</i>	452
Attempt to record smaller number of		"Civil Disobedience Extremely In	
Hindus? <i>notes</i>	716	opportune, <i>notes</i>	343
Awakening of India—Virginia Gajda		Claim that Britain is preparing India for	
Back of the Wailing Wall in Palestine		Self rule <i>notes</i>	711
—N B Paralekar	385	Closing of Mills in Bombay <i>notes</i>	227
Balfour, Arthur James, <i>f p</i>	63	Committee and Criticism	55, 153, 220
Baman Das Basu <i>illustration</i> —Ramananda		Commission and Religion, <i>f p</i>	187
Chatterjee	651	Conference of the Women of Asia <i>notes</i>	595
Bengal Rural Primary Education Bill,		Congress Programme, <i>notes</i>	596
<i>notes</i>	348	Congress Unwisdom <i>notes</i>	467
Bengali Sculptor's Work, <i>notes</i>	124	Control of Thought in Japan <i>f p</i>	609
Best Safe-guards for Minorities, <i>notes</i>	344	Creative Nationalism in Turkey—	
Bhootki (story)—Santa Devi	197	Jagadisan M Kumareppa	502

	page		page
Critic of British Imperialism, <i>f p</i>	189	Explanation of the Garba ( <i>com d cru</i> )	159
Madame Curie <i>f p</i>	335	—J C Ray	167
Curious Reason for not Punishing Plunderers, <i>notes</i>	362	Failure of Peace, <i>notes</i>	
Dacca Disturbances Enquiry Committee, <i>notes</i>	117	Falso Pride or Statesmanship ?—Tarakanath	429
Dacca Then and Now, <i>notes</i>	117	—Das ib id	
Dacca Tragedy, <i>notes</i>	244	Far-Eastern Enquiry into the Traffic in Women and Children, <i>f p</i>	558
'Daily Herald' on the Simon Report, <i>f p</i>	444	Fascism in Germany, <i>f p</i>	657
Danger of Universal Spot Light, <i>f p</i>	193	Fascist Opinion of British Imperialism <i>f p</i>	187
Dark Hours in England, <i>f p</i>	559	Federal India, <i>f p</i>	329
Death of Major B D Basu, <i>1 x s</i> (Retd)	482	Festival of Rains in Santiniketan, <i>notes</i>	240
Decline in Lancashire Cotton Exports to India, <i>notes</i>	585	Feudatory States of Orissa—Bidyadhar Singh Deo	651
Decorative Art of Orissa, <i>illustr</i> —Devaprasad Ghose	390	Fetish of Raco Genius, <i>f p</i>	180
Depressed Classes Colony in Cochin, <i>notes</i>	478	'Fighting Malaria,' <i>notes</i>	222
Depressed Classes need not fear Swaraj, <i>notes</i>	342	Financial Notes—H Sinha, H Saanyal, S C Ray	89, 212 319, 453, 578, 694
Depressed Classes remain where they were, <i>notes</i>	342	Finance Member's Speech, <i>f p</i>	556
"Depressed President on Simon Commission, <i>notes</i>	343	First Phase of Japan's Foreign Policy, <i>f p</i>	563
Dialogue on the Same Subject, <i>f p</i>	186	First Things First—Swadeshi, <i>f p</i>	450
'Difficulties,' 'Conflicting Interests,' <i>notes</i>	213	Flogging for Picketing, <i>notes</i>	471
Discovering Need of Children—Dr G S Krishnayya	371	Foreboding of Futuro Agitation, <i>notes</i>	214
Distribution of the Nagara Typo of Temples, <i>illustr</i> —R D Banerji	249	For Foreigners who go to do England, <i>f p</i>	661
Disuse of Foreign Toys, <i>notes</i>	226	Foreign Periodicals 82, 186, 331, 441, 558, 656	
Do Shopkeepers Feel Molested ? <i>notes</i>	227	'Forgenes that have made History,' <i>notes</i>	706
Downing Street and Ceylon Indians—St Nihal Singh	131	(The) French and the English <i>f p</i>	86
Economic or Communal Trouble, <i>notes</i>		'From Slavery to Independence' <i>notes</i>	364
Economics and Foreign Affairs, <i>f p</i>	559	Frontier Troubles, <i>notes</i>	104
Economics of Rural Bengal—H Sinha	292	Function of the Army in India, <i>notes</i>	104
Economic Tendencies in India, <i>f p</i>	180	Fundamental Contributions of the League of Nations, <i>f p</i>	553
Education Conference All-Asian	580	Futility of Wars, <i>f p</i>	331
Education in Soviet Russia, <i>notes</i>	475	Future of the Woman's movement, <i>f p</i>	658
Education in Travancore Budget, <i>notes</i>	478	Gandhi and Jesus, <i>f p</i>	87
Educational Institutions and the Present Situation, <i>notes</i>	118	Gandhi and Tagore, <i>f p</i>	87
Effect of Foreign Trade in the Economic Development in India, <i>f p</i>	666	Gandhi Cap, <i>f p</i>	555
Effect of the Ninth Ordinance, <i>notes</i>	590	Gandhi Goes Down to the Ser, <i>poem</i> —Mrs Upton Closs	75
Einstein and Graphology, <i>f p</i>	191	Gandhi Makes History, <i>f p</i>	187
England in Palestine, <i>f p</i>	331	Gandhi's Programme and Ideas, <i>f p</i>	446
Examining Trials—Nagendranath Gupta	381	Gandhi Society formed in USA, <i>notes</i>	596
(Home's) Estimate of Mr Gandhi, <i>notes</i>	220	Getting Afghanistan into the League of Nations, <i>notes</i>	226
Expansion of the cotton industry since the war, <i>f p</i>	657	'Get Swaraj', Go to the Congress' <i>notes</i>	117
Eternal Problem—Nagendranath Gupta	276	Ghuznavi (Mr A H) given the Lie again, <i>notes</i>	592
Europe in Asia, <i>f p</i>	83	Gita—Sir Brajendranath Seal, <i>ib id</i>	1
Europeanizing of Turkey, <i>f p</i>	81	Guru Nanak, <i>f p</i>	665
Europeans and Indians in India, <i>f p</i>	555	Glimpses of the Dacca Disturbances, <i>illustr</i>	62
		Glory of Mountains—Mr J T Sunderland	134
		Gold Exchange in Theory and Practice ( <i>a review</i> )—Dr H Sinha	24
		Governor General in the Dominions, <i>f p</i>	325

# INDEX OF ARTICLES

	page		page
French Governor General's Visit to Chandernagor <i>notes</i>	28	"Indian Political Thought Impairment of the Doctrine of Gradualness—Pramanada Chatterjee	52
Government Paralyzed between two Limitations, <i>notes</i>	317	Indian Professor invited by Chinese University, <i>notes</i>	213
Government's Beneficence to the "Depressed Classes", <i>notes</i>	311	Indian States and the Simon Commission	411
Great Britain's Social Services—Wilfred Wellock <i>x</i>	307	Indian Unrest and Indian Art <i>f p</i>	62
Cleaning— <i>illustr</i>	129	Indian Womanhood <i>illustr</i>	316 158 690
Hackel's Love Story <i>f p</i>	561	Indian Women of Today <i>f p</i>	26
Harbours and Shipping in Ancient India <i>notes</i>	231	Indians abroad <i>illustr</i> —Benaresidas Chaturvedi	91 206 337 459 60
Health and Wealth of a Bengali District, <i>notes</i>	113	India's Architecture <i>notes</i>	122
Hellenistic Aggression against India (4th-2nd Century B C)—Dr Upendra Nath Ghosal	257	India's Unity—a symposium	180
Hindu Gains of Learning Act <i>notes</i>	479	India's National Economic Policy—Nahumrajan Sarkar	101
Hindu Religious Thought and Western Mysticism <i>f p</i>	325	India's Public Debt, <i>notes</i>	404
Hindu Writers of Urdu Literature <i>f p</i>	16	India's Unity in Diversity Ramananda Chatterjee	60
"Hold of the "Movement in Bombay <i>notes</i>	271	Indragati Goenka <i>notes</i>	120
House of Mystery—Santa Devi	516	Industrial Efficiency and the Policy of National Economy—Rajani Kanta Das	201
How India's Representatives could be chosen <i>notes</i>	237	Industrial General Staff for India <i>f p</i>	447
How Sir Benad Hitter was Superseded	317	Industry and Research	37
How the Press Ordinance Works <i>notes</i>	119	Influence of Indian Thought in America <i>f p</i>	80
How to meet the Demand for Swadeshi Cloth, <i>f p</i>	151	Influence of Physical Features upon Indian History—R C Majumdar	90
Howells on India's Claims <i>notes</i>	221	Influence of Physical Features on Indian History—A N Chatterjee	154
"I am proud of my People" <i>notes</i>	317	Injuries received from Dacca Medical Student <i>notes</i>	174
"Ideals and Aspirations of Nationalhood to remain in the Air" <i>notes</i>	710	Insurance and Swadeshi <i>f p</i>	75
"Incredible if True" <i>notes</i>	101	Insurgency of Indian Youth <i>f p</i>	354
Independence Agitation in Cyprus—B N Sharma	193	International Hygiene Exhibition in Dresden <i>notes</i>	111
India and Imperial Defence <i>notes</i>	363	International Labour Office and the Workers of India <i>f p</i>	664
"India and the Simon Report" <i>notes</i>	707	Internal Security and British Soldiers <i>f p</i>	451
India and Women's International League <i>notes</i>	316	Iron Smelting in Mysore <i>illustr</i>	272
India at the Imperial Conference <i>notes</i>	511	—B Subrahmanyam	521
"India in Bondage" <i>notes</i>	363	Irreducibility of Hindu—L Narayana Rao (Lord) Irwin on the London Indo British Conference <i>notes</i>	270
India in Bondage o-phobia <i>notes</i>	701	Irwin Sirajul Quayid Move <i>notes</i>	295
Indian Christians and the National Movement, <i>notes</i>	237	Lord Irwin's "Sincerity and Generosity" <i>notes</i>	471
Indian Crisis and the Way out, <i>notes</i>	699	Is Life Worth Living <i>f p</i>	56
Indian Cultural Propaganda Abroad (com and crit)—Dr J T Sunderland	5	Islam Today <i>f p</i>	189
Indian Insurance Companies <i>notes</i>	276	Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar as an Unofficial Adviser of the Government <i>illustr</i> —Brajendra Nath Banerji	67
Indian Insurance Institute <i>notes</i>	112	Jadunath Sarkar's (Sir) Convocation Address <i>notes</i>	720
Indian Nationalism and Christianity—Nagendranath Gupta	611	Japanese Enterprise and Indian Official and Non-official Literary <i>notes</i>	350
Indian Nationalism and Communism <i>f p</i>	77	Japanese Imports into India <i>notes</i>	478
Indian News in America <i>notes</i>	793		
Indian Periodicals 76 180 325 419 522	663		



# INDEX OF ARTICLES

	page		page
One Thing at a Time <i>notes</i>	100	Primary Education in Gaols, <i>notes</i>	311
Opening of 'Round Table' Conference <i>notes</i>	709	Problem before the Co-operative Movement, <i>1 p</i>	450
Opium Policy in India, <i>1 p</i>	78	Problem of India's External Defence, <i>notes</i>	106
Optimistic view of "R. T. C." <i>notes</i>	719	"Progress," "Co-operation" and Civil Disorder, <i>notes</i>	213
Ordinance Prisoners in Buxa Fort, <i>notes</i>	718	Progress of India during the British Period, <i>notes</i>	310
Orissa States and British Policy—P. C. Lahiri	256	Progressive Muslem Ladies <i>notes</i>	477
Our Crime against Trees, Grasses and Rivers—Dr Radhakamal Mukherjee	193	Prohibition in America, <i>1 p</i>	192
Panjab Nationalism 50 Years Ago		Prominent Leaders join Congress, <i>notes</i>	352
Panjab States' Subjects' Conference, <i>notes</i>	595	Proposed Increase of Postage, etc. <i>notes</i>	120
Parents and Children in the West, <i>1 p</i>	80	Proposed Indian Students' Tour in Europe, <i>notes</i>	238
"Partnership" Indeed! <i>notes</i>	708	Proposed Law in Russia for Obligatory Study of Adults, <i>notes</i>	235
Patna Fugury, <i>notes</i>	363	Public Employment Service, <i>1 p</i>	191
Patna University Convocation Address <i>notes</i>	721	Public Meeting of Indian Women in London, <i>notes</i>	243
Peasants (50,000) have migrated, <i>notes</i>	716	Public Meetings at Birmingham <i>notes</i>	347
Personnel of the "Round Table" Conference, <i>notes</i>	463	Rabindranath Tagore and the Indian Freedom Movement, <i>notes</i>	701
Philosophical Importance of Sir J. C. Bose's Scientific Discoveries—J. K. Majumdar, M. A., F. R. S.	203	Rabindranath Tagore as Painter, <i>notes</i>	239
Picketing and Molesting in Bombay, <i>notes</i>	362	Rabindranath Tagore at Oxford, <i>notes</i>	101
Picketing of Educational Institutions, <i>notes</i>	352	Rabindranath Tagore in Munich, <i>illustration</i>	369
Picketing of Schools and Colleges <i>notes</i>	241	Rabindranath Tagore in Russia	534
Plea for Anthropological Research in India, <i>1 p</i>	664	Rabindranath Tagore on Russia, <i>notes</i>	581
Plea for Philippine Independence, <i>1 p</i>	335	Rabindranath Tagore on the Dacca Disturbances, <i>notes</i>	476
Poets University, <i>notes</i>	114	Rabindranath Tagore's Health, <i>notes</i>	590
Pole (Graham) on the Situation in India, <i>notes</i>	359	Rabindranath Tagore's Paintings—R. M. Milward	545
Police Censured in the Panjab Council, <i>notes</i>	230	Raman, Prof. C. V. Roy Wins Nobel Prize, <i>illustration</i> —Ramananda Chatterjee	675
"Police Excesses" <i>notes</i>	101	Rammohan Roy as an Educational Pioneer, <i>1 p</i>	664
Political Atmosphere in India, <i>notes</i>	98	Raman, Prof. and the World's Respect for India, <i>notes</i>	719
Political Dacca in London? <i>notes</i>	222	Read Bombay Rapers <i>notes</i>	587
Political Prisoners' Food in Sabarmati Jail, <i>notes</i>	119	Rebirth of Germany, <i>1 p</i>	82
Political Reorganization and Industrial Efficiency—Rajankanta Das, M. Sc., F. R. S.	146	"The Reconstruction of India" by E. J. Thompson—Ramananda Chatterjee	488
Political Situation in Dacca before the Disturbances	61	Red Menace in China, <i>1 p</i>	443
Political Status and Man-power, <i>notes</i>	103	Release and Refailing of Leaders, <i>notes</i>	596
Political Unification of India (6th-3rd Century B. C.)—Dr Upendra Nath Ghosal	437	Religion in Soviet Russia, <i>1 p</i>	81
Power of Swadeshi—Hilda Wood	255	Religion of Science, <i>1 p</i>	182
Power of the Police to Seize Weapons, <i>notes</i>	118	Replies to Simon Commission Report <i>notes</i>	352
Prafulla Chandra Ray on Swaraj and Swadeshi, <i>notes</i>	364	Report of the Contai Enquiry Committee, <i>notes</i>	108
Premiers' Closing speech at Plenary Session, <i>notes</i>	714	Report of the Dacca Disturbances Enquiry Committee, <i>notes</i>	475
Present Bengal Council, <i>notes</i>	361	"Representatives of British India" <i>1</i>	714
		Repression in Midnapur District, <i>notes</i>	701
		Resolution re Outbreak of Lawlessness at Dacca	413

	page		page
Resolution <i>re</i> Outbreak of Lawlessness in Dacca <i>notes</i>	176	Swamy for the 'Depressed Classes,' <i>notes</i>	313
Revelations of Life, <i>notes</i>	702	Swamy the Remedy, <i>notes</i>	312
Reviews and Notices of Books		Symbol of Self justification <i>f p</i>	188
76, 161, 280 431, 527, 611		Table Round ( <i>poem</i> )—Nagendranath Gupta	89
Rice Cultivation in Bengal and other Schemes <i>notes</i>	750	Tagore, Mr C I Andrews, and R T Conference, <i>notes</i>	792
Right and the Left Hand of the United States, <i>f p</i>	83	Tagore Proud of his Countrymen, <i>notes</i>	210
Romain Rolland on Happenings in India, <i>notes</i>	557	Tagore's interest in Russian Educational, <i>notes</i>	703
'Round Table Conference,' <i>notes</i>	231	Tagore's Message to W I L, <i>notes</i>	595
Sacrifices made by Bardoli Farmers, <i>notes</i>	591	Tagore's 'Spectator' Letter on R T C <i>note</i>	718
Saivism as an Influence in the Pacific Lands	631	Temporizing with India, <i>f p</i>	333
Sapru-Jayakar 'Peace Mission,' <i>notes</i>	211	'Terms Dictated by Victors,' <i>notes</i>	171
Sastra on Simon Federation, <i>notes</i>	179	Terrible Situation in Sukkur, <i>notes</i>	362
Satyagraha and the Crt, <i>notes</i>	701	Thompson on 'India in Bondage,' <i>notes</i>	352
Science and Religion, <i>f p</i>	186	Three Dis-reliefs from Thanton (Burma), <i>illustr</i> —Nihar Ranjan Roy, <i>notes</i>	635
Self determination or British-determination, <i>notes</i>	237	Three-party British Representation, <i>notes</i>	238
Sentence on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, <i>notes</i>	597	Thundering Sentences in Calcutta Bomb Case <i>notes</i>	717
Separation of Burma <i>notes</i>	717	Training in Trade Unionism, <i>f p</i>	
Should we have a Universal Language, <i>f p</i>	152	Treatise on Hindu Astronomy—Jogesh Chandra Ray	62
Sidelight on British Political Tradition <i>f p</i>	336	Trouble and Advance, <i>notes</i>	361
Social Boycott of Gujarat <i>notes</i>	220	Troubles in India, <i>f p</i>	85
Significance of Hitlerism, <i>f p</i>	656	Truth about Australian Coastal Traffic Legislation—C A Buch	530
Simon Commission Report, <i>notes</i>	98	Unconscionable Bargain, <i>notes</i>	221
Simon Commission Report on the Recruiting of Sepoys <i>notes</i>	103	Under Lock and Key, <i>notes</i>	300
So called Insurmountable Obstacles to Swamy, <i>notes</i>	343	Unitary and Federal States, <i>notes</i>	709
Social Experiment, <i>f p</i>	553	Unity of Indian Trade Unions, <i>f p</i>	328
Social Hygiene in Britain, <i>f p</i>	327	University Action on Alleged Assault on Calcutta University Students, <i>notes</i>	414
Social Regeneration and Industrial Efficiency—Rajani Kanta Das	106	Universities and Industrial Research, <i>f p</i>	556
Some Farmans of Shah Jahan—Dewan Bahadur K M Jhaveri	27	Unpublished Letters of Florence Nightingale	366
Sorrows of 'Mauser,' <i>notes</i>	601	Unwarlike Bengal <i>notes</i>	349
Special Fellowship for a Distinguished Medical Scholar, <i>notes</i>	597	Vajrayana ( <i>review</i> )—Vidhusokbari Bhattacharyya	395
Speeches at the 'R T C' <i>notes</i>	714	Value of the Simon Report, <i>f p</i>	552
Spender on Invitations to R T Conference, <i>notes</i>	585	'Vast Majority of Law-abiding and Peace loving Citizens,' <i>notes</i>	351
Sport in Modern Society, <i>f p</i>	662	Venkatesh B Kotkar, <i>illustr</i> —Joges Chandra Ray	497
'Spurious Saint of Gujarat,' <i>notes</i>		Viceroy and the Peace Talks, <i>notes</i>	469
Stalin as the New Lenin, <i>f p</i>	334	Viceroy's Main Position, <i>notes</i>	470
State Shop of Moscow <i>f p</i>	332	Vivekananda Mission, <i>notes</i>	481
States' Status in Indian Federation, <i>notes</i>	715	Vivekananda on the Physical Degeneration of Indians <i>f p</i>	663
Story of Salt—J Haldar	539	Walsh (Dr) on Mr MacDonald, <i>notes</i>	580
Successful Exhibition of Rabindranath's Pictures in Berlin <i>notes</i>	481	Wanted a National Board of Industrial Efficiency in India—Rajani Kanta Das	410
Swadeshi in Japan, <i>f p</i>	333	War and Revolution in China—Agnes Smedley	245

	page		page
War-guilt Question, <i>f p</i>		Widow's Right to Inherit, <i>notes</i>	111
Was the Kaiser Mad <i>f p</i>	558	Wild Rose, <i>a story</i> —Santa Devi	478
Wasteful Methods of Indian Cotton Industries, <i>2 p</i>	551	Womanhood of India, <i>notes</i>	351
Weapon of economic boycott, <i>f p</i>	656	Women and War, <i>notes</i>	581
Wells's (Mr H G) Credo, <i>f p</i>	441	Women in Insurance, <i>1 p</i>	77
"We must resignedly accept misrepresentation" <i>notes</i>	347	Women of Persia, <i>1 p</i>	537
When Brass-bats Speak out, <i>notes</i>	601	Women Satyagrahis, <i>notes</i>	226
What India Represents, <i>f p</i>	183	Women's Part in the Movement <i>notes</i>	98
What India Represents—A Missionary View	562	Work of the Bengal Hindu Mission, <i>notes</i>	242
"What is Wrong with the Muslims," <i>1 p</i>	552	Work and Procedure of R T C, <i>notes</i>	466
What ought to make Indians proud? <i>notes</i>	714	Working of the Bengal Ordinances, <i>notes</i>	121
What R T C Members should do, <i>notes</i>	467	Working of the Press Ordinance <i>notes</i>	237
Why England Holds India, <i>notes</i>	102	Works of the Younger Painters of the Indian School	547
"Why they resign" <i>notes</i>	347	"World Tomorrow on India <i>f p</i>	444
		Would it be a Free Conference? <i>notes</i>	234
		Youth's Own School—Martha Gruening	168

## List of Illustrations

	page		page
A Drawing by Rabindra Nath Tagore	369	—A House in Kayetuli	66
Arubal Sarabhai (Mrs)	690	—Burro and Wrecked Front of Sushila Nibas	68
American Woman's College—President John L. Roemer	612	—Indraprabha Cabinet Works, Dewan Bazar, Dacca	68
—1 Roemer Hall, Lindenwood College, 2, 3, 5 May Day Festivities.	613	—Interior of "Madhabananda Dham"	69
—4 Mrs. Roemer, Dean of Students	613	—"Madhabananda Dham in Kayetuli"	69
Arundhati Mitra and Renuka Mitra	90	—Mrs. Anindrabala Vandi	69
Asokata, Dacca	316	—Vandi Family	69
Asutosh Mukherji (A Denga sculpture's work)	124	—Sushila-Nibas	69
Bapuji (in colours)—Nandimal Bose	243	Delumere, Lord	209
Rasana Kumari Devi		Dharmvati Jayaswal	458
*Bas relief, from Thaton (Burma)		Dhruval C Modi and Mrs Hamea Mehta	240
Fig. 1	635	Dove—a night bird of War	629, 629
Fig. 2	636	Episode of the Great March	260
Fig. 3	637	Evening Song (in colours)—Manindra Bhawan Gupta	125
Basu, B D	667	Garbhagrha and the Sikbara of Golevara	251
—Surrounded by relatives	671	Guribala Ray	316
Bimal Prativa Devi	229	General View of Heta daga at Polonnaruwa	35
Body of Apt Bhattacharyya at the Morgue	244	General View of showing Nissanka Lata Mandapaya	32
British Steamer seized and looted by Pirates	687	Great Hall in the Rhodes Home at Oxford	206
Chinese Peasant in his Rice field	687	Great Temple at Mahabodhi	249
Country Canal in Kwantung	684	Hammur. The World's	268, 217, 69
Dacca Disturbances			
—A Grocer's Shop in Nawabganj	67		

	page		page
Indumati Goenka	226	—Moonrise—Mathuradas Gujrati	549
Invitation to Java ( <i>in colours</i> )—Manmendra		—On the Terrace—Birbhadra Rao	
Bhansan Gupta	483	Chitra	549
Iron Smelting in Mysore—the Turn-table	273	—Rayputni—Indu Rakshit	548
—The Alcohol Refinery	274	—Return—Indu Rakshit	550
—The Distillation Plant	275	Pasteur Institute	630, 631
—General View of the Works	276	Peasant Children	685
Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar	267	Rabindranath Tagore among Russian	
Jujutsu trick	583	Children	703
Jyotirmoyi Ganguli	228	Raghoba	524
Khirode C Chandhuri	597	Raman, Prof Sir C V.	676
Kwantung Village	685	Ruined Image in the Heti-da-go	39
Labanya Mitra	458	Ruins of Heti-da-go	34
Leaders at the door of the Byculla Jail,		Ruins of 'Vihare No 2'	
Bombay	357	—Pulonnaruwa	31
Leaders being taken down from the		Safe for the Present ( <i>cartoon</i> )	121
Prison Van	359	Santi Das, M. A.	316
Leaders being taken in a Prison Van to		Santiniketan—Tree-planting Ceremony	241
the Byculla Jail	358	Santiniketan—Procession at the Tree-	
Mahes Chandra Ghose	123	planting Ceremony	241
Malhar Rao Holkar	524	Mr Sherwani, Pandit Madan Mohan	
Manuscript Page with Decorations	370	Malviya, and Mr Jai Ramdas	
Midnapore District—Repression in	704, 705	Daulatram at the Prison Gate	359
	700	Single Pillar carved to resemble a Lotus	
Mohini Devi	227	Stem	37
Nana Fadnis	523	Takagaki, Mr S	562
Natarajan (Mrs) and others	690	Takagaki with Friends and Pupils	562
Narayan Rao Peshwa	523	Taramati Patel	
New Education in Sweden—Another		Temple of Amritesvar	253
View of the Sitting Room (Siljansgarden)	145	Temple of Chitragnpteswara Siva at	
—Corner of the Sitting Room		Khyrabho	250
(Siljansgarden)	144	Temple of Mahakaleswara	251
—Some of the Buildings (Siljansgarden)	143	Too Much for Gandhi ( <i>cartoon</i> )	121
—School Grounds on the Lake—		Two Scenes of the Garhwal Day	
Siljansgarden	142	Procession in Bombay	315
Night—Michelangelo	496	Urmila Devi	237
Niralamba Swami	584	Urmila Devi Sastri	690
Nissanka Lata Mandapaya	33	Veerswamy, Rai Bahadur,	698
One of the earliest Drawings of		Venkatesh B Kethkar	493
Rabindranath Tagore		Village Street in Kwantung	686
"Our National Standard" (50 years ago)	481	Visweswarya, Sir M	272
Paintings of the Ayesha and Tilottoma		Welcome to the City ( <i>in colours</i> )	
New School—Birbhadra Rao Chitra	551	—Kannu Desai	1
—Busakh—Nanigopal Das Gupta	548	Workers and Office bearers of the "Nari	
—Boat—Taraknath Bose		Satyagraha Samiti"	228
—Disappointed—Birabhadra Rao Chitra	550	Yadusthir Playing the Game of Dice	
—Grandmother—Jyotirindra Krishna		with Sakuni ( <i>in colours</i> )—Nandalal	
Ray	548	Basn	365
—Lamp—Atmananda Sinha	548	Zutshi, Mrs L R.	690

# Contributors and their Contributions

	page		page
Ashoke Chatterjee		Kumarappa, Jagadisan M	
—Katherine Mayo's Latest	374	—Creative Nationalism in Turkey	502
Banerji, R. B		Lahiri, P. C	
—Distribution of the Nagara Type of Temples, <i>illustr</i>	249	—Orissa States and British Policy	286
Benarsidas Chaturvedi		M. S.	
—Indians Abroad, <i>illustr</i>	203, 459, 570, 698	—Obstacles to American Trade in India and the Remedy	566
Bhattacharya, N. K.		Majumdar, J. K.	
—Influence of Physical Features on Indian History	154	—Philosophical Importance of Sir J. C. Bose's Scientific Discoveries	203
Bidyadhar Singh Deo		Majumdar, R. C.	
—Feudatory States of Orissa	631	—Influence of Physical Features upon Indian History	290
Bose, Dr. Sudhindra		Milward, R. M.	
—American Woman College, <i>illustr</i>	612	—Rabindranath Tagore's Paintings	545
—Character Training	26	Nagendra Nath Gupta	
Brajendra Nath Banerji		—Era-making Trials	381
—Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar as an Unofficial Adviser of the Govern- ment, <i>illustr</i>	267	—Eternal Problem	276
Buch, C. A.		—Indian Nationalism and Christianity	616
—Truth about Australian Coastal Traffic Legislation	536	—The Christ and the Mahatma	125
Chandhuri, Nirad C.		—The Table Round ( <i>poem</i> )	89
—Marital Races of India	40, 295	Nahni Kanti Gupta	
Close, Mrs. Upton		—The Malady of the Century	162
—Gandhi Goes Down to the Sea ( <i>poem</i> )	75	Nalinaksha Sanyal	
Deva Prasad Ghose		—Financial Notes	212, 319, 453, 694
—Decorative Art of Orissa, <i>illustr</i>	390	Nalinrajan Sarkar	
Doft, Newton Mohun.		—India's National Economic Policy	691
—Library System of Baroda, <i>illustr</i>	400	Nihal Singh, St.	
Douglas, Malcolm		—Art and Archaeological Treasures at Polonnaruwa, <i>illustr</i>	80
—American Imperialism in the Caribbeans	310	—Downing Street and Ceylon Indians	130
Gayda Virginio,		—Making Swaraj Safe for the Givers	173
—The Awakening of India	211	Nihar Ranjan Ray, M. A.	
Gruening, Martha		—Three Bas reliefs from Thautou (Birma) <i>illustr</i>	635
—Youth's Own School	168	Parulekar, N. B.	
Halder, J.		—Back of the Wailing Wall in Palestine	395
—Story of Salt	530	Priyaranjan Sen, M. A.	
Hesse, Fritz		—Mahatma Gandhi as Mr. Edward Thompson sees him	623
On the History and Importance of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company	376	Rabindranath Tagore	
Jhaveri, Dewan Bahadur K. M.		—My pictures, <i>illustr</i>	603
—Some Famous Firmans of Shah Jahan	17	Radhakamal Mukherjee	
Joges Chandra Ray		—Our Crime against Trees, Grasses and Rivers	483
—Treatise on Hindu Astronomy	626	Rajani Kanta Das, M.Sc. Ph.D.	
—Venkatesh B. Ketkar, <i>illustr</i>	497	—Causes of India's Industrial In- efficiency	8
—An Explanation of the Garba	159		
Krishnayya, Dr. G. S.			
—Discovering Needs of Children	371		

	page		page
—Political Reorganization and Industrial Efficiency	146	Sen, S K	
—Industrial Efficiency and the Policy of National Economy	261	—Jute Slump—What is the Remedy?	624
—Social Regeneration and Industrial Efficiency	406	Sinha, Dr H	
—Wanted a National Board of Industrial Efficiency in India	410	—Gold Exchange in Theory and Practice ( <i>a review</i> )	24
Ramananda Chatterjee		—Financial Notes	89
—Baman Das Basu <i>illustrated</i>	651	—Economics of Rural Bengal	292
—Indian Political Thought Impatient of the Doctrine of Gradualness	52	Smedley, Agnes	
—India's Unity in Diversity	70	—Amongst the peasants of Kwangtung	683
—Prof C V Raman Wins Nobel prize	675	<i>illustrated</i>	
—“The Reconstruction of India” by E J Thompson	488	War and Revolution in China	245
Rao L Narayana		Subrahmanyam, B	
—Irritability of Plants	521	—Iron Smelting in Mysore <i>illustrated</i>	272
Ray, S C,		Sunderland, Dr J T	
—Finance and Insurance	573	—Indian Cultural Propaganda ( <i>com and crit</i> )	55
Roy Dr S C		—The Glory of Mountains	134
—Business of General Insurance in India	648	Taraknath Das, Ph.D	
Seal Phn Sir Brajendra Nath		—False Pride or Statesmanship	429
—Gita	1	—Anglo American Rivalry and the Future	19
Sharma B N		Upendra Nath Ghosal	
—Independence Agitation in Cyprus	193	—Political Unification of India (6th-3rd Century B C)	437
Santa Devi		—Hellenistic Aggression against India (4th-2nd Century B C)	257
—Bhootki ( <i>story</i> )	197	Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya	
—House of Mystery, <i>story</i>	516	—Vajrayana ( <i>review</i> )	395
—Wild Rose, <i>a story</i>	478	Wilfred Wellock, M P	
Sardesai G S		—New Tariffs Trends in Great Britain	496
—Life-Sketch of Nana Fadnis, <i>illustrated</i>	523	—Great Britain's Social Services	207
Sen, Dr D M		Wood Hilda	
—The New Education System in Sweden <i>illustrated</i>	142	—Power of Swadeshi	250



WELCOME TO THE CITY  
By Kanu Desai



VOL. XLVIII  
NO. 1

JULY, 1930

WHOLE NO.  
283

## The Gita

A SYNTHETIC INTERPRETATION

“तत्त्वसमन्वयान्”—(प्रह्लादम्)।

By Sir BRAJENDRANATH SEAL, Ph. D.

IN the following analysis, I have left undiscussed the views of the various commentators and the various schools of theology. Each commentator accepts those passages of the Gita which support his own preconceived dogma (हिदन्त) and distorts the meaning of the conflicting passages to harmonize them with his dogma. On the other hand if one studies the Gita independently, one is hopelessly puzzled at first by internal contradictions of a serious character, as well as by irrelevancies and meaningless repetitions.

The question is—Is all this contradiction irrelevancy, prolixity real? Or is there a coherent and definite teaching in the Gita?

The various interpretations of the Gita as teaching as regards self realization (साधन—मात्र साधन) proceed on three main lines.

I. One or other of three ways (मार्ग) either as sole or as optional according to differences of temperament or status (व्यक्तिपरिभव).

II. Eclecticism (समुच्चय) of disciplines (साधन).

III. Synthesis (समन्वय) of disciplines. Now, take the sub-divisions under the

the first head. One discipline may be regarded as the sole sufficient condition. This view has three variants.

(a) This discipline may be held to exclude other alternatives.

(b) One discipline is the sole sufficient condition, but the other disciplines may be preliminary, or helpful at first, though they may be given up in the end.

(c) Different single disciplines for persons of different temperament or status (व्यक्तिपरिभव).

I will now consider (a), (b), (c) successively.

(a) One particular Way is at once necessary and sufficient, for liberation (मुक्ति). This way may be held to be (i) Knowledge (ज्ञान) (ii) Devotion (भक्ति), and (iii) Works (कर्म).

(i) Knowledge, e.g. साक्ष्य प्रकृति पुरुष विवेकज्ञान or चामत्कार of the Vedānta. In other words either knowledge of the difference between Nature (प्रकृति) and the Transcendent (पुरुष) as conceived in the Sāṅkhya or the doctrine of the Soul (आत्मन्) as in the Vedānta.

(ii) Bhakti (भक्ति) as Flānti Bhakti (स्वास्तिकभक्ति) or Prapattimarga (प्रपत्तिमार्ग) in



other words Devotion Absolute Devotion, or the Way of Utter Self surrender

(iii) Karma (कर्म), e.g. Nishkama karma (निष्काम कर्म) with Phalatyaṅga (फलत्याग) and Kamyā Karma Sannyāsa (काम कर्मसंन्यास). In other words Works without desire, abjuring all fruit of activity

Under (a) (i) Knowledge is necessary and sufficient Works and Devotion may be considered to be either useless for spiritual ends (however useful for social ends or interest) or they may be regarded as harmful and, therefore to be abjured by means of renunciation (संन्यास) or forsaking (प्रत्यक्षा). Works would bring the illusion of independent agency (स्वत्व) and bondage and Devotion may mean the worship (भजन) and propitiation (यजन) of gods (देवता).

Under (a) (ii) Devotion is the single condition Knowledge may be regarded as useless or harmful to Devotion e.g. अन्यायुरनीश्वर्य (some adherents of Knowledge say that the World is without a maker or ruler)

Under (a) (iii) Works are necessary and sufficient Knowledge and Devotion may be considered to be unnecessary—knowledge may lead to irreverence (अधर्मा) doubt or irresoluteness (द्विभेद) or to mere inaction or renunciation—Devotion may lead to inaction or weak sentimentality (ह्रस्व).

Now take (b)—On this view while one particular discipline is the actual and only necessary condition of Liberation the other disciplines may be helpful in leading up to the one that is the sole condition of Liberation e.g. Shankara considers Knowledge to be the sole sufficient condition but Works and Devotion may be helpful towards the four disciplines (साधन चतुष्टय—श्रम, दम, etc.) which are conditions of knowledge though if and where Knowledge is reached without works or Devotion knowledge would be sufficient for Liberation, there is neither eclecticism nor synthesis in such case. Some of the followers of Chaitanya think in the same manner about the Way of Loving Devotion (रागसाधन).

\* Now take (c)—These are tolerant enough to recognize each of these exclusive Ways as necessary for individuals of a particular temperament or status not for all e.g. the Way of knowledge is the sole sufficient condition for some the Way of Devotion

for others and the Way of Works for others still

The first line of interpretation I(a) stands for a sole exclusive path which may be either knowledge, or Devotion or Works. This is not consistent with the real meaning of the Gītā but is added here for the sake of theoretical completeness.

The second line of interpretation I(b) would acknowledge one and one only of the paths as ultimate and sufficient but the other two paths are helpful in the beginning though they are not necessary nor need be practised in the final stage. There are several distinct schools of thought, comprised under this head some being followers of knowledge as Śāṅkhya, others of Devotion, as Chaitanya, etc.

The third line of interpretation I(c) accepts different Ways for different temperaments—Knowledge for some, Devotion for others, Works for others still. This is here the basic idea, but ordinarily it is admitted that the other two lines of culture are helpful as subsidiary disciplines. This third line of interpretation in the end leads up to the next two divisions.

This alternative (I) which regards each discipline separately, leads to the next division Eclecticism which regards all the disciplines collectively.

Now take (II)—The principle of Eclecticism—these three Ways—knowledge, Devotion and Works are independent of one another but they all contribute independently to the disciplines required for Liberation. This is Eclectic discipline (साधनसमन्वय) no synthesis (समन्वय). What we want is the cultivation of all these mental powers and functions (वृत्ति). Cognition Emotion and Will. Complete culture has the culture of all these powers or faculties (वृत्ति) in view. Here the disciplines are different causes contributing separately to one effect. Each discipline as cause or condition makes its own contribution to one common or joint effect. There are two varieties of this Eclecticism—(a) and (b).

(a) Eclecticism statically conceived say Eclecticism of Works—Knowledge and Devotion triple (कर्मभक्तिज्ञानसमुच्चय). Or it may be an Eclecticism of Works and Devotion or Knowledge and Devotion or Works and Knowledge.

This does not recognize stages but strives for perfect or complete culture by simultaneous

cultivation of the independent faculties. Know-  
ledge, Devotion and Works.

Some of the upholders of static Eclecticism (समुच्चयवादी), however, consider Knowledge, Devotion and Works not as entirely independent, but as related in the way of principal and auxiliary (अङ्गप्रधान भाग). e.g. Works may be auxiliary (अङ्ग) and Knowledge or Devotion may be principal (प्रधान). Sometimes this relation is also loosely called organic relation (अङ्गाङ्गीभाव) or the relation of organ to organism or organic whole. The *Anga* is only a means, instrument or auxiliary; the *Pradhan* is the principal. Thus Works is means (अङ्ग) may be subordinated to Knowledge or Devotion as a means to an end or as an auxiliary to a principal. But the auxiliary here is as necessary as the principal. This relation of organ to organism (अङ्ग प्रधान भाग) or means to an end is more usual in the next form of Eclecticism, i.e. graduated Eclecticism (क्रमबद्ध).

(b) Graduated Eclecticism by successive stages (पुनरी) —

We start from Works, say — then in the next stage we have knowledge through 'action' without desire and the resulting purity of heart (चित् शुद्धि) or purity of nature (स्वतः शुद्धि). And this knowledge is supplemented with Devotion, Contemplation (ध्यान) and Worship of the Supreme Being (सर्वभूतात्मनः). And this Devotion is supplemented (सुदृढित्व) with Knowledge leads to Liberation. This is the Eclecticism of Works, Knowledge and Devotion (समन्वय मयि समुच्चय). It may also be called graduated Eclecticism (क्रमिक समुच्चय) of Works, Knowledge and Devotion. Similarly we may start with Knowledge. This leads to Devotion and this Eclectic discipline of knowledge and Devotion (मान सक्ति समुच्चय) supplemented with Works gives Liberation.

Or we may start with Devotion then Devotion leads to Works and then Devotion and Works (सक्ति कर्म समुच्चय) become fulfilled (समुद्दिष्ट) with Knowledge and this triple Eclecticism, graduated Eclecticism (समुच्चय, क्रम समुच्चय) leads to Liberation.

If a double Eclecticism, say of Knowledge and Devotion leads to Liberation then Works are only a means or auxiliary to Knowledge or Devotion. Similarly if it is Eclecticism of Devotion and Works then Knowledge is auxiliary (अङ्ग) to Devotion.

The *Angaprādī anubhāva* or *Angāṅgābha* relation of means to an end or auxiliary to

principal between one function and another is as we have seen usually accepted in graduated Eclecticism. This graduated Eclecticism leads on to the next view that of Synthesis (समन्वय).

III The principle of Synthesis (समन्वय) is distinguished both from single paths with or without distinction of temperament or status and from Eclecticism. — This is synthesis and has always been felt to be the keynote of the Gita.

Synthesis as distinguished from Eclecticism — Eclecticism implies separate independent elements held together by some external bond. The bond may be the relation of principal and auxiliary or it may be organic relation in other words the relation of organ to organism as in graduated Eclecticism. But even if we call it loosely organic relation it is an external bond of means to an end where it is not merely that of auxiliary and principal.

But Synthesis implies two things —

(a) the elements are not really independent they are organically interconnected (अङ्गाङ्गीभाव सम्बन्ध) and each is at once organ (अङ्ग) and organism or organic whole (अङ्गी) to the other. Thus Works in the synthetic view (समन्वय दृष्ट्या) are an organ (अङ्ग) of knowledge and also an organic whole (अङ्गी) to Knowledge. Similarly Devotion is an organ of Works and also an organic whole to Works and so on.

This implies that Works cannot be taken apart from Knowledge nor knowledge apart from Works. And so with Devotion. In other words there is knowledge in Works and Works in knowledge. Again there is knowledge in Devotion and Devotion in knowledge. There are Works in Devotion and Devotion or Faith (विश्वास) in Works.

(ii) Synthesis also implies that the elements are synthesized or unified (समन्वित) in, and through, an all-comprehending entity, one which relates co-ordinates unifies them all. Thus the synthesis of Works, Devotion and Knowledge is possible if all these three elements are centred in the Self (आत्मनः) or referred to the single centre *Brahma* or *Paratman* (as in *Brahma yoga* vide chap. VIII of the Gita).

Such is synthesis as contrasted with Eclecticism or supplementation.

Now synthesis may be of the two following types: (a) Static and (b) Dynamic.

(a) Static Synthesis of Works, Know-

and Devotion or synthesis of the three *Yogas* of Works, Knowledge and Devotion (कर्मयोग शान्तयोग and भक्तियोग)—Here Synthesis has to be attempted from the very first, there would be progress, no doubt from imperfect to less imperfect synthesis there may be different degrees of realization but it is Synthesis of Works, Knowledge and Devotion from the beginning.—Works being realized in Knowledge and Devotion, Knowledge in Works and Devotion, Devotion in Works and Knowledge.

(b) 'Graduated Synthesis'—Synthesis of more and more elements by successive stages.

This in my view, is the real teaching of the Gita, as established by a faithful exegetical analysis. I will take this 'Graduated Synthesis' (क्रम समन्वय) in the order in which it is expounded in the Gita,—(i) Chapters I to VI, (ii) Chapters VII to XII, (iii) Chapters XIII to XVIII forming three equal divisions.

(i) Chapters I to VI

Thus we may start with Works, this means an emphasis on Works for certain temperaments, though of course, on the synthetic view, Knowledge and Devotion are implied in Works, and Works can not form any discipline without Knowledge and Devotion also, for some temperaments emphasis at the beginning must be on Works. In the next stage we add Knowledge. Thus, we have 'Synthesis of Works and Knowledge'—here the Knowledge element becomes explicit, Works are for the time being subordinated to Knowledge and Devotion remains implicit. In the next stage, we have 'Synthesis of all the three Works, Knowledge and Devotion, when the Devotion element becomes explicit, and in the end all the elements become synthesized by way of Works in and through the Self or become centred in *Brahma*. This is *Atmayoga* or *Brahmayoga*, the consummation of the four disciplines (साधन चतुष्टय) and this is Liberation in this life (जीवन्मुक्ति).

More elaborate exposition of the above—

The first six chapters elaborate this synthesis (समन्वय) with Works (कर्म) as the basis and starting point. But the first stadium of Works, i.e., unquestioning obedience to the social Karmic code, had been long passed by Arjuna. His critical attitude marks the stage of transition from Works to Knowledge (प्रज्ञायाः—the doctrine of evaluation in terms of Knowledge). The transition from objectivity to subjective morality begins with

a Nay, or the rejection of the conventional code of Works, a rejection prompted in Arjuna's case by the sentiment of compassion. Thus the Gita teaching takes up the progressive synthesis of Works and Knowledge at this transitional point. Here, after making a double appeal to the philosophy of the Absolute and to the world's code of honour, both with a view to rescuing Arjuna from the grip of aboulé (आबल्य), weakness of the will brought on by an access of sentimentality, Krishna turns to the true doctrine of works, which is that of Works harmonized with Yoga (बुद्धियोग, योगे बुद्धि) in other words, *karmayoga*, which implies synthesis of Works with Buddha (ज्ञान, Knowledge), Works synthesized with Knowledge (ज्ञानसमन्वित कर्म).

This mode of realization (योग) has for its goal the state of the Quiescent One (स्थितधी), the crown and consummation of this synthesis of Works and Knowledge.

But the mind of the disciple or learner (साधक) at this stage is harassed with doubt—would it not be better to choose the path of Knowledge, differentiating Knowledge, Knowledge as taught in the *Sankhya* (ज्ञान, विवेक), सांख्यज्ञान, and aim at the goal of Inaction (अकर्म) or Actionlessness (निष्कर्म) in preference to the path of Works? No,—in the case of Arjuna whose proper sphere (अधिकार) is works, Krishna teaches the path of War.

The symbol of Works is sacrifice (यज्ञ), which is not only our duty to the gods but is also symbolical of the sacrifice of the Creator (प्रजापति) at Creation, and is also the support and stay (प्रतिष्ठान) of *Brahma*.

Krishna admits that for one who delights in the Self (आत्मस्तुत) there is no work. He has no object in doing or not doing (नश्यते ह्येतन्मार्गो नाहतेन). But Arjuna he teaches to work with detachment (असङ्गः)—the knower (विद्वान्) may work for the conservation of the world (लोकसंयत्त), as Krishna himself was working. There is no bondage (कर्मबन्धन) in such works, and in choosing works, the duty of one's own station in life (स्वधर्म), even if lower, is binding in preference to the duty of any other station (परधर्म).

But Arjuna fears that the path of Works is beset with sin. Krishna tells him that Works, indeed, are the source of sin, and Works must be conquered by the control of

the senses (इन्द्रियनिग्रह) and by knowledge of the Self that transcends the Understanding (बुद्धिपरमार्थम्).

Then follows a short digression which shows how the discipline of Works is helped and rendered easier by Devotion to the Lord and also by following him as the Exemplar (ममस्मर्मानुवर्तन्ते). Even one who desires Liberation (मुक्तिम्) can follow the path of Works.

Then Krishna teaches what is action (कर्म) and what is inaction (अकर्म). He teaches action in inaction and inaction in action.

In the fourth chapter he then describes the united One (युक्त) whose doing is non-doing—one without opposites (द्विहीतो) one without attachment (गतबद्ध) the liberated one (मुक्त). His mind rests in knowledge and yet he works but only for sacrifice—and that only with detachment, renunciation and the giving up of the all works done with desire (काम्य कर्म).

This sacrifice is not necessarily external sacrifice it may be any form of spiritual sacrifice e.g. Pratyagbha Tapas Yoga Jnana or Brahmajyana. All these forms of Works lead ultimately to Liberation but spiritual sacrifice (ज्ञानयज्ञ) is a higher type than material sacrifice (द्रव्यमययज्ञ). For as Krishna points out, all Works are fulfilled in and through sacrifice (ज्ञानयज्ञ) and it is the fire of sacrifice that burns up the bondage of Works. It is in the vessel of knowledge that one can cross the ocean of saṁsāra (world).

Thus the doctrine of the synthesis of Works and knowledge which Krishna teaches explicitly—the doctrine of works surrendered in the spirit of Yoga (योगसम्न्यस्तकर्म).

To attain this synthesis of Yoga and knowledge of Works and Renunciation appears puzzling. He considers knowledge after the Sankhya (सर्वज्ञान) and the spirit of Works (कर्मयोग) as contradictory. Krishna teaches him that the two are not different, and that they lead to the same ultimate goal. The worker (कर्मि) who is without duality (विद्वद्) is also a renouncer (सन्न्यासी, निष्प सन्न्यासी). If one becomes consummate in Works—he attains all the results (or inner spirit) of knowledge and vice versa. That is to say synthesis may start with Works or with knowledge—the ultimate realization is the same.

We have seen that Works in the end are fulfilled in knowledge and we shall find that

the knowledge of the Self (आत्मज्ञान) is also fulfilled in Works (Chapter V) and even one who delights in the Soul (आत्मरति) works with the spontaneity of Nature though he is free from law (विधि). Then Krishna further characterizes the One who is united (युक्तान्ता), who experiences union in Brahmayoga or Brahmanirvan as the consummate state on the path of the Synthesis of Works and knowledge.

But now this opens up the experience of Devotion—of communion with the Supreme Person (सर्वलोकमोक्षर) who is the friend of all beings (सर्वभूत उद्धार).

Krishna then describes the Yogarudha (योगारूढ), but this characterization relates more especially to his inner self discipline more so than the two previous characterizations which also comprehend the Yogis relation to the world and his fellow being. The highest realization Krishna teaches is that of the Supreme Person the Lord (भगवान्) in all beings and of all beings in the Lord (भगवान् मयि) which leads to the sense of the unity of all creatures with the Self.

Thus the synthesis of Devotion with Works and knowledge is accomplished. And this first division ends with the exaltation of the devotee भक्त among all yogi (हृदि ध्यातावान् भक्ते यो मोक्षेते).

This first division centres the synthesis around Work the second round Devotion and the third round knowledge.

(ii) Chapters VII—XII —

Now take one who starts as a Devotee in the brahman both knowledge and Works are implied in Devotion on the synthetic view only there is emphasis on Devotion for certain temperaments. But knowledge of the god (देवता) the object of Devotion is necessary for Devotion. So we pass on from Devotion to knowledge—knowledge of the Supreme Self or the Lord of all creation i.e., who is in relation to the World and the knowledge synthesized with Devotion summarizes the object of Devotion in forms of the concrete or manifest Universe—first Prakriti (the Universe) and then Lihutis (special manifestation), and finally Visvarupa (the manifest Universal). This leads to synthesis of Devotion and knowledge. The concretizing and the universalizing element in the concrete Universal.

Then in the next stadium (सुमिक्त), Works are added by way of synthesis to this

unification of Knowledge and Devotion (ज्ञान-समन्वित भक्ति) e.g. (सत्कर्मपरमो भवत्) vide chapter XII

This is followed by a characterization of the devotee at this final stage which necessarily repeats much of the previous characterizations of the Sthitadin (the Quiescent One) and the Yogi who follows Karma (Karma yogi) in the first six chapters

For the final goal is much the same in the synthetic view. Thus we get the complete synthetic discipline (समन्वय साधन), but on this line all elements and stages have a Bhakti cast or note (or devotional tinge) and the synthesis is centred by way of Devotion in Me (मयि, भगवात्) or the Supreme Self just as on the line of Works all the elements and stages are oriented towards Works and the complete synthesis is centred in the Self or Brahma ब्रह्मयोग) the Brahma who is the support and centre of sacrifice (प्रतिष्ठितं यज्ञ)

Thus the second six chapters describe synthesis with Devotion as the basis and centre of reference

### (III) CHAPTERS XIII—XXIII

Now take one who desires philosophical analysis knowledge at the outset for we have seen that Devotion necessarily implies knowledge. This knowledge is directed towards the discrimination of the kshetra (body or 'organism') from the Kshetrajna (knower of the kshetra the Universal Soul क्षेत्र क्षेत्रज्ञ चिक्कज्ञ), and not towards the discrimination of Purusha from Prakriti as in the 'ankhya (पुरष प्रकृति चिक्कज्ञान) vide chapter XIII where the line of knowledge begins (ज्ञानयोग)

Now comes Knowledge—the highest knowledge ज्ञानम्, ज्ञानमुत्तमम्. This knowledge proceeds by analysis of the qualities or modes गुण) and by discrimination of that which transcends all qualities (गुणातीत) from the qualities or modes themselves (गुणान् अतीत्य गुणानतिस्ते chapter XIV slokas 20-21). This knowledge (ज्ञान) leads to the condition of that which transcends all qualities (गुणातीत chapter XVI slokas 1-2).

But in the very next slokas 26-27 it is stated parabolically as it were that the Devotion which never lapses (अव्यभिचार भक्ति)

also leads to the Brahma which is above all qualities (गुणातीत ब्रह्मभूय state)

Knowledge thus leads to the Knowledge of the three Purushas kshara Akshara and Purusottama दधानर, the Perishable, the Imperishable and the Transcendent One (sloka 18 Chapter 15)

Tha knower of Purusottama (पुरोत्तम) is knower of everything (सर्वविद्)—and this knowledge is equivalent to worship in all modes and forms (सर्वभावेन भजनम्). This is the secret doctrine (गुह्याद्य) he is the knower (बुद्धिमान्) who knows or understands this. He is consummate in Works (कृतकृत्य).

Now after this emphasis on the discipline of knowledge (ज्ञानसाधन) so far begins Synthesis with Works. First by discrimination of various forms of Works meaning ethical activities not Works as enjoined in the Vedas (वेदिक कर्म) as such.

Now follows the discrimination between the godly and the ungodly (द्वैतार सम्पत् विभाग) Chapter XVI. For the two orders of creation (सग) Dava and Asura (देव, आसुर) are the Good and the Evil. This Good and Evil are to be taken in a moral sense as apart from Vaidic works (वेदिक कर्म). The way of the knower follows the godly virtues (द्वैतसम्पद्) but there are lost souls (नष्टात्मन) who are sources of evil to the world (जगत्संहिता).

असत्यमप्रतिष्ठ ते जगदाहुरणीवरम् ।

अपास्त्यसम्भृत विमन्यत् कामदेवकम् ॥

(Chapter XVI sloka 8)

[They (those lost souls) say that the world is untrue ungrounded, and godless, not born of any dual relation and sprung spontaneously (or according to some born for the fulfilment of desire)]

A B This is a denunciation of Buddhist c/ Atherism. These opponents follow the path of the demons (असुर) The three fold door of Hell (नरक) Lust Wrath and Avarice (काम, क्रोध, लोभ)

Now what about the relation of the Jain the follower of the path of knowledge to Shastric injunction (शास्त्रनिधि)?

Krishna teaches that for laying down what is to be done and what not done (कार्यकाय व्यवस्थिति) the knower (follower of knowledge) must not aljure Shastric injunctions for mere reasons of pleasure or desire.

The abjuring of Shastric injunction for reasons of pleasure or gratification (कापकृत्य शास्त्रविषय उत्सर्जन) is evil. But the follower of Knowledge (ज्ञानी) can also proceed without Shastric injunction (शास्त्रविषय) and the synthesis of Knowledge and Works is also possible if Works such as sacrifice gift and austerity (यज्ञ, दान, तप) are done with the true spirit of reverence (सात्त्विक धर्मा) and also if spiritual sacrifice spiritual gift and spiritual tapas (austerities), (सात्त्विक यज्ञ, सात्त्विक दान, सात्त्विक तप), is explained below are performed. But in case Shastric injunction is not adopted as the guide there must be distinction between good कर्तृ and evil अकर्तृ. The doer who follows the path of knowledge (ज्ञानिकमार्ग) without Shastric injunctions must follow the good and abjure evil. Thus in either way the synthesis of Knowledge and works is accomplished.

In Chapter XVIII the works of the Jnanayogi (the follower of Knowledge) are further characterized. We get here the true meaning of Renunciation (समन्यास) and Abjuration (त्याग) both necessary for the works of the follower of knowledge. What we require is Renunciation renunciation of Works done with desire (कामकर्मसमन्यास), and abjuration also—the giving up of the fruit of all Works (सर्वकर्मफलत्याग).

Only spiritual sacrifice spiritual gift and spiritual tapas (austerities) may be done with spiritual faith (सात्त्विक धर्मा) such work is not born of desire, for there is no selfish desire or renunciation of any desired object (संन्यास) which is necessary for work born of desire and there is giving up of attachment (संन्यास) and giving up of all fruits of action and consequently doing of such Works is consistent with renunciation renunciation of Works born of desire and abjuration.

Now in the works of the follower of knowledge he must distinguish between the deed the doer and the instrument of doing (कर्मकृता and करण). The Self is no doer or agent (भक्तव्य) (यत्स्वनाह कृताभाव बुद्धिस्थ न लिप्यते) Sloka xvii (who is not actuated by the idea of the Ego).

He who aims at the synthesis of knowledge and Works must according to knowledge distinguish Works and Agent. Each is of three kinds according to the

three modes (गुण) after knowing this he who aims at the synthesis of Knowledge and Works must be free from attachment मुक्तपद्म, without attribution to Self (अनर्हवादी) yet fraught with perseverance and enthusiasm (अव्युत्साह समन्वित), indifferent to success and unsuccess (सिद्धमिदि निर्विकार), and a pure selfless doer (सात्त्विक कृता) Sloka 27).

Finally Works after one's own nature or duties imposed on one by one's birth should not be given up even if faulty one's own natural sphere of work is not to be given up स दोष सहज काव्य मा त्यजेत्.

Thus he who aims at the synthesis of Knowledge and Works attains the fruition of Vashantirya (quiescence actionlessness) Sloka 49 Chap. XVIII. The order is indicated as follows—ज्ञानस्य या एता etc (Sloka 50), then शास्त्रप्रभृतयः कथ्यन्ते (Sloka 49 od).

Then this state of being one with Brahma (ब्रह्मभूतभाव) is characterized.

Then briefly Devotion is added to knowledge and Works—For the one who is identified with Brahma (ब्रह्मभूत) attains supreme Devotion (पराभक्ति). By Devotion he knows (अभिज्ञानाति), then he enters into Me truly ततो मा सत्त्वतो विप्रत and then attains by My Grace the eternal station (सत्त्वसाक्षात् शाश्वतं पदम्) Slokas 50-56.

This synthesis of Devotion with knowledge is here briefly touched upon—because in the previous section on Devotion (अभियोग) (chapter vii to xii) the Synthesis with Devotion has been fully characterized.

We have thus arrived at three divisions (1) Chapters I-VI Chapters VII-XII and Chapters XIII-XVIII. The first division begins with Works and goes on to Knowledge and Devotion. The second division begins with Devotion and goes on to Knowledge and Works. The third division begins with Knowledge and goes on to Works and devotion. It is not intended that every one necessarily should pass through all the three sets of courses. It would suffice for any one individual to follow the course of discipline laid down in anyone of these divisions. This would be sufficient for the individual though all the three courses are laid down as giving a complete syllabus. But it is a moot point whether any single individual may choose to go through the three courses successively. There is nothing in the Gita to prevent one and the same

individual from undertaking the three courses successively

The eighteenth Chapter ends with an application of this Gita teaching to Arjuna's situation

The above is not only a Synthesis synthetic interpretation, of the varied contents of the Gita, but also a synthesis of the various schools of interpretation themselves

## Causes of India's Industrial Inefficiency\*

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, Msc PhD

**T**HE outstanding feature of the industrial organization of India is its inefficiency which is responsible for the loss of about three-fourths of her natural, human and capital resources. This inefficiency has been brought about by a variety of direct and indirect causes, of which the most important are, racial characteristics, physical environment, poverty and disease, illiteracy and inexperience, religious inadaptability, social maladjustment, political subjugation and industrial backwardness.

### 1 RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS

The cause of the industrial inefficiency of a nation must first be sought in the racial characteristics of its people. The racial traits are more or less permanent and can scarcely lend themselves to any remedial measures. Any difference in industrial efficiency due to racial features must be admitted and the remedy for inefficiency must be sought after.

The common origin of mankind is an established fact. All the human races are the descendants of the same primary group which was dispersed from original habitat through internal and external forces and which developed under various environmental influences different characteristics such as colour stature and other physical features. These features are too self evident to need

any discussion, but the important questions which arise are these (1) Are there any differences in the innate mental qualities among the races? (2) Granting that there are differences, are some of the races due to these differences, inferior to others? (3) Is the inter mixture of races, especially of those having divergent physical features as Africans and Europeans, detrimental to their progeny or to society as a whole? These are still open questions. Theories have been advanced by some and contradicted by others that all races are potentially equal in quality, and that race mixtures often lead to the development of vigorous new races.

As far as India is concerned it might be said that it is a land of race mixture. Various races, such as the Kolarians, Mongolians, Iranians, Dravidians and Aryans, specially the last two, have contributed to the present composition of Indian population. In spite of the caste system and religious diversity, there has been a good deal of intermingling of the races and there is no such thing as a pure race in India, nor, in fact, in any part of the world. Since it cannot be proved that in innate mental qualities these races are inferior to one another or to other races of the world, the only way to prove their equality is by comparison of their achievements, past and present, with those of the other nations.

It must be mentioned, first of all that due to the difference in physical features, all the races are not able to do the same kind of work with an equal degree of efficiency, but in this machine age these physical variations scarcely make any

\* Cf. the present writer's articles on 'Wastage of India's Man power', 'The Problem of India's Poverty' and 'Wastage of India's Capital Resources' in the *Modern Review* for April 1927, October 1929 and April 1930 respectively. The writer apologises for repetition of one or two paragraphs of the above articles.

essential difference in industrial efficiency. If they do India has races of divergent features, and with the present facilities for transportation these differences can be easily taken advantage of in organizing an efficient industrial system. In fact, this is being done in India even today. The jute industry of Bengal, the tea industry of Assam and the coal, iron and steel industry of Bihar and Orissa are only a few examples.

But the fundamental question still remains to be answered. In modern times industrial efficiency depends more upon mental abilities such as skill, ingenuity and inventive genius rather than upon physical characteristics. The past experience of India in theoretical sciences such as algebra, trigonometry, geometry and astronomy and applied sciences such as medicine and architecture show that India was one of the leading countries in ancient times. Like Europe, India has also passed through dark ages. Invasions, conquests and foreign rule have attributed largely to the intellectual and moral degeneration of her people. Modern India is again showing her physical prowess and mental capacities. Neither in intellectual fields nor on the playgrounds have the Indians proved themselves inferior to other nations. While universities like those of Oxford and Cambridge will bear testimony to the former, the playgrounds of Calcutta and Bombay and the Olympic games of several European towns will bear testimony to the latter.<sup>1</sup>

As far as industrial efficiency is concerned it might be said that the Indians have never had proper conditions in which they could prove their efficiency to the best advantage. Neither the coalfields of Bihar and Bengal nor the factories of Madras and Bombay offer a similarity of conditions for comparing the efficiency of the Indians with that of any other race.<sup>2</sup> The only places where the Indians have had equality of opportunity to a limited extent have been the farms and orchards of California and the logging camps and lumber mills of Oregon, Washington and British Columbia, where the Indians have proved that they were as good as if not better than the Chinese, the Japanese, the Mexicans, the Canadians and the Americans.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Physical environment has a great influence upon the human mind and human culture.

Temperature, moisture, fertility, flora and fauna and topography not only affect the development of racial characteristics as we have seen but also determine at least in the early stages of civilization social attitude and social institutions which directly or indirectly influence industrial efficiency.

It was the sub-tropical regions with temperate climate and fertile soil which attracted primitive nomadic groups to settle down into communities and eventually became cultural centres. The valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile for instance became the cradles of civilization. While climate and food worked upon the physical features of man, geographical elements such as mountains, oceans, rivers, deserts, prairies and forests, and physical forces such as tempests, tornadoes and lightning influenced his character and determined his attitude as evidenced in religious poetry, legends, myths and other institutions such as ceremonies, customs and manners. In a word, social traditions are greatly influenced by physical environment, especially in the early stage of their growth.

Physical elements have direct influence upon health and vigour which are the basis of industrial efficiency. Heat and humidity affecting the physiological functions of the body, cause premature old age and shorten life. Industrial skill, the achievement of which requires long preparation especially in these days of scientific advancement and international competition is wasted before full realization thus causing much loss to the industrial efficiency of a nation. Second, the tropics by encouraging the growth of various pathological organisms bring about diseases such as cholera, small pox, malaria and hookworm which cause premature death or sap the national vitality. Third, heat and humidity enervate the people and make the application of sustained and intensive energy both impossible and injurious. Fourth, the monotony of nature fails to invigorate man with the idea of change and causes him to lose ambition and inspiration and initiative and alertness.

Nature has thus a threefold effect upon man or rather upon his hereditary tradition and health, each of which is an element in his industrial efficiency. While the influence upon the first two is more or less indirect, that upon health is direct. The effect of heredity or racial characteristics upon industrial efficiency has already been discussed and that of tradition will be discussed later.



on It might be pointed out here that the tradition of a people is neither fixed nor permanent. It is always in a state of flux although the process may be very slow. But this change can be accelerated by a social crisis and social will. Consider for instance nationalism which was more or less unknown in India a generation ago but which has become one of the most important social forces in modern times.

The effect of nature upon health is only too obvious to need discussion. It has been asserted by some that a true civilization can only grow in a temperate climate. All the industrial centres of modern times such as London, Berlin, New York and Tokyo according to them are in the regions which are not visited by extreme heat and cold. In short, real civilization according to this theory can only develop in temperate regions. This theory however assumes that there should be only one type of civilization and that a civilization different from that of modern Europe will be necessarily inferior. It also denies the fact that man by acquiring knowledge in science and philosophy can conquer nature and control many of its adverse effects.

Natural phenomena and laws although more or less unchangeable can be greatly modified by human intelligence. Pathogenic micro-organisms can be brought under human control and many diseases can be eliminated as has already been done in Panama and Manila, and many other parts of the world. A workshop with an arid and hot atmosphere may be changed into a comfortable place by refrigeration and humidification. By change of working hours from the midday to early hours of the morning and the late hours of the evening a great deal of work can be accomplished with a fair amount of efficiency. The intensive work may be continued with periodical relaxations. Moreover every region with its climatic conditions and natural resources determines the nature of industry by which the people can develop its own regional economy and its own particular industrial efficiency.

### 3 POVERTY AND DISEASE

One of the fundamental causes of India's industrial inefficiency is the ill health of the people to which has been ascribed the loss of one-fourth of the national energy. This national ill health has been brought about by

two distinct factors namely extreme poverty or deficient nutrition on the one hand and the lack of sanitary measures on the other.

The outstanding feature of India's economic life is the abject poverty of her people. The existence of poverty among the masses of India's population has been admitted even by the Government. There is a vast amount says the Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions in British India in 1927-28 of what can only be termed dangerous poverty in the Indian villages—poverty that is to say of such a kind that those subject to it live on the very margin of subsistence. One of the most important indications of India's absolute poverty is the frequent outbreak of famine which visited India seven times from 1860-1861 to 1899-1900 and affected an area varying from 54,000 square miles to 475,000 square miles and a population varying from 20 millions to 68 millions. No widespread famine has been recorded in the first quarter of the present century but the existence of scarcity in some part of the country or the other is a constant factor.

While famine is one of the greatest calamities which can befall a people its effect is more or less temporary. What is much more deleterious to both its physical and moral strength is perpetual starvation. The *per capita* food supply in India as indicated by the yield of the principal crops amounts to 83 million calories instead of 127 million calories as required by the human body. The average annual total of grain available for food from 1900 to 1922 was only 49 million tons as compared with 81 million tons required for the population. In other words food production in India fell short of the requirement by more than one-third. That the Indian people are underfed is also proved by the fact that food supplied to a Madras prisoner amounts to 741 pounds a year as compared with 2,661 pounds consumed by an average American and it is a well known fact that the *per capita* amount of food consumed by the Indian masses falls far short of the ration. Moreover the quality of food is much poorer in India than in the United States.

There exist divergent views as to whether there has been any amelioration in the conditions of the people in recent years. According to the official view there has been an appreciable improvement in the

standard of living of Indian agricultural masses during the past quarter of a century is The increase in bank deposits, industrial investments and merchandise imports is most probably responsible for this conclusion. According to Indian authorities the contrary is the truth.<sup>11</sup> Some of the studies in the economic life of the villages seem to favour this view.

"An average year seems to leave the village," says Dr. Maan, "underfed, more in debt than ever, apparently less capable than ever of maintaining the present population and present methods of cultivation and real economic independence."

The very fact that the average length of life for the past 40 years has been practically the same, as will be shown later on, also indicates there has scarcely been a material improvement in the conditions of the Indian masses.<sup>12</sup>

Like starvation, prevalence of diseases in India is also an acknowledged fact. Epidemics like cholera, small pox and influenza are always present in some part of the country or other. Tuberculosis is found in large industrial centres, especially in over-crowded slums. The prevalence of hookworm has been revealed by investigation and it has been found that practically all the rural population in Madras and 70 per cent of the population in Bengal are infected with hookworm.<sup>14</sup>

The most common and destructive disease is, however, malaria. In 1927 29,107 out of 2676 deaths per 10,000 of the population were ascribed to fevers, of which the most important was malaria.<sup>15</sup>

"No part of India," says the Statement exhibited by the Meia and Veterinary Progress and Conditions in India in 1927-28, "is free from this scourge and the number of days of work which are lost every year on this account must run into many millions. The members of every class and occupation in India are affected and not only the actual days lost are to be counted but the weakening effects of malaria on the human system must also be taken into consideration for it saps the energy and reduces the efficiency of its victims."<sup>16</sup>

What is still worse is that malaria is steadily spreading in many parts of Bengal.

"Within living memory hundreds of villages have been decimated by malaria," says the Annual Report and Accounts of the R. S. Institute and Hospital for Tropical Diseases in 1928. "Thousands of acres of once prosperous and highly cultivated land have been abandoned, populous towns have been reduced to the status of miserable fever-stricken villages, stately mansions have as their sole inhabitants the wild pigs and leopards, and the jungle is creeping in to reign once more

over a land from which it was driven thousands of years ago. The malaria of Bengal may well be described as a great tragedy."<sup>17</sup>

But malaria is not confined to Bengal alone. Several other provinces are also more or less infested with malaria germs, causing the death of 1,300,000 persons a year.

The immediate effect of starvation and disease is seen in the low vitality of the people. According to the census of 1921 about one fifth of the children in British India die before the age of one year.<sup>18</sup> As compared with other countries, out of every 100 infants born alive 194 die in the first year of their life in India as compared with 77 in England and Wales, 88 in France and 108 in Germany.<sup>19</sup> It has been estimated that over 2 million children die every year in India in their infancy in addition to a large number of still born. The number of children who die before reaching youth is considerable. Ten million children die between the ages of 10 and 15. In fact, scarcely 50 per cent of the children born ever reach even a youthful age. Says the All India Conference of Medical Research Works, "the percentage of infants born in India who reach a wage-earning age is about 50%." In 1921 the death rate in India was 305 per cent as compared with 121 per cent in England and Wales, 148 per cent in Germany and 177 per cent in France.<sup>21</sup> In other words as compared with England and Wales France and Germany the death rate is about twice as great and the average length of life is about only half as much in India.

That India has not improved in health in recent years is still better indicated by the fact that there has been no improvement in the average length of life among the people since 1881. From an average of 24.85 years the longevity fell down to 21.75 in 1921 as indicated by the table below:

Year	Men	Women	Total unweighted average	Variation Index No.
1881	24.5	25.2	24.85	100
1901	24.4	24.9	24.65	99.2
1901	24.7	25.1	24.90	100.2
1911	24.7	24.7	24.70	99.4
1921	24.3	24.7	24.50	98.6

On the other hand, there has been a decided increase in the average life in different countries in the West. It increased for instance, from 42 years in 1880 to 47.8 years in 1910 in England and Wales, from 41.6 years and 37.5 years in 1880 to 46.7 years

and 459 years in 1910 in France and Italy respectively and from 37 years in 1875 to 454 years in 1910 in Germany <sup>22</sup>

What is still more significant is that as a nation India is not only physically weak but is getting weaker if not absolutely at least relatively. This is clearly shown by the fact that whilst the death rate has declined in almost all Western countries during the last generation it has remained stationary or even slightly increased in India. While for instance from an average of 274 per cent in 1885-90 the death rate increased to 306 per cent in 1921 in India from 1881-90 to 1901-1910 it fell down from 193 to 151 per cent in England and Wales from 221 to 194 per cent in France from 251 to 187 per cent in Germany and from 213 to 165 in Belgium. On account of disturbing conditions during the war it is difficult to make any comparison for the years 1911-1920, but the death rate in 1921 after the establishment of peace shows a still further decline being 121 per cent in England and Wales 135 per cent in Belgium, 148 in Germany and 177 per cent in France as shown in the table below.

*Decline of Death rate in various Countries <sup>23</sup>*

Year	England & Wales	France	Germany	Belgium	India
1881-1890	190	221	251	213	274 <sup>24</sup>
1901-1910	154	194	187	165	—
1921	121	135	148	135	306

The ultimate effect of ill health arising from starvation and disease is social deterioration of which industrial efficiency is only one of the aspects. The number of people who die from starvation and disease is large enough but the number of those who suffer from insufficient nutrition and bad sanitation is much larger than those who succumb. They are left as lifelong victims either to succumb soon after or to carry on their life process in broken health and spirit to the detriment of the wealth and welfare of the nation.

It is scarcely to be expected that a nation with bad health and under developed minds will be able to maintain its efficiency in this age of world wide competition. Regarding malaria the Report of the Ross Institute mentioned above says that its presence is a great handicap to economic efficiency.

A malaria and capped industry continues the Report will have little chance of survival against

foreign competition <sup>25</sup> Similarly injurious are the other diseases to the national efficiency said the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1928 malaria slays its thousands and ruins the economic efficiency of hundreds of others, plague and cholera sweep the country from time to time hookworm disease kills war and diseases arising from diet deficiency insidiously reduce the labour power of the cultivating classes <sup>26</sup>

#### 4. ILLITERACY AND INEXPERIENCE

Next to ill health ignorance as indicated by illiteracy and inexperience or lack of training is the most important cause of industrial inefficiency causing as has been noted before the loss of about one-fourth of India's national energy.

It has already been pointed out that about 92 per cent of the total population of India are illiterate and about the same proportion of the actual workers engaged in different productive processes or more correctly the population between the ages of 15 and 60 is also illiterate. In comparison with the workers in advanced countries Indian workers are the most illiterate. Thus while the percentage of illiterate persons between 15 and 60 was 03 in Germany 10 in Holland 47 in France and 89 in Belgium in 1910 that in India was 92 as late as in 1921 <sup>27</sup>

One of the most appalling wastages of Indian intellectual faculties occurs from the lack of conservation and development of the mental faculty of India's vast childhood. The period of childhood is more or less indefinite but it might be said to extend from 0 to 14 years inclusive. Now in almost all civilized countries there exists free and compulsory primary education for children although the period of such education differs in different countries. Under her present political and economic conditions, if it be assumed that the period between 5 and 19 should form the period of compulsory primary education in India the number of children eligible for primary education would amount to 41 millions of whom only 6 millions were receiving primary education in 1921 and 41 million children remained without any provision for education.

In comparison with other countries the number of children in primary schools is proportion to those of school going age is the smallest in India. For instance among five countries namely England and Wales Denmark Sweden Scotland and Austria for which statistics are available the number of children attending primary school as compared

## 5 RELIGIOUS INADAPTABILITY

Another important cause of India's industrial inefficiency is moral deterioration which has been brought about by various factors such as religious doctrine and philosophical attitude towards life. Religion in a broader sense includes not only the spiritual ideals which man attempts to realize for a life to come but also all those moral and intellectual aims and aspirations which they want to achieve here on earth. The underlying conceptions and assumptions as well as the methods of realizing these ideals and aspirations have profound influence upon human behaviour and human success.

Whatever might be the metaphysical explanations and theological speculations most of the religious beliefs and practices among the Hindus who form by far the majority of the population are nothing but pure and simple superstitions. Nor do they succeed in achieving their aims. Thus millions of people in India year after year worship with devotion *Lakshmi* or goddess of wealth, *Saraswati* or goddess of learning and *Durga* or goddess of power yet India is today the most indigent, most illiterate and most helpless country on earth. However harmless in themselves these rituals and ceremonies may be inasmuch as they divert the attention from the true means of success they lead to social and industrial deterioration.

One of the cardinal principles of Hindu religion is the belief in an Infinite Being of which this visible world is only a manifestation.<sup>44</sup> It is the duty of every man to realize this entity either in this life or in the next by the practice of self-renunciation. Misery and sorrow arise from the lower desires of man, the way to real happiness lies in the elimination of those desires. This doctrine has great effect upon the social and industrial attitude of the people.

First it has turned the mind away from the material to the spiritual from the natural to the supernatural from the real to the ideal from the concrete to the abstract and from the outer to the inner aspects of life.

Second while it has helped a very small minority to attain the highest types of manhood it has also checked the mental growth of by far the majority by placing before them an ideal far too high for attainment by the average man. Thus while Hindu civilization has helped to glorify a few, it has tended to fossilize many.

Third by over-emphasizing the happiness of the after life and the attainment of this happiness through self-renunciation it has tabooed most of the pleasures of the flesh and has placed as its goal the fewness rather than the multiplicity of wants which is the most important incentive to economic activities and industrial development.

Fourth by constantly directing the attention towards the inner struggle between desires and ideals it has restricted the scope of the external struggle between man and nature which stimulates man to conquer nature and acquire wealth.

Fifth the doctrine of *Karma* which is a part of the Hindu religion has disintegrated into fatalism and has its worst effect upon the masses. The feeling that the sorrow and happiness in this life are largely determined by the deeds of a former life takes away a good part of the initiative for

planning and developing any remedial measures in case of any catastrophe. The majority of the people are prone to resign themselves to the course of events. The doctrine has been responsible for not stimulating the people to turn failure to success which is one of the essential elements in the requisition of industrial efficiency.

## 6 SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENT

While the teachings of religion have tended to make after life and not this world the focus of attention some of the social institutions, such as the caste system, the purdah system, child marriage, the joint family system and private charity have also led to social deterioration and industrial inefficiency.

The caste system is one of the most outstanding causes of social stagnation and industrial inertia. It has created false pride and vainglory among a few and has led to the degradation and demoralization of the many. It has caused labour to lose its dignity and hindered the free movement of the people in the selection of industry and occupation. Most of the important industries have therefore been left to the so called lower classes who being devoid of facilities for education and of recognition and support of the society have kept the industrial art where it was thousands of years ago while the same industries in other countries have been developed by eminent chemists and engineers and commercialists with the help of the most up to date scientific discoveries and technical inventions.

Next to the caste system is the purdah or the seclusion of women, which has also retarded the industrial progress of the country. Like the caste system it is also a national calamity. Of course it is a Muhammadan custom and prevails mostly among the Muhammadan families. But a considerable portion of the Hindu population especially in the North has come under its influence. Any institution which interferes with women's freedom of action and deprives them of facilities for education acts as an impediment to their moral, intellectual and industrial development.

The purdah system therefore deprives India of the full utilization of the physical and mental resources of almost half of the social population in her industrial activities.

Child marriage is another stumbling block to the growth of industrial efficiency in India. A large number of boys and girls especially

the latter, become married before their adolescence period is over. Although the age of marriage has been raised to 14 for girls and 18 for boys by the recent Act even as late as 1921 there were under the age of 15 years over 86 million married boys and over 65 million married girls<sup>25</sup>. Early marriage deprives boys and girls of the fullest opportunities for the development of body and mind including industrial education by which they could become more efficient members of industrial society. It curbs down and limits the spirit of adventure and enterprise of the boys, which are among the most stimulating factors of modern industrial progress, and compels the girls to bear the burden of gestation and lactation when they ought to be devoting themselves to the acquisition of knowledge and efficiency. Moreover, child marriage encourages the joint family system and often leads to immaturity and unwise parenthood to the detriment of the off-spring as well as parents themselves and helps over population by prolonging the procreating period.

The joint family system, by which several members of the family even after their marriage live together with their parents and other relations sharing in the common family budget is another social institution interfering with the growth of industrial efficiency. Although the system is gradually breaking down under social and economic forces, by far the majority of the Indian families still live in joint families. It is not without its advantages, but under the modern social conditions it has already oothred its utilities and has become detrimental to industrial progress. As noted before it is the etadel of child marriage while it restricts the instinct of gain on the part of the earning members it puts a premium on idleness and discourages initiative on the part of the dependants.

The institution of private charity which obtains as a part of both the Hindu and the Muhammadan social and religious organization is also responsible for encouraging idleness on the part of a considerable number of population. The noble aim and benevolent effect of the institution cannot be denied and at a time when there was not yet any public institution for taking care of the old the defective and the helpless it served a very useful purpose. It will have its utility until social insurance and public philanthropy take its place. But it has been

greatly misused and it is not uncommon that under the garb of religion many able bodied men and women take advantage of the credulous belief and benevolent superstition of the people while many needy ones remain uncared for.

## 7. POLITICAL SUBJUGATION

One of the most important causes which have both directly and indirectly retarded the growth of industrial efficiency in India is her political subjugation. The loss of independence is the greatest calamity that can befall a nation. It not only brings about slavery and serfdom but also leads to moral and intellectual degeneration, and thus affects industrial efficiency. It must be admitted at the outset that there is something fundamentally wrong with Hindu civilization which has not only made them submit to but even sustain foreign rule.

From the earliest times, India has been subjected to invasions and conquest. It was not, however, until the 13th century that India began to come under Muhammadan rule and to lose her independence. But the very fact that the Muhammadans came to make India their own home and the actual administration of the country was practically left to the Hindus the evils of Muhammadan conquest was largely mitigated. It was with British conquest that India came under alien rule and a government from outside was inaugurated which contributed to the social, political and industrial deterioration of the people.

The primo motive which led the British to come to India was to secure industrial and commercial advantages to facilitate and perpetuate which they gradually conquered the country and established complete political control. British rule in India might be roughly divided into three periods, namely, the rule under the East India Company (1607-1857) the rule under the Crown (1858-1920) and the beginning of Self Government from 1921. These three periods have been dominated by three distinct economic policies such as mercantilism, *laissez faire* and modified protectionism.

At the time of the arrival of the British in India the dominating policy of England and other Western countries was mercantilism by which they made their colonies and dependencies producers of raw materials and purchasers of finished products. This policy was actively pursued by the British in the

first period and remained effective in the second period. With the transfer of the Government from the Company to the Crown *laissez faire* which had become the political philosophy or industrial policy of England also became the industrial policy of the British Government in India. It might seem paradoxical but it is none the less true that both these apparently contradictory policies worked side by side in India during the period. While indigenous industrial enterprise was denied any support, British commercial industrial and financial interests which had already established virtual monopoly in the country often with the help of Government was left alone. It was not until the beginning of the last War that the Government of India realized the importance of adopting a new economic policy and of encouraging the development of indigenous enterprise. The foundation of this policy was laid down in the Government of India Act of 1919 and has been since then in the process of development. It is too early to judge its results in so short a time.

The economic policy of the Government followed until the beginning of the War has left a three fold effect on the industrial life of the country: first the drain of wealth which has been estimated to be Rs 60 crores a year without any corresponding return in any form<sup>36</sup>. In spite of the fact that there is a possibility of exaggeration and that a part of the drain is re-invested in India herself<sup>37</sup> no country however rich can afford to pay to another country even half of such a sum for over 160 years without being depleted of a large part of its social capital and annual dividend—second decline of indigenous arts and crafts<sup>38</sup>. There is no question but that some of them would have died their natural death in the face of foreign competition but a national Government would have improved and modernized at least a few. Third retarded growth of modern industries. Commercial rivalry of the British industries and the virtual monopolistic control of most of India's key industries by the British have been detrimental to the growth of modern industrial enterprise in India. The former induced the British Government in India to create all the facilities for their imports into India *eg* the imposition of the excise duty on cotton manufactures and the latter opposed the growth of rival indigenous industries *eg* the England and coastal

shipping. The very fact that most of these modern industrial enterprises and public and quasi-public industries such as railways, tramways, irrigation, gas and electricity works were organized and managed by foreigners deprived the indigenous people of all the chances of acquiring knowledge and experience in modern industrial enterprise.

Equally deleterious has been the indirect effect of political subjugation upon industrial efficiency. The effect of ignorance, ill health and poverty upon industrial efficiency has been already discussed. The most important effect of the loss of independence is however moral degradation. The exclusion from all military and most of the civil and medical services as a matter of fact, from all positions of power and responsibility was a great detriment to the growth of national character. Moreover the presence of a socially aloof ruling class with different social attitude and cultural ideal could not but help the growth of inferiority complex or slave mentality among the conquered people who gradually came to doubt the soundness of their own civilization and thus lose self-confidence, initiative and enterprise qualities upon which depends the industrial efficiency of a modern nation.

## 8 INDUSTRIAL BACKWARDNESS

The immediate cause of the industrial inefficiency of India is however the backwardness of the industrial organization. From the earliest times until recently India was and to a large extent still is a country of self-sufficing village economy. The village was the industrial unit where the needs of food products and raw materials were supplied by the cultivators and those of manufactured goods by the artisans. The market was confined to the exchange of local products, and the demand for rare commodities was met by the fair which was held periodically within the reach of almost every village. There is no doubt that in recent years the number of agricultural products raised especially for the market, such as jute, cotton, oilseeds is increasing and that factory products both of foreign and domestic origin are increasingly finding their way into remote villages. But taking the country as a whole both the quantity and variety of such goods are rather insignificant in comparison with those locally produced and consumed.

This self-sufficing village economy has been one of the fundamental causes of India's

industrial stagnation. It has limited the scope of division of labour and hindered the growth in the specialization of land, labour and capital and has thus stood in the way of the growth of skill and ingenuity. The confinement of production to the needs of local consumption restricted the scope of competition and the improvement in the art and speed of production. Moreover, the lack of facilities for cultural contact, which often follows trade relations with the outside world, has retarded social progress which forms the background of industrial efficiency.

The failure to apply modern science and art to productive processes is one of the principal causes of agricultural backwardness. The fertility of soil has been in most cases exhausted through constant cultivation without fertilization. Farmyard manure which is the best and cheapest fertilizer is almost universally burned and artificial fertilizers are too dear to be used by the majority of the cultivators. The lack of adequate knowledge in soil conservation and crop rotation leads to the fallowing of a considerable amount of arable land every year. Due to the ignorance of scientific breeding and feeding, the majority of Indian live-stock are unprofitable and wasteful for the production of labour, milk, meat and hide. Seeds and crops are scarcely selected for the increase in the quantity and quality of the yield and thereby of farm profit. Implements and tools are obsolete and antiquated, pests and parasites visit periodically, destroying crops and live-stock and by-products are scarcely utilized. The holdings are too small for the economic use of improved tools and implements and for the whole-time employment of the cultivator throughout the year. Even the small holding is often sub-divided into smaller plots and scattered over a wide range.

Production has scarcely been adapted to the special needs of the market, nor has there appeared any regional division of production except that which has been forced by geographical necessities such as jute in lower Bengal. Farming as a business is scarcely known to the average cultivator and his colossal illiteracy never enables him to count his cost. After paying high rate of interest and excessive rent often amounting to half or more of his profit, the average cultivator has scarcely any means left to provide his family with the necessities of life, much less to save for agricultural improvement.

The artisan scarcely fares better than the cultivator. In fact, in most cases he is the worse of the two. For centuries neither his tools and implements nor his industrial art has undergone any improvement, nor has the State come to his aid. With antiquated tools and obsolete methods and unaided by society and the State, the Indian artisan has become weaker and weaker in competition with the workers in other parts of the world who are equipped with the most up-to-date knowledge of science and with the latest achievements of mechanical invention and are aided by intelligent society and the benevolent State. In the struggle for commercial supremacy the Indian artisan is thus defeated by foreign competition in his own home market.

In recent years several modern industries have been established especially in relation to mining, planting, manufacturing and transporting. Of these industries the most important are cotton and jute mills, tea gardens, coal mines and engineering workshops. The success of some of these industries has been due to monopoly. But in a vast country like India, modern organized industries are still insignificant in comparison with the old and unorganized ones.

One of the greatest drawbacks to the development of modern industries in India is that there is neither the favourable background nor the congenial atmosphere necessary to its normal and rapid expansion. Although phenomenal progress has been made in certain branches there has not yet been developed either an all-round industrial system nor a combination of related industries with subsidiary and allied processes for the economic utilization of by-product and auxiliary materials. There are still lacking facilities for banking, transport, and marketing, industrial and commercial experience and scientific and technical knowledge which are essential for large-scale economic production. Account must also be taken of the age-long inertia of the old industrial system, the rigidity of ancient social institutions and the colossal illiteracy and ignorance of the masses, all of which are impediments to the growth of both new economic consciousness and new industrial enterprise.

#### REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> Every year there are some matches both in cricket and football in which Indian teams often come out victorious against European teams.

<sup>1</sup> See the author's *Factory Labour in India* pp 107-124.

<sup>2</sup> See the author's *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast* Berlin 1923 pp 45-52.

<sup>3</sup> *Op cit* p 97.

<sup>4</sup> The area (in thousand square miles and the population in millions in brackets) were as follows: 1 (20) in 1860-61, 180 (49) in 1865-67 296 (15) in 1868-1870 51 (22) in 1873-74 257 (59) in 1876-78 307 (68) in 1896-97 and 475 (60) in 1899-1900.

<sup>5</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer of India* 1903 Vol III pp 493-95.

<sup>6</sup> *India in 1923* 1924 Calcutta p 189.

<sup>7</sup> Finch and Baker *Geography of the World's Agriculture* Washington 1919, p 45.

<sup>8</sup> Zutshi *Population and Subsistence in India*, *Modern Review* Calcutta, 1927 September pp 262-263.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Das *Factory Labour in India* Berlin 1923 p 163.

<sup>10</sup> *India in 1927* 1928 Calcutta p 97.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Mahatma Gandhi *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (quoted from *Young India* March 19 1929 p 5) and the late Lajpat Rai *The People* Lahore August 1928 p 28.

<sup>12</sup> Mann H H *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village Study* No 2 p 158.

<sup>13</sup> *Census of India*, 1921 Report 1 123.

<sup>14</sup> *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, 1916-1918 p 162.

<sup>15</sup> *Statistical Abstracts for British India* 1928 p 387.

<sup>16</sup> *Op cit* pp 14 and 15.

<sup>17</sup> *Op cit* p 12.

<sup>18</sup> *Census of India* 1921 Report 1 131-132.

<sup>19</sup> *Annuaire Statistique France* 1924 pp 200 and 204-205. *Statistical Abstract of British India* 1926 p 341. *Census of India* 1921 Report 1 1127.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted by the *Royal Commission Agriculture in India* 1928, Report, p 492.

<sup>21</sup> *Annuaire Statistique France* 1921 pp 204-205. *Statistical Abstract of British India* 1926 p 341. *Census of India* 1921 Report 1 125.

<sup>22</sup> Compiled and adapted from *Annuaire Statistique France* 1923 p 203. The average length of life is given for men and women separately; the figures given here are the unweighted averages of these figures.

<sup>23</sup> *Annuaire Statistique France* 1923 p 200.

<sup>24</sup> For 1885-1890.

<sup>25</sup> *Op cit* p 12.

<sup>26</sup> *Op cit* p 482.

<sup>27</sup> *Annuaire Statistique France* 1924 p 2. Illiterate persons between 15 and 60 in various countries.

Country	Year	Percentage illiterate
Germany	1910	03
Holland	1910	10
France	1910	17
Belgium	1910	89
India	1910	920

<sup>28</sup> Number of school-age children in primary schools in certain countries.

Country	Year	School age children number in thousands	Children in primary schools number in thousands	Percentage of total
England & Wales	1920	5931	5199	87
Scotland	1920	780	681	87
Denmark	1921	470	414	88
Sweden	1921	920	708	76
Austria	1910	4519	4044	89
India	1921	47000	6000	12

(*Annuaire Statistique France* 1922 p 215.)

<sup>29</sup> *Education in certain countries* (the figures are in millions).

Country	Year	Primary	Secondary	Superior	No	Total	Percentage of total population
United States	1918	15.54	2.11	25	17.90	17	
France	1913	5.66	1.5	04	1.83	17	
Belgium	1919	96	04	01	1.01	16	
India	1921	6.00	1.60	70	8.30	3	

Adapted from *Annuaire Statistique France* 1923 pp 213-15. *The Indian Year Book* 1923 p 451.

<sup>30</sup> *India in 1927-28* p 368.

<sup>31</sup> *The World Almanac* 1928 p 262.

<sup>32</sup> *Statistical Abstract for British India and Statesman's Yearbook* for years indicated.

<sup>33</sup> Adapted *Census of India* 1921 Report 1 212-2 277.

<sup>34</sup> This section is rather a recapitulation of a part of the author's article "The Background of the Labour Problem in the *Modern Review* June 1922."

<sup>35</sup> Adapted from the *Census of India* 1921.

<sup>36</sup> Wadia and Joshi *The Wealth of India* London 1925, p 111.

<sup>37</sup> There is a strong argument to the effect that most of the British capital invested in India was

made in India, see the editorial notes *Modern Review* October 1929 p 461.

<sup>38</sup> See Pundit M M Malaviya's Note of Dissent *Indian Industrial Commission* of 1916-18 pp 247-57. Strong combination among the European companies with a view to crush Indian enterprises can be said to be the main cause of gradual decay and premature end of the Indian shipping industry—from a statement of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce to the Indian Mercantile Company in 1925—see Bengal National Chamber of Commerce's plea for the recognition of Indian steamship—*Inland Water Transport* 1929 p 1. Also the editorial notes *Modern Review* July 1929 pp 461-465.



# Anglo-American Rivalry and the Future

By Dr TARAKNATH DAS PhD

**P**OLITICAL realists hold two distinct views regarding the future of Anglo-American relations. One group of statesmen believes that England and the United States are virtually in alliance and this tie is being strengthened through manifold ways. Many prominent Anglo-Saxon statesmen believe in and are working for an Anglo-American alliance which will control the financial resources, raw materials markets and naval power of the world and it will be in a position to sweep away all opposition before it. Recently this view has been very clearly and emphatically expressed by Professor Georges Blondel of the School of Political Sciences of Paris in an article published in *Le Capital*, the important financial journal published from the French capital. The other view is that Anglo-American rivalry in the world of commerce and finance is spreading in the political sphere and the bitterness between these two Powers contending for world supremacy is growing at a very rapid rate.

Many observers of American politics assert that under the present conditions in the USA there is no possibility of a formal Anglo-American alliance approved by the U.S. Senate. The American people in general and politicians are unwilling to get into any form of "entangling alliance." The popular disapproval of any alliance is so strong in America irrespective of party politics that the American delegation in the London Naval Conference had to refuse any consideration of the Mediterranean Non-aggression Pact proposed by France. The attitude of those who are opposed to any form of entangling alliance has been most significantly expressed in an editorial of the *Washington Post*.

"Much as Americans desire general reduction of armaments, they are not willing to join a military alliance now on the promise that reduction will be undertaken in 1936."

"The United States is not responsible for wars that may break out abroad. It should not make itself responsible for preventing foreign wars. By assuming such responsibility it becomes morally obliged to make war if necessary to stamp out a foreign war."

"Who knows where the sympathies of the United States will lie in the next war? Who knows how

or from which quarter war may come? Does the United States wish to assist France in putting down war in Morocco or Great Britain in putting down the war that is impending in India? Are Americans ready to become allies of the great powers in fighting the Russian Soviet or the Chinese Nationalists? If the Soviet and Japan should clash, is it wise to be mortgaged in advance to join the Japanese?"

Every tradition of the United States warns Americans against entanglements with foreign nations. The scheme now being unfolded in London is abhorrent to American traditions and a menace to American freedom from foreign wars. This scheme is subtly conceived and is to be plausibly presented, with the support of many Americans who would ignorantly sacrifice the Nation's vital interest and its future peace for the sake of saving the face of the negotiators in London.

The hour is approaching when the representatives of the United States Government in London and Washington must decide whether they will stand on the solid rock of American independence or ruin themselves as Woodrow Wilson ruined himself in an attempt to entangle the United States in foreign politics.

There is however enough pro-British sentiment in American political and governing circles to see to it that if ever Britain's existence is threatened by an attack from any of the European or Asiatic Powers, the American government may take the side of Britain against other nations menacing the Empire. Yet it must be understood that if Britain blocks the way of American financial and commercial expansion and adopts a policy of thwarting American supremacy (as Britain did against Germany) then there may be an Anglo-American conflict.

Mr Ludwell Denny, the chief editorial writer of the *United Press* (one of the most powerful and possibly the largest American news service) after years of laborious research on various phases of Anglo-American relations feels that a war between Great Britain and the United States is not unthinkable. It is certain that the people of the United States are not planning deliberately a war against Britain nor is it true that the British and American governments are plotting

\* *The Washington Post* (Washington D C) March 10 1930

wars. *Let it is not true that war between Britain and America is unthinkable. On the contrary war between America and Britain is more probable than a war between America and any other Power. This does not mean that such a war is inevitable. It does mean that the causes which have produced other wars and specifically British wars are active in virulent form in Anglo American relations now.* \*

The people of Great Britain did not deliberately will a war against Germany. Far less did the American people but the war against Germany (1914) became a holy war. Similarly a conflict between Britain and America may arise. Those who deny the possibility ignore the basic economic causes of war specifically they ignore the disquieting similarity between Anglo American relations yesterday and Anglo American relations today. The argument that blood is thicker than water and therefore the British and their American cousins will not fight is childish and history of Anglo American relations the Revolutionary war the war of 1812 etc disproves it.

It should not be ignored that while Mr MacDonald was proclaiming before the world that war between Great Britain and America is unthinkable and he was working to lay foundations of a lasting peace between these two nations at the same time the Labour Government like its predecessors the Tories was actively engaged in sending diplomatic and economic missions to South American countries Canada and in Asia to recapture the lucrative markets which the British have lost to America during the last decade.

In a well documented volume of more than four hundred pages Mr Denny has discussed unbiassedly and dispassionately the growing tension between Britain and the United States in various activities. Anglo American rivalry is world wide and is not limited to any particular field. Mr Denny shows that the British Empire is on the decline and the American Empire is rising. Great Britain is unsuccessfully fighting for her life. The United States has not only ousted British commercial and financial supremacy in various countries outside of the British Empire but she is penetrating into the Dominions and displacing British. British industrial system is antiquated and

it cannot compete with the United States with its marvellous industrial efficiency. British statesmen are struggling to hold their own and advocating the creation of United States of the British Empire to combat the economic power of the United States. It is remarkable that responsible statesmen of all parties of Great Britain should agree on this project.

Advocates range all the way from Lord Melchett Lord Beaverbrook Sir Harry McGowan Lord Rothermere and the former Minister for Colonies Mr L. S. Amery to the President of the British Trade Union Congress Mr Beo Tillet. The goal is an Empire Economic Unit with free trade inside and tariff wall outside. The argument is that while the United Kingdom is dependent the Empire is virtually independent in food raw materials industrial equipment and as a mass home market therefore if handled as a unit the United Kingdom's weakness of over production and over industrialization combined with the Dominions under population and agricultural production can create a combined strength for the mutual benefit of all the members of the Empire.

Lord Melchett (Sir Alfred Mond) in his very interesting work *Industry and Politics* discusses the sacred duty of all the members of the British Empire to come close together as an economic unit against all competitors. On general principle the idea of Imperial Economic Union and Imperial Tariff Preference is opposed to American demand for the Open Door. It seems that Great Britain is being successfully ousted from the Dominions by the United States and the following comparative percentages for the years 1913 and 1927 of the share of each in the growing imports of the Dominions tell the story.

Canada—United Kingdom fell from 21.3 to 10.9 U.S. rose from 64.0 to 64.9. Australia—U.K. fell from 51.8 to 43.4 U.S. almost doubled from 13.7 to 24.6. New Zealand—U.K. fell from 57.7 to 47.9 U.S. almost doubled from 3.5 to 18.0. South Africa—U.K. fell from 50.1 to 47.8 U.S. almost doubled from 8.6 to 15.3. In every case Britain lost or gained in the percentage of shares of Dominion exports during the same period Britain has lost in every case and we have gained in every case—Canada—U.K. fell from 49.0 to 33.1 U.S. rose from 37.9 to 38.9. Australia—U.K. fell from 45.2 to 42.0 U.S. rose from 3.5 to 8.8. New Zealand—U.K. fell from 50.1 to 26.1 U.S. rose from 4.0 to 7.3. South Africa—U.K. fell from 51.9 to 46.2 U.S. rose from 0.8 to 2.2. The same thing has happened in India. U.K. percentage of imports fell from 11.2 to 4.7 U.S. rose from 2.6 to 7.9 and of exports U.K. fell from 23.5 to 11.0 U.S. rose from 6.9 to 11.2.

There are various indications of increased British official opposition to American

\* Denny, F. W. *America Conquers Britain*. Published by Alfred A. Knopf (New York and London) 1929. p. 3. Italics are mine.

\* *Ibid* page 91.

† *Ibid* pages 112-113.

commercial expansion in India. For instance Lord Meston who was a Governor of the United Provinces as the Chairman of Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, received an intimation from the Government of Bengal to amend the constitution of the company so that in future the holding of shares in the company by persons who were not British subjects would be limited to 20 per cent of the total number of issued shares and that the directors would be British subjects\*. This change was made but American financiers would not be able to get control of the corporation. Such persons as Col. Wedgwood protested against the change but it was carried out. According to the *Bombay Chronicle* Sir Frederick Sykes the present Governor of Bombay in his recent speech before the Associated Chamber of Commerce of Bombay warned that "the Americans were planning a big invasion of this country (India) in the form of trade encroachment."

British opposition to American trade in India is due to the fact that India is Britain's largest customer but whose retention as such depends on exploitation of the native population under a system maintained by military force.

Anglo American commercial rivalry is very keen in Asia and South America and in these regions American trade expansion has been tremendous. During the period of 1913-1927 "American total export has increased in value 136.8 per cent to the world as a whole the increase to Europe has been only 7.9 per cent—compared for instance with an increase to Asia of 440 per cent and to South America of 297.2 per cent."

Importance of Far Eastern and Latin American markets in the Anglo American trade conflict is very far reaching. "These are the great undeveloped markets large in population and rich in raw materials. They are still in the main agrarian or semi industrialized countries open to development by foreign capital foreign industrial machinery and foreign finished products. They are ready to spend for foreign products the money they receive for their raw materials. It is in these regions that America has been most successful in running ahead of her British rival and all others."

How Great Britain has been surpassed by America in Far Eastern trade can be realized from the following. "When the World War began the two countries (Britain and America) had equal shares of Japan's total imports at 16.8 per cent. But by 1927 Britain lost half of her proportion while America's share had doubled the figure being 70 per cent for Britain and 30.9 per cent for U.S.A. There has been the same trend though less sharp in goods taken from Japan. Britain's share of the total fell from 32 to 33 per cent in the period 1913-1927 while the American ratio rose from 29.2 to 41.9 per cent. Britain's share of China's foreign purchases in 1913 was 16.3 per cent compared with one (America's) 6.0 per cent but in 1926 the British per cent fell to 10.2 while ours rose to 16.4. In the same period the proportion of Japan and Formosa rose from 20.4 to 24.4 per cent. In that period the British increased their share of China's export from 41 to 46 per cent Japan and Formosa from 16.3 to 21.9 per cent while the United States made the largest relative gain with an increase from 9.3 to 17.4 per cent."

It is interesting to note that British business men and even diplomats are engaged in anti American propaganda for their own purposes. "Much of the agitation which has been directed against American goods in the River Plate region is of course not countenanced by the intelligent far sighted Argentine leaders but is stimulated by our European rivals who are endeavouring to capitalize every aspect of anti American feeling." It cannot be denied that Anglo American trade rivalry is as direct and sharp in the Dominions as elsewhere. Britain is losing—despite her Imperial Preference and anti Yankee propaganda—while America is gaining. It is not so easy to dogmatize about the future.

Anglo American rivalry has spread in the field of foreign investment. Britain has now about twenty billion dollars in foreign investments and she is slowly increasing it. The United States—which before the World War was debtor nation to the extent of five billion dollars—has now become a creditor nation. American gross foreign investment is more than fifteen billion dollars (excluding eleven billion dollars war debts).

\* The *Morning Post* (London) January 11, 1930  
† The *Bombay Chronicle* (Bombay) January 23, 1934

‡ Denny, *America Conquers Britain* page 80

§ *Ibid.*, page 80

\* *Ibid.* pp 81-8.

† *Ibid.* 86

‡ *Ibid.* page 81

During the period of 1914-28 American foreign investment has been to the extent of thirteen billion dollars. The geographical distribution in round millions is Europe \$4800, Canada \$1100, Latin America \$5000, Far East and elsewhere \$1200.\* Although at the present time Great Britain's foreign investment is larger than that of the United States it is quite apparent that the former will not be able to hold its dominant position. Because the United States has more surplus capital for foreign investment than Great Britain. It is very significant that American corporations and business interests have penetrated into Great Britain to such an extent that some of the British corporations are taking steps so that the Americans would not be able to secure control of important industries. In fact, various corporations such as British General Electric Company, Marconi and others have adopted measures that American shareholders will neither have vote nor representation on the Board of Directors. In short the British are adopting measures against American industrial expansion in every possible way.

Every student of international trade and economics knows that there is a keen rivalry between Great Britain and the United States on the control of raw materials such as rubber, oil, potash, copper, etc. British rubber monopoly led to such hard feeling between America and Great Britain that President Hoover as the Secretary of Commerce took a deliberate stand against British rubber policy and this forced the British to change their attitude. Rubber being a great essential to various modern industries the United States business men and Government have started out to secure adequate rubber supply under American control. Mr. Ford has already secured a large concession in Brazil and Mr. Firestone has started a very large rubber plantation in Liberia. It seems that America has broken British rubber monopoly.

Modern industries and modern navies and aircrafts are dependent upon oil, and both Great Britain and the United States are trying hard to secure control over the oil resources of the world. This has led to acute rivalry. Before the World War American oil magnates had advantage over those of Great Britain, but as it stands today British Government itself has entered

into corporations dealing in oil and the British have the major part of world's oil reserves in their control. Anglo-American rivalry has become serious and alarming. Mr. Denny sums up the situation in the following manner:

The oil problem of the United States is acute. Industry and the army and navy are dependent on adequate future reserves. The demand is increasing. The supply is decreasing. Domestic resources (of the United States) under a competitive and wasteful system are being rapidly exhausted. American acquisition of foreign reserves is blocked in many places by Great Britain. The British have been more successful than Americans in grabbing foreign fields. The British Government virtually excludes Americans from productive areas of the Empire. The British are conserving their reserve while helping to drain American pools. The situation produces a basic conflict between American and British companies and between the Washington and London governments. The conflict is intensified by British Government ownership and direction of a company which is reaching out for territories flanking the Panama Canal. Oil is also drawing the Washington Government into dangerous disputes with Latin American, European and Asiatic countries over property rights. But these manifold conflicts converge in the struggle between the United States and Britain over the world's limited petroleum reserve as determining weapon in their rivalry for commercial and naval supremacy. In retaliation for Great Britain's policy and position there is a growing demand that British companies be excluded from American fields. Already there are laws excluding foreign companies from American Government lands.

The record of American oil diplomacy during the last decade shows that the Conservation Board enunciated no new policy. Belligerent support of American oil companies abroad is conceived as a fundamental and continuing policy. The struggle continues in Mexico and Central America over (American) supremacy is maintained against British opposition. The London Government through the Columbia concession plan manoeuvres for strategic position dominating the Panama Canal but so far has been blocked. Hostile competition increases in Venezuela, with Americans leading. The Mosul Peace is favourable to us. The struggle in North Persia grows with a Yankee named oil adviser to the Government and a French flaming against the British. In Russia the British have lost to Standard for a while at least. The sales battle between Standard and allied British companies in India was part of attempted American penetration behind the Empire's lines from Suez to Singapore. The front extends around the world.

At first it was chiefly commercial rivalry between companies. Later on the London Government was involved. Then Washington. Now the British and American peoples are being aroused. The public has been in no mood to champion the cause of any oil company at home or abroad. If the sentiment is changing. The danger point will be reached when a near-shortage drives prices upwards, and American automobile owners are told the British have cornered most of the world supply. Mr. Hoover's anti-British campaign because

of rubber monopoly shows how it is done. What will happen when the enraged force of public opinion is added to the commercial motives of the oil companies and the defence incentives of the Government? Washington will not compromise on this, is it? The policy of Wilson of Harding of Coolidge is the policy of Hoover. For as President Coolidge explained. It is even probable that the supremacy of nations may be determined by the possession of available petroleum and its products.\*

In this connection one cannot ignore the fact that if the American oil companies would not have come to the rescue of the Allied and Associated Powers against Germany during the World war then it would not have been possible for them to win the victory so easily. It is also a fact that the lack of oil resources on the part of Germany was one of the important causes of her defeat. However the most significant thing is that the Standard Oil Company to fight the British monopoly, especially the Royal Dutch Shell the Anglo Persian and Burma Oil Combination has sought the aid of the great German Dye Trust which has perfected the most valuable Bergius process for the commercial liquefaction of coal to produce oil and the Standard Oil of New Jersey has already become identified with the I G Farbenindustrie (the German Dye Trust) in the commercial development of the latter company's hydrogenation process for the manufacture of petroleum products.

Battles for trade routes and control of means of communications—telegraphs, wireless, and radio companies—is intense between Britain and the United States. The following extracts from an article entitled *The Venice of British Interest*, published in the *Journal of the Royal Empire Society*, by Mr Roland Belfort, director of Marconi subsidiaries, will give an idea of British attitude towards American competition.

After all when any nation prosperous ambition stirred by a nascent imperialism resolves upon the pursuit of world power what is the first consideration? Obviously the creation and development of the principal elements of power as understood in these competitive times: (1) An Army, (2) A Navy, (3) A mercantile marine. (4) The control of an extensive system of world telegraph communications—submarine, terrestrial, aerial and subterranean. (5) Control of such raw materials as cannot be produced within its own borders. (6) Diplomatic status commensurate with its territorial importance, its population and its natural and acquired resources.

With admirable judgment the Americans are concentrating their efforts upon communications—the vital link of all financial and trading operations. They now control about 90 thousand miles of the

world's 330 thousand miles of ocean cable plus vast radio and telephonic networks. Developments are being actively realized in the United States and many foreign countries. Alliances are being considered destined to promote the consummation of their published programmes. Very shortly their activities must produce a serious effect on British cable and wireless revenues, profits and dividends. Today the British and the Americans are again standing in battle array.\*

Major General Hardbord, President of the Radio Corporation of America gives the American attitude towards British domination of communications. He writes:

The new combined British communications interests will effect American relationships in every part of the world. There will hardly be a port or a principal city on the planet which will not be reached by British communications. American trade in every quarter of the globe cannot but be profoundly affected. The defence of the United States must reckon with the planetary domination of communications by the British.†

The above statements cannot be dismissed as mere chauvinism on the part of jingoists. They are jingoistic interpretation of facts—but of facts none the less. That Britain and America are struggling for planetary domination of communications that they are facing each other in battle array that this conflict is a major part in the naval and military plans of both governments are facts as undeniable as they are dangerous.‡

There is Anglo American Naval rivalry and this cannot be denied. Various naval conferences have been held to bring about a working agreement. So far there is no satisfactory solution because the naval programmes of Britain and America are for their national defence which does not preclude an Anglo American war. In this connection Anglo American rivalry has branched into the field of merchant marines of these nations. The American Government has seen the importance of building up an American merchant marine as "naval reserve" and it has started to aid American companies with financial aid and legal protection of the coastwise trade. By the Treaty of Versailles Great Britain thought to have destroyed the German navy and German merchant marine. But the Germans have come back with a new merchant marine which is cutting into British supremacy. It should not be overlooked that both the Nord Deutscher Lloyd and the Hamburg America

\* *Ibid.*, pp. 400-401.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 401-402.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 402.

Line are being substantially helped by American capital. More than 20 per cent of the stock of Nord German Lloyd is held by Americans. Mr Denny has summarized the situation in the following manner:

The United States is thus rebuilding a new German commercial fleet. This is a combination of American capital and German skill—similar to the combination in the chemical, automobile, aviation, electrical and other industries—to compete with the British. The effect is three-fold. First, it makes Britain's task of maintaining a profitable merchant marine naval reserve more difficult. Second, it enables American capital to profit in the trans Atlantic trade with vessels of lower operating cost and stronger competitive power than American flag ships. Third, it retains the most lucrative coastwise and Atlantic-Pacific trade for American flag ships, which under the protective policy excluding foreign ships enables this country to build up a merchant naval reserve.

From the above analysis of Anglo-American relations one is inclined to think that unless the growing tension in economic spheres can be checked through consolidation of common interests an Anglo-American war is not only a possibility but inevitable. It

may be argued by many American liberals and pacifists that the peoples of Great Britain and America would not stand for any such conflict. But the pacifists in general have no conception of realities of world politics and they are impractical, and unless they become more practical they will have very little influence in preserving peace or averting war. In this materialistic age international relations are determined not by idealism but through national interests. Dominant and growingly more powerful America may act generously towards Great Britain, but it is not conceivable that she will surrender her power and influence to any other nation. Therefore if peace is to be preserved between Great Britain and America British statesmen will have to visualize the new situation and have to accept American supremacy in world affairs. British statesmanship may win a greater victory through recognition of American supremacy and friendship. This can only be possible when they recognize the fact that to surrender to the inevitable is not humiliating.

\* II 1 page 900

## Gold Exchange in Theory and Practice \*

A REVIEW

By Dr H. SINHA

THE author is better known as a historian than as an economist and we welcome him in his new role. Who ever knew that our financial year corresponds with the Buddhist year? Who is the author of *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia* could give such a detailed account of the currency systems in the Far East?

The first chapter is devoted to an exposition of Siamese currency and exchange after the closing of the mint in 1907. There is incorporated an interesting table of critical values of different silver coins quaintly defined as those prices of silver at which the intrinsic value of the coin equals its nominal value. It would have been better to speak of the lullian value being equal to the exchange value. The importance of the exchange rate has been ignored. It is not quoted in the table although the other data required such as the weight and fineness of the coins have been given. But the author has lucidly described the theory and practice of currency regulation in times of unprecedented rise in the price of silver far

above the critical values. Thus all the three exponents—raising the rate of exchange diminishing the weight of the coin and reducing its fineness—are examined in detail. It is interesting to note that with the rate at 2s. 1d. and the rupee at 1s. 4d., at about the end of 1927 Siamese rice could not compete with Indian rice a position reversed at the present time.

In the next chapter there is an equally clear account of the currency system of the Straits Settlements. Their Note Guarantee Fund is our Paper Currency Reserve. Their Depreciation Fund is made up of the net profit from invested reserves less the expenses of administration. The author then passes on to the Philippine system and shows clearly that currency theories cannot be divorced with impunity. The realizations from the "Reverse Council Sales" in the Philippines that is to say the proceeds of the sale of exchange on New York were credited to the local banks and there was no contraction of currency thus frustrating the object of imparting strength to the exchange rate. A similar blunder was made in India with the same disastrous results. In the Philippines the evil was aggravated by investing the sale proceeds in long term loans.

This is followed by an examination of the

\* A Comparative Study of the Gold Exchange Settlements in England After the War. By R. B. Ryan. By Clarendon Press (London). D. Pitt (Punjab). The Book Co Ltd Calcutta, pp 308.

Dutch East Indies currency system Dr Chatterji has quoted Dr Vissering to show that the basic principle of Gold Exchange Standard was in operation in the country long before 1877 when the system was officially inaugurated. For in 1845 when the Government stopped the minting of copper coins, they issued what were called "silver certificates." Silver was payable in exchange for them in Holland but not in the Colony, and they were declared unlimited legal tender thus setting up a Silver Exchange Standard. The adoption of Gold Exchange Standard was mainly due to the far-sighted policy of Dr N. P. Van Den Berg the able President of the Java Bank. It is interesting to recall that he criticized very severely the banking and currency system of India in two articles in 1884 reprinted in the form of a pamphlet on 'The Money Market and Paper Currency of British India,' pointing out the results achieved by his own bank. The next two chapters describe the currencies of British East Africa, the Argentine Republic and Brazil and show that the problem were not the same in each case.

Dr Chatterji then passes on to the Indian Currency system. He recalls familiar history but in picturesque language says he

Since the introduction of the Gold Exchange Standard in India, the Government had always tried to safeguard against one danger, a depreciating rupee. To the other danger, that of the appreciating rupee, they had been almost as blind as the one-eyed deer in Esop's fable. The danger now came as in the fable from the very direction in which no danger was apprehended.

The position after 1920 (when this thesis was completed) has been described in an Appendix in which the main recommendations of the Hilton Young Commission have been summarized.

In the next chapter the recent currency history of China—as chaquered as her political history—has been lucidly described. In the first place, there was the administrative difficulty of preventing counterfeiters to token coins which are inherent in Gold Exchange Standard. Secondly, there was no expert of her own in China able to run a complicated currency system nor in her existing political temper could she agree to requisition the services of a foreign expert. On the top of all there were political disturbances upsetting economic activities in all directions.

The subsequent chapter on Indo-Chinese currency system shows the complications brought about by superimposing the money of European commerce on the indigenous monetary system which was theoretically sound but not workable with sufficient ease.

It comprised coins of gold, silver, copper and zinc, which corresponded exactly with the systems of weight of Annam. The gold and silver coins had even the names of weights. But the Government did not claim to fix the relative values of gold and silver. The gold and silver coins were made in the Government mints, but individuals shared with the Prince (or the feulatory chief

of Annam) the right of melting gold and silver bars and putting them into circulation."

In the following chapter is given an account of the currency systems of South Africa, New Zealand, Egypt and Japan which had drifted into Gold Exchange Standard. In the next chapter the tendencies noticeable in European currency systems are sought to be analysed.

The last chapter is devoted to a critical examination of the Gold Exchange system and a refutation of current Indian views by calling in the aid of non-Indian authorities. Unfortunately, Dr Chatterji shows an undue bias in favour of the Gold Exchange system. He even describes *Symmetrical Standard* as a *Bimetallic Exchange Standard* overlooking the cardinal fact that under the former, *billon* and *not* exchange is to be given for notes to be used for internal circulation. He goes so far as to state that stability in internal prices is easier of attainment under Gold Exchange Standard than under Gold Standard with gold currency. One fails to see any difference so far as internal prices are concerned in the various forms of Gold Standard—whether Gold Exchange Standard, Gold Bullion Standard or Gold Standard with gold currency—seeing that currency is linked to gold in every case and not to the internal price level as in the Isometric Standard. Theories apart there are a few practical considerations in the case of India. Keynes has stated that gold for gold currency in India can be made available without any undue strain on the world's gold resources. He also agrees in the view that gold currency would invite Indian opinion. But he points out that gold put into circulation will pass into hoards. A devoted disciple of Marshall like him should not confuse between short period and long period effects. Whatever the immediate consequences of gold currency may be, there is but little doubt that it is through familiarity with gold as currency that people can be weaned from uneconomic hoarding habit so that gold may finance productive enterprises here as elsewhere. In fact this is one of the strongest arguments for gold currency.

The book abounds in printing mistakes, only a few being pointed out in the *Corrigenda*. Its value would have been considerably enhanced if the materials in the Appendix could be incorporated in the book itself. In spite of the easy flowing style there is sometimes an abrupt break in the narrative. But the author deserves our best thanks for the valuable information gleaned by personal interviews and from original records which throws light on the obscurities and complexities in the currency systems of many countries.

\* The author is in error in supposing that it was Marshall who first suggested this standard. There is a reference to this system in Sir James Stewart's *Principles of Money* published as early as 1772.

# Character Training

By DR SUDHINDRA BOSE

It is one of the heartening signs of the times that thoughtful men are envisaging education in the spirit of life. Life is dynamic, progressive and co-operative, so should our education be. Life is friendly, education must develop a social spirit. If life is idealistic, education must aim high. The old idea was to isolate the scholar and life. Education meant fleeing from the world, becoming a monk, poring over books and walking alone, contemplating them. The newer philosophy has discarded the old idea. Education is being brought as close to life as possible—is being made a part of life. American educators are agreed that education must be based upon the fundamental facts of life. As we would have life, so must our education be.

I am not at all sure that our parents and teachers in India are willing to build the education of the child on the actual facts of life. Take for instance this matter of moral training. How do they go about it? They are engaged in creating patterns of behaviour. With them character is repression, inhibition, prohibition and taboos. The child must conform to the behaviour pattern all ready made out and drifed. Playing the rôle of high and mighty rigorists, they indulge in moral preachments. They do seem to realize that the good life cannot be planted in a child by the method of moralizing. Apparently oblivious of child psychology, they thrust virtues in chunks down the throats of the young ones, and thereby obstruct the free play of their minds and offend their tastes and intelligence. Children are human beings.

A better knowledge of life would have taught our pseudo educationists that the coercive method of character training harms and cripples rather than helps the child. American scientists at their laboratories have found out, after prolonged character research, that the best method of teaching character is the indirect or the natural method. They have discovered from scientific tests that the children who came from schools where development of virtues was stressed

obtrusively were in later life decidedly less virtuous than the children from school where morals were not drilled into them. As a result of their early training marked by dark moralizing, rectitude they suffer from all sorts of complex fixations and inhibitions. Hence the leaders of American education advocate that the character training of children should be done through helpful suggestions, imagination, moral response and by natural means. The teacher as one has put it should be the artist in character training rather than the didactician.

My honoured friend Dr Edwin D. Starbuck, Head of the Department of Philosophy at the State University of Iowa and Director of Character Research has just brought out a most valuable book entitled *A Guide to Books for Character*\*. At the opening of the volume Professor Starbuck says that character cannot be created, it may be elicited and stimulated. Morals cannot be taught like diseases they are caught. The race has thus far made little use of a positive pedagogy of morals. It has adopted the quick and easy methods of precept, command, threat, punishment, repression. Commands repel, images attract. Prohibitions arouse defiance, symbols awaken the sympathies. Punishments brutalize, spontaneous choice of values brings grace and truth.

Professor Starbuck rightly holds that children's minds should not be belaboured with sticks of virtue. Character consists of the sum of one's attitudes at any given moment, which determine how one will act in and feel toward any specific situation. The question then in character education is to appeal to fundamental attitudes like heroism, courage, love or curiosity. The Iowa educator has come to the conclusion that literature is one of the best means of appealing to desired attitudes.

The present work which is a guide to

\* *A Guide to Books for Character* Vol II By Edwin D. Starbuck. The Macmillan Company 1921



fiction was preceded by another volume furnishing a guide to fairy tale myth and legend. In the two books are to be found the most reliable guides to the best of children's literature. With these two works on hand the parent at home the teacher in the school room or the librarian in the school library can have no difficulty in selecting children's reading to foster and develop character traits. Volume III which will be a guide to biography is now under way. When the entire series is complete it will run to eight volumes including guides to poetry drama narrative music and art.

Volume II as a Baedeker to the world of children's fiction has a magnificent plan carried out in a magnificent way. From a vast mass of fiction the book lists selections designed to stimulate the moral impulses towards right conduct and right sympathy resulting progressively in moral thoughtfulness. It even gives references to Sanskrit stories which are available in English. There is no attempt anywhere in the selections to rub in the morals or pull the plums out of the moral pudding. The whole volume is an illustration of the natural or dynamic method of instruction even though it is not an anthology.

I am not unmindful of the fact that there is among some of the school masters of India a strong prejudice against works of fiction. Dr Starbuck on the contrary believes that fiction along with

drama is one of the most moving of all the arts to stir human impulses. Its possibilities in developing character are immense. He quotes Walter Besant who rings out the truth:

"The novel converts abstract ideas into living models; it gives ideas; it strengthens faith; it preaches a higher morality than is seen in the actual world; it commands the emotions of pity, admiration and terror; it creates and keeps alive the sense of sympathy; it is the universal teacher; it is the only book which the great mass of reading mankind ever do read; it is the only way in which people can learn what other men and women are like; it redeems their lives from dullness; puts thoughts, desires, knowledge and even ambitions into their hearts."

Let us abolish the unthinking unfeeling befuddled pedagogues who in their ignorance are battling against stories and novels. They are prior that they are deserve annihilation.

Dr Edwin D. Starbuck in his *Guide to Books for Character* has shown the scientific way to train the child's character. It is worth more than a whole library of didactic literature which is in the long run apt to be retrogressive in its reaction. The method of instruction the author has outlined is dynamic; it is close to life. If it is followed in India it will re-create Indian homes and Indian schools.

## Some Farmans of Shah Jahan

BY DEWAN BAHADUR KRISHNA LAI M. JHAVERI M. A. I. I. B. J. P.

THE late Mr. A. Kinloch Forbes had great love for Gujarat where he served for a number of years in the early fifties of the Nineteenth Century. He founded many institutions while there for the encouragement of the literature of Gujarat and collected materials for writing a history of the province. His well known book the *Rasnala* has proved of great use to students of history. Towards the end of his service he was elevated to the Bench

of the Bombay High Court as a Puisne Judge and while there he founded a Society called the Forbes Gujarati Sabha\* to which he bequeathed several manuscripts including a few Persian Sanads, Farmans and inscriptions. A list of them has been published along with that of manuscripts

\* It was first named Gurmat Sabha. Then on the death of Mr. Forbes his name was associated with it and it was called the Forbes Gujarati Sabha.

in other languages at present in the Society's possession and it shows that some of them are of great historical value. Unfortunately they are not the originals but copies got made by Mr Forbes most probably as the owners of the original documents would not part with them on account of their great value to them. But judging from the contents and the appearance of the copies there does not seem to be any reason to suppose that they are not true copies. Accordingly they have been relied on for purposes of this article.

The name of Shantidas Jhaveri was well known all over Gujarat and as far as Delhi as a very wealthy and religious Jain inhabitant of Ahmedabad in the Seventeenth Century. He was honoured alike by the people and the Emperor. He was known as the Nagarsheth of Ahmedabad and the Nagarsheth family of that place still carries on the noble traditions founded by him. The Emperors addressed him as Zabdut ul Akran the Chosen (one) of the Age—and in all royal farman he is so styled. Thus Shantidas Jhaveri had built a magnificent Jain temple in Saraspur, a suburb of Ahmedabad called the Temple of Chintamani Parasnath in A.D. 1692. For twenty-three years the Jains worshipped at this temple undisturbed but when Aurangzeb became the Viceroy of Gujarat he desecrated it and converted it into a mosque (A.D. 1645) and named it the Quwwat ul Islam (the Strength of Islam). A complaint was made to the Emperor and he redressed it and the farman ordering its restoration is found in the collection of the Forbes Gujarat Sabha.

It bears the seal of Mohammad Dara Shikoh the son of Shah Jahan Badshah Gazi and the date 21st of Jamadi II A.D. 1081\* granted during the Ruzat of Beharimal. It is addressed as usual to the Governors and Subas present and future of the province of Gujarat, but specially to one Gairat Khan a sincere and loyal officer and recipient of many royal favours. Its material portion runs as follows: That since formerly in respect of the temple of Zabdut ul Akran the Chosen (one) of the Age—Shantidas Jhaveri a royal order had been issued in the name of Umdat ul Mulk Shant Khan to the effect that Shahzada Sultan Aurangzeb Bahadur had constructed

in that place (the temple) some Meherabarches (to serve as places for prayer)—and had given it the name of a mosque that after Mulla Abdul Hakim had represented to His Majesty that the building by reason of its dependence on the proprietary rights of another cannot be considered a mosque according to Islamic Law in order was issued that that building was the property of Shantidas and by reason of the figure of an arch which the renowned Prince had newly constructed in that place Shantidas should not be troubled and that the arch should be removed and the building handed over to him.

This is probably the order of restoration made by Shah Jahan referred to by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in Appendix V at p. 315 of Volume III of his *History of Aurangzeb*.

The Farman however does not end here. It proceeds further the portion quoted above gives a succinct history of events up to the date of its issue in order to explain what follows which is thus:

Now at this time a (fresh) order has been issued that the prayer arch which the Victorious Prince of exalted dignity has constructed may be retained and a wall constructed near the arch as a screen between the temple and the arch. Consequently it is ordered that since His Exalted Majesty has as an act of favour granted the aforesaid temple to Shantidas he should be in possession of it according to previous custom and he may perform devotions in that place according to his faith and no one should hinder or trouble him.

Further royal clemency follows toward the latter part of the farman. It seems that some fakirs (may be beggars) had taken up their abode there the farman therefore ordered that the officers should see to it that Shantidas was freed from their trouble and quarrels.

His other complaint was also remedied. He had represented to His Majesty that some persons from the Bohra community had carried away the materials of the temple (evidently when violent hands were laid on it). The Emperor therefore ordered that supposing there was truth in the complaint then those materials should be taken back from them and restored to Shantidas and that in case the materials had been used up their cost recovered from them and paid to Shantidas.

There is a sequel to this desecration.

\* The year seems to be incorrectly copied as Shah Jahan was not alive then.

conversion and restoration of this famous temple which has been referred to in the *Mirat e Ahmadi* (Persian Text Part II Gakwad's Oriental Series at p 322 After referring to the foundation and construction of the temple and its conversion into a mosque the author says that several images of Parasnath whom the Shrivaks (Jains) worship had been made (by them) from marble stone and they were expecting the day of their installation when by the decrees of fate the House of the Idols became the House of Eternity However two out of these images each weighing about a hundred mound had been preserved by them under the excuse of breaking them (up) and buried under the earth At this time (circa 1157) his (Shantidas) heirs seeing the weakness of Islam and the removal from the minds of men of the (feeling of the) protection of the Religion and (seeing) its followers desirous of and inclined towards securing worldly trash obtained (the necessary) permission by giving bribes and brought them out and conveyed them to the city loaded on waggons in sight of the people (publicly) and installed them in the temple underground which they had from of old and where they were worshipping their idols secretly on account of the fear of the followers of Islam In this way they now made their worship publicly

Shantidas was possessed of much invaluable property in and about the city in the shape of *havelis* (mansions or large houses) shops farms and gardens He was being troubled in his enjoyment and administration of that property He therefore applied to His Majesty and again we find a farman issued through Prince Dara Shikoh (1610-1615) asking the royal officers to desist from annoying him He was a merchant and a jeweller and a well to do of the Court. He possessed several *havelis* shops farms and gardens in accordance with the royal mandate for these reasons, the officers "should forbid any one molesting in the *havelis* and they were also to see that no one caused him any annoyance by reason of his charging rent for the shops or by trespassing into the gardens which he possessed in accordance with the royal order The Governors were as usual ordered to see that he was not troubled under the excuse of examining his accounts and of other legal technicalities and thus extend the hand of (administrative) control over his

and his children's wealth and property This would lead to composure of his mind and he would pray for the continuance of the sovereignty This farman is dated the second day of the month (Hulu) of Shehriar in the 8th year (of accession)

Some of these properties are referred to in a Gujarati document of the Samvat year 1771\* It is a deed of mortgage written out on cloth seven or eight years after the death of Aurangzeb the mortgagor and the mortgagee both being *Mudh Gwabhuya Banis* The mortgagor lived at Ujjain and acted through an agent called his *Vakil* It is a document nearly 210 years old and shows the methods of what lawyers call conveyancing in the towns of Gujarat then In the beginning are mentioned the date and the year and the day of the week of the execution then a long list of names headed by the name of the Emperor at Delhi (Farrukh Shah Farrukhsavar Bahadur at this time) of the local officers down to *Kanungos* and *Havildars* then the names of the parties then a very minute and detailed description of the boundaries of the property then the consideration (in this case Rs 401 of the *Bakharani* currency) then the rights and privileges of the parties including the right of pre-emption for which provision was made The Hindu honorific title of *Shri* is placed against the name of the Emperor and of against those of the *Vazir* and the *Sadr* (Viceroy) *Ajit Singh* who was at *Jodhpur* then The property was situated in *Shri Sri Havelin Chikla* (these *Havelin* or mansions are referred to in Shah Jahan's farman as belonging to Shantidas) and while giving the four boundaries the houses of Shantidas *Jhaveri* are referred to in this way the wall of the room (in the *Vakil*) abuts on the *Farakhauri* of the family of *Shah Sheth Shantidas*

Shantidas had great influence at the *Muzal* Court. He made use of it to secure protection of pilgrims who resorted in large numbers to one of the sacred places of the Jains In the third year of Shah Jahan's reign he approached the Emperor and got him to issue the following order (dated the 29th of Moharram) The officers of the *Sarkar* of *Sorath* were told that in that *Sarkar*

\* See the *Jun Yuga* *Mansar* Pesh 1985 a Gujarati monthly edited by Mohanlal D Desai B. A. LL. B.

† *Mokure* houses (?) or privies (?)

there was the village of Palitana, where a place of worship of Hindus called Shetrunja was situated, that people from the surrounding parts resorted to it for pilgrimage, that that village, out of royal grace, was given in Inam to the Zubdat ul-Alam (Shantidas), that they should therefore recognize the gift and not trouble him, nor those persons who came there for purposes of pilgrimage.

It may be mentioned that another Jain by name Hirbh Parmmandji had already secured a farman from Jahangir, that no fees were to be demanded from Jain pilgrims proceeding to Sorath to worship at the Shetrunja Temples. He had also obtained an order prohibiting the slaughter of animals on two days in a week, Sundays and Thursdays, in addition to certain other days of the year, throughout the Empire. This farman is also in the Society's collection.

Shantidas had his detractors and evil wishers amongst his own community. That was natural and they too laid their complaints against him at the feet of His Majesty. There is a farman (dated 27th Rajab-ul-Mumarrab A. H. 1034, 18th year of his accession) which sets out the fact that from amongst the Mahajans of Ahmedabad, the section called Lonkas approached His Majesty and represented that Shantidas,

Surdas and other Mahajans were not dining nor forming any connections, with them (intermarrying). They therefore desired His Majesty to order Shantidas and his partisans to do so. Shantidas' influence at the Court seems to have prevailed and His Majesty took up apparently a neutral attitude, but really turned the tables on the complainants. His Majesty stated that according to the dictates of (his) religion whether or not to interdine or enter into connections mutually, (intermarry), depends on the goodwill and desire of both parties and hence if they (Shantidas and his people) desired to do so, they should interdine and form connections with the other party. But if they did not desire to do so, then no one was to trouble them in that respect, nor to harass them. Notwithstanding this Order, if any one did so (harass), then he would be tried according to religion, and justice vindicated. So that no one should act contrary to the Order.

This farman again bears the seal of Mohammad Dara Shikoh.

As stated above there are other farmans in the collection besides these, which have been selected as they form a group bearing on the affairs of one individual, an outstanding Hindu personality of those times.

## Art and Archaeological Treasures at Polonnaruwa\*

*Illustrated with Copyright Photographs by the Author*

### IV STRUCTURES SACRED TO BUDDHISM

By ST NIHAL SINGH

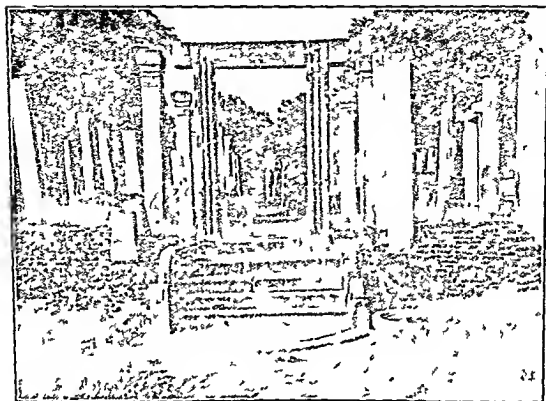
#### I

TO the west of the Vat-dage—the circular relic house that I described in the preceding article\*—and separated from it by a few feet, are the ruins of a small, unidentified shrine. Since they occupy a prominent position in the so-called 'Quadrangle,' it is fairly safe to assume that the structure, though not large, must have been of some importance in the Jetavan group.

Only about twenty-five feet in length and the same in breadth, the building appears to have consisted of a shrine with a hall at the front. Mr H C P. Bell, for many years Archaeological Commissioner of the Ceylon Government, is of the opinion that the front hall was divided into chambers by partitions and that a narrow passage which ran along the east wall afforded entrance to the room at the back. Nothing is left of the building but the brick base, a smooth granite moonstone at the foot of a series of undecorated

\* This article must not be reprinted nor translated in or outside India without first securing the written consent of the Author.

\* Published in the Modern Review for April 1930



Ruins of Vihare No. 2, Polonnaruwa

slab steps traces of vimana wall and a statue of black stone further darkened with age.

It is not even known whether the statue originally formed part of the building. A generation or so ago when the Archaeological Department started a campaign to clear the order out of the chaos that prevailed at that time it was found near the place and was set up provisionally. All effort having failed to provide definite information concerning it, it has remained there.

As will be seen from the photograph that appeared with the preceding article (page 401 of the April issue of the *Modern Traveller*) the statue is considerably worn. The tall head-dress, perhaps not deeply carved in the first place, has wasted away through centuries of exposure to wind and weather. The arms have disappeared.

The features are distinctly Mongoloid. The craftsman who carved them was perhaps a Cambodian or was greatly influenced by the Cambodian art tradition. His touch

was sure. He worked with restraint. The result of his effort, judged by what remains of it, gives an impression of serenity—serenity illumined by bliss and intelligence.

The Sinhalese imagine that the statue was meant to represent King Kirti Nissanka Malla (1187-1196 A.D.) of whom I have said something in the first article and shall have more to say later in this. Not a shred of evidence is there to support the theory. The legend nevertheless survives.

## II

A few feet to the west of the statue is a stone enclosure—the *Nissankamalla Manla-paya*—which King Kirti Nissanka Malla is known to have built. In front of it—that is to say to the north—are a series of ruined shrines. One at the extreme west had gone past repair. The one next to it—known as Vihare No. 2 in archaeological lore—is in a slightly better condition. The most easterly of the three ruins, Vihare No. 1,

believed to be the shell of the temple that King Nissanka Malla built to enshrine the left canine tooth of Gautama the Buddha which according to the *Sinhalese Chronicles* had been brought to Lanka in the fifth century A.D. by the Princess Hemamala of Kalinga and her husband known as Dharmapala. The people speak of this particular building as the *Heta da ge* in the belief that sixty (some say eight) relics were deposited in it.

because the eight pillars that rise from the stone platform in the centre of the stone-ruled enclosure are shaped to look like gigantic lotus stems swaying in the breeze. The entire conception has been carried out with such fidelity to nature and such remarkable restraint has been shown in the ornamentation that the result is a veritable poem in granite. For unity of design and skill in execution it compares favourably even with the *Vata da ge* which however is

planned upon a much more ambitious scale. The stone platform measures some twenty feet in length and is about fourteen feet in breadth. The pillars from base to capital are eight feet in height.



General view showing Nissanka Malla Mahapaya (Nissanka Flower Tree Hall)

mortice indicating that a final of some sort possibly an image had been fixed in it.

During the eighties of the last century when Mr Samuel Burrows first set eyes on this miniature stupa he found it broken into three pieces which were lying on the ground in one corner. Since then the pieces have been carefully fitted together.

Around the rectangular platform ran a perambulatory path four feet ten inches wide. The stones with which it was originally paved have been shut in their proper places and where pieces were missing new slabs have been inserted.

Along the outer edge of this path runs a stone railing reminiscent in a general way of the one round the *tope* at Sanchi in Bhopal State. Whereas however in Central India the stone used for the purpose was rounded so as to suggest unplanned wood saved off from a log in Polonnaruwa the uprights and cross bars are squared.

A rectangular block rises eight inches above the ground. Into this block is fitted a plinth seven inches in depth. Uprights five feet one inch in height their tops carved to resemble lotus buds are fitted into the plinth at regular intervals. The twenty-eight posts are joined together by three series of horizontal cross bars of granite carefully fitted into sockets.

In the middle of the east face of the ruling four tall squared stone pillars rise about half as high again is the railing. Over them is a stone roof with a slightly curved top made from a single slab.

This is the only entrance to the *Nissanka Lata Mandapaya*. It is severely plain depending for effect upon form and not upon ornamentation.

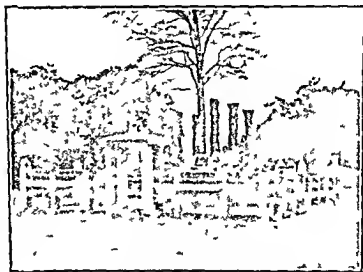
The work viewed as a whole is singularly pleasing. Judging by it the stone-masons of Kirti Nissanka Malla's time possessed great skill.

### IV

Despite the wealth of inscriptions on the pavilion itself and references to it in lithic

records found in other places on the "Quadrangle" it is impossible to state definitely the purpose it was intended to serve. Mr Burrows thought that the tooth relic must have been publicly exhibited from the top of the miniature stupa in the centre of the pavilion. He came to that conclusion partly upon the evidence that he believed was contained in the inscription on the *Galpola*.

The *Nissanka Lata Mandapaya* is referred to in that inscription as one of the works erected by that monarch but the purpose for which it was built is not disclosed. At the time that Burrows penned



The Nissanka Lata Mandapaya (Nissanka Flower Trail Hall)

his report comparatively little had been done in the way of deciphering and translating lithic and other inscriptions. He therefore is not to be blamed for making the suggestion that he did. It is moreover not at all unlikely that time may eventually justify him in that conjecture.

The very character of the structure lends colour to some such theory as that advanced by Burrows. Even if the eight lotus pillars supported a roof as they well may have done the sides were open. No traces showing that any walls existed have been found. The tooth of the Buddha or his alms bowl or

\* For translation of line 1. See or "C" side see page 124 Vol. II part III. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Edited and Translated by Don Martino de Silva Wickremesekere M.A. (Hon.), Oron.

any other relic resting upon the top of the *stupa* rising several feet above the platform would therefore have been in full view of the people gathered in the courtyard. Any pilgrims who were permitted to enter the enclosure and to perambulate on the path running alongside the platform would especially have had a good opportunity of securing a *darshan* (view) of it.

V

The ruins at the extreme west to the north of the *Nissana Lata Mandapaya* indicate that the building that stood there must have been fairly large. *Vihare No 1* as the archaeologists call it was oblong



Ruins of Heta dāge

sixty five feet four inches long and thirty nine feet deep resting upon a brick base three and a half feet high. Six plain steps of gneiss rose from a moon stone which must have been ornate to a narrow verandah running around a walled temple enshrining a recumbent statue of the Buddha which according to Mr Bell must have measured at least thirty six feet in length. At the foot of the image he believes must have been a standing figure judging

from a circular brick pedestal left there. Other fragments indicate that there must have been two seated figures in front of the sleeping Buddha at the north and south wall respectively facing each other. The images are so far gone that no description of them can be attempted or if attempted can serve any useful purpose.

Near this building and apparently connected with it was a small structure facing east. Divided into two rooms it appears to have served some monastic purpose.

VI

The ruin known as *Vihare No 2* has also yet to be identified but it is in a little better state of preservation. The walls have practically disappeared but many of the pillars with which it was decorated have been fixed in their places and convey a general idea of the structure.

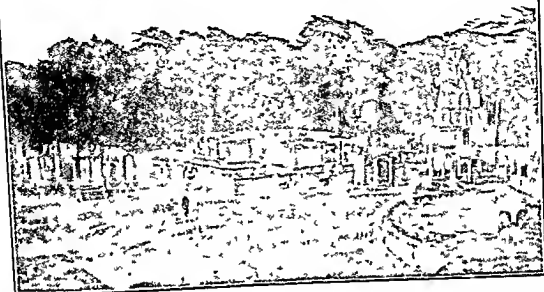
At the entrance is a moonstone so worn that the design on it is almost indistinguishable. The stone steps which were badly cracked have been set in place. Traces remain of guardstones which conforming to the general scheme of the building must have been beautifully carved. The door frame which was badly broken, has been mended and set up. The design is crude and badly executed.

Almost immediately beyond the entrance is another staircase of granite rising from a wide slab with mouldings indicating that guardstones once stood there.

The central one of the three standing images of the Buddha that originally were set up against the back wall has been restored except for the right arm broken off at the shoulder and the left hand. The head now in its place was found buried in the earth at a little distance from the body. Little damage had however been done to it and it was easy to cement it to the trunk where it belonged. The robe falls in conventional and greatly exaggerated folds betokening that it was carved some time after the art wave had reached its height in Polonnaruwa.

Only the pedestals remain of the two side images. Search made for the broken head and bodies has been in vain. Images stood also in other parts of the building. Four seated Buddhas were for instance dug up in the western aisle. Carved in limestone as they all were three of them had deteriorated just the point where they could be considered of any artistic value but the fourth





General view of the Hindu temple at Polonnaruwa

curiously had escaped disfigurement and was removed to the Colombo Museum.

The feet and ankles of a fourth standing Buddha can be seen in the south western corner of the building. What has become of the head and body no one knows. A comparison of what remains of the lower portion with the statue which still stands shows that this image must have been perhaps nine or ten feet high.

Some of the pillars have capitals that carry the mind back to Anuradhapura. The general effect is the same though the carving is perhaps not quite so good.

The decoration on the body of the pillars is florid. The motifs are many. Bunds of *ganas* (dwarfs) bear on their upturned palms hillets covered with conventional designs. Flower scroll peaked ornaments *malara* head pates filled with flowers tasselled festoons and fronds curl into circles. The adorn-

ments are in fact so varied that it is impossible to describe them in detail in a general article such as this.

## VII

The Sinhalese as I have already suggested are an imaginative race. They see in the convolutions of the designs, snakes of the deadly *polunga* species and connect them with the traditions concerning the foundation of Polonnaruwa. As I stated in another article when the first sod was turned for laying out the town a *polunga* was cut in two. For that reason it is said the place was named *polunga nagar* or *polunga nwar*—the city of the *polunga* and the term had become corrupted into Polonnaruwa of our day.

The Revenue Officer of Tamankaduwa (Mr D C de Silva J P U P V) who has his headquarters at Polonnaruwa and who has been good enough to accompany me on many of my expeditions in and near the place

\* A fabled creature supposed to have the head of an alligator and the body and tail of a fish.

tells me that a *polunga* standing erect on its tail was stamped on the city's seal in the olden days. He is of the opinion that the emblem was worked into the floriated designs by the carvers who in the Middle Ages lavished their skill upon these pillars.

Nothing has ever been found in the ancient chronicles or lithic inscriptions that would give a clue to the name and identity of this building.

### VIII

Eight or nine feet to the east of Vihare No. 1 is the reconstructed unroofed shell of a larger shrine that figures in archaeological literature as Vihare No. 3. The people speak of it as the *Heta da ge*. That name as stated earlier in this article implies that sixty relics were deposited in it. It is also called the *Alta da ge* in the belief that eight relics were enshrined there. Though no definite evidence has been discovered it may have been used for such purposes at one time or another. In all probability however it was built by Kirti Visvakarma Malla for housing the tooth relic. This point I shall discuss after giving a brief description of the structure.

The Vihare is so constructed that its entrance exactly faces the north staircase of the *Lata da ge*. Any one standing within the shrine of the so-called *Heta da ge* sees the Buddha seated against the *stupa* in the centre of the "round relic house" framed in a vista of square portals.

The effect in the opposite direction is similar. A person standing in the portico of the *Lata da ge* looks through a series of door frames on to a Buddha. In this instance however the image is standing, in stead of being seated and the features have not been retired.

All of the *Heta da ge* doorways are square with lintels just enough curved to relieve them of severity.

into the *mandapaya* or vestibule. The carving on the moonstone is badly worn. Ornate in character it must have struck a somewhat discordant note with the rest of the building, or perhaps the designers felt that the ornamentation thus provided would serve to relieve the severity of the rest of the structure.

The balustrade on either side of the stone steps though cracked in places is in a fairly good state of preservation.

The principal figure on the guardstone is given the traditional attitude. The *naga* hood spread over the head have defied the elements particularly well.

There are a series of steps at the north west of the vestibule which are believed to have led to an upper storey that disappeared a long time ago. From the top step a good bird's eye view can be had of the buildings on the Quadrangle.

Only the jambs of the doorway leading into the shrine are left standing. The lintel is gone.

Three statues of the Buddha stand just in front of the brick wall. Each is set in a brick built niche of its own. The niche is not a part of the brick wall but is separated from it.

One of these standing Buddhas has been restored. There is nothing remarkable about it except that the folds of the robe are a trifle less exaggerated than in the case of the image in Vihare No. 2—almost a sure indication that in point of time it is a little older than the latter statue.

A series of pillars standing a few feet from either side wall practically divide the central portion of the shrine from the rest of the room. It is believed that a plaster of *chunam* was spread smoothly over the entire floor and tinted to give the suggestion of a blue-bordered red carpet covered it. The description that Mr. Bell penned in the early days of his stay in Polonnaruwa deserves to be quoted.

was dyed blue except for a broad final band of red lining the walls.

An enclosed path ran right round the outer walls of the vestibule and shrine where no doubt, the worshippers perambulated. There was in addition a massive outer wall probably eight feet in height. The core of it was of brick and mortar. It was faced on either side with huge blocks of stone neatly fitted together and carefully smoothed. This wall enclosed an area about forty yards in length and thirty yards in breadth.

In view of the series of walls that had been built, the provision of light in the shrine—which was roofed unlike to day—required some thought. The side walls were pierced to form four long narrow windows two at the east and two at the west. An ornamental stone mullion introduced into each window blocked out some of the light producing a mellow cathedral effect.

### IX

The building is rich in inscriptions. The one carved on two slabs carefully fitted together edgewise one above the other with their surface carefully smoothed and ruled and fixed into the portico wall is especially important. It reads in part:

"He (Kirti Nissanka Malla) built of stone the *Valageya* the (Rotunda) the *Nissanka lala mandapaya* and the *Nissanka Tooth Relic House* and expended countless wealth in making offerings."

The letters vary from an inch to an inch and a half in size. The language is partly Sanskrit and partly Sinhalese. It should be noted that in the opinion of Dr. Wickremasinghe the Sinhalese quatrain is "rather poor in composition."

Though this inscription does not state in so many words that the building to which it is affixed was the temple that Kirti Nissanka Malla built to house the tooth relic the fact that it is there is not without significance. Read in conjunction with the information contained in the *Mahavamsa* it has led to its identification as that temple.

The writer of that chronicle records in chapter LXXX verse 19 that that king built of stone the beautiful temple of the tooth relic. \*\* There are in the Jetavana group

only three stone structures—this vihare the *Vata-da ge* directly opposite to it and the *Nissanka Lala Mandapaya*. As stated in the preceding article the *Vata-da ge* all but the perron which bears an inscription of Kirti Nissanka Malla and is admittedly his creation is identified as the beautiful circular Temple of the Tooth which according to the *Mahavamsa* was built by Parakrama Bahu I. The *Nissanka Lala Mandapaya* as I have shown may possibly have been used on certain occasions for publicly exhibiting the sacred tooth or the alms bowl relic or both but it could not well have served as the permanent depository of either relic. Vihare No 3 the only other stone building on the Quadrangle



Single pillar carved to resemble a lotus stem

is therefore believed to have been the Temple of the Tooth which according to the *Mahavamsa* was built by Kirti Nissanka Malla.

Despite this seemingly indisputable testimony a suggestion was put forward by Mr. A. M. Hocart, until recently the Archaeological Commissioner of the Ceylon Government that this vihare may possibly have been the "Tuanka House" built by Parakrama Bahu I. "for the Tuanka image wholly made of brick and mortar and pleasant to the eye." L. C. Wijesinghe—the translator of the *Mahavamsa*—has stated that in his belief the "Tuanka House" was a "three

\* *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Report 1903* p. 13.

† *Figuralia*

‡ *Relic*

§ L. C. Wijesinghe's translation p. 221

¶ *Zeylanica*, Vol. II part II p. 90

sided house built for a three sided image \*

Mr Hocart however asks What is a three sided image? If *Tianga* meaning triple is substituted for *Tiānla* he ventures to state the description would suit the so-called Heta da ge which contains three statues of the Buddha in a row and was evidently specially built for three

The context in which the *Tiānla* House is mentioned in the *Mahāraṃsa* makes it nearly certain that it was in the Jetvāna group or at any rate quite close to it. Immediately after referring to this house mention is made of a round temple of the Tooth Relic which has been identified as the *Vata da ge*

If the images in the *Tiānla* House referred to in the *Mahāraṃsa* were wholly made of brick and mortar Mr Hocart's theory immediately falls to the ground. So far as I recollect the statues in the so called *Heta da ge* though set in brick and mortar niches are themselves of stone. I do not of course wish to rely merely upon my memory in a matter of this kind. As I am writing in Colombo and have no opportunity of running up to Polonnaruwa the only course I can pursue is to refer to Mr Bell's description.

Upon turning up the Report for 1903 I find the following statement in the section dealing with Vihāra No 3

These images were sculptured—both very exceptional features—hard to foot from single blocks and in granite not limestone §

It is clear from this excerpt that whether the statues now set in the niches are of briel or stone the ones that Mr Hocart's predecessor found in the building long before anything in the way of reconstruction had been attempted were undoubtedly of stone. The theory identifying this building with Parākrama Bāhu's *Tiānla* House therefore seems to be untenable upon this ground alone unless of course the chronicler meant that the *Tiānla* House itself was wholly made of brick and mortar—and not the statues were housed in it.

Assuming however that the late Archeological Commissioner is right in his contention where is the beautiful temple for the Tooth Relic? that *Kirti Nissanka Malla* built of stone? If the *Vata da ge* is to be attributed to Parākrama Bāhu all except its perron—is it is by Mr Hocart and others—and the *Heta da ge* is to be taken as the *Tiānla* House where then is *Nissanka Malla's* Temple of the Tooth?

There is of course, nothing in the *Mahāraṃsa* to show that it was built on the so called Quadrangle. Probabilities however point in that direction.

The Tooth Temple is supposed always to have been located near the king's palace. *Kirti Nissanka Malla* though a bitter critic of Parākrama Bāhu and an open enemy of the *gotra* clan Parākrama Bāhu's partisans—(as more than one inscription attests) must have occupied the palace in the citadel built by that king. No other building important enough to have served as the ruler's residence has been discovered.

It is true that according to one of *Nissanka Malla's* inscription he did build a palace. It was seven storeys high and was erected within forty five days. Thereby he beat the record made by a former king (no doubt Parākrama Bāhu) who had spent seven years and seven months in erecting his palace. Some attempt has been made to identify the *Sat Mahā Prasāda* with this seven storeyed palace, but it is far from convincing. *Kirti Nissanka Malla* must in any case have lived somewhere close to the Jetvāna group and the Temple of the Tooth which must have been near his palace must therefore be a stone building somewhere in the neighbourhood. Until further information is available opinion must incline in favour of identifying it with the *Heta da ge* unless the whole *Vata da ge* (and not merely its perron) is to be assigned to this king.

Many reasons combined to impel *Kirti Nissanka Malla* to impress his subjects with his determination to defend and even to purify the religion of the Buddha. He was to begin with Indian by birth having been born at Simhapura (Madras Presidency) the son of Queen Parvati and Sri Jayagopa, king of the Kalinga country. He came to Lanka in his early manhood at the invitation of his kinsman—*Vijaya Bāhu* II also called *Pandita Vijaya Bāhu* who ascended the throne in 1181 A.D. upon the demise of Parākrama Bāhu the Great and who appointed

\* *Mahāraṃsa* (Wijesinghe's translation)

† *Minutes of the Archeological Survey of Ceylon* (1920) Vol II p 151

§ *Archeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Report* 1903 p 13

him sub king (*Yuvaraja*) He was moreover by race a Kalinga which claimed to be superior to the *govi* clan. He speaks of himself as a descendant of the Ollaka dynasty—a branch of the Solar race—from which Vijaya, the founder of the Sinhalese race is supposed to have sprung and disputed the right of the *govi* people to sit upon Vijaya's throne. Having to reckon with the powerful machinations of the *govi* clan which was ever plotting to become again supreme in the land he was compelled to be ever on the alert. In the circumstances it profited him to display zeal in the observance of Buddhist rites, make pilgrimages to Buddhist shrines in various parts of the country especially those that were exceedingly difficult to reach show interest and liberality in repairing old temples in a state of disrepair and build new ones and to be lavish in making offerings to the priests.

Whether Kirti Nissanka Malla was a genuine Buddhist or not we cannot say. There is no doubt whatsoever that he was worldly wise and what he lacked in piety he made up in display. In the fourth year of his reign for instance he went to worship the relics at the Ruvuni *stupa* at Anuradhapura. As one of the slab inscriptions relates, he scattered pearls as if he were sprinkling sand on the terrace. He filled up the whole space around the hemispherical dome with flowers of gold and silver and the seven kinds of gems as if he were offering flowers on a bed of sand. He "shot off the sun" rays from the *stupa* (by raising over it) flags of priceless silk and cloth. His gifts to gods and men continued for a week.

Kirti Nissanka Malla did not hesitate to claim credit even for invading and conquering Dambadiya (India) burning with indignation at the wicked deeds that had been wrought in Lanka in former times by invaders from southern India. Not an iota of evidence is forthcoming to establish these boasts invented no doubt, to tickle the Sinhalese Buddhist fancy.

The Buddhist clergy of Nissanka Malla's days were judged by contemporary evidence not all that they should have been. Evidently even before the time of Parakrama had had time to cool the lax practice that he had sought to put down a stated in the second article of this series had revived.

An inscription carved at Nissanka Malla bidding on one of the inside wall of the

so called *Heta da-ga* shows that he was or at least affected to be distressed at these practices and anxious to uproot them. The venerable ones who are in the position of teachers and spiritual preceptors should not, he adjures initiate without enquiry "foolish sinful persons who are false and crafty."

Nor did Nissanka Malla hesitate to charge his successors with the duty of protecting the religion of the Buddha. In the course of the inscription on the *Heta da-ga* portico



Runed image in the *Heta da-ga*

to which I have already referred he makes the following appeal:

"Hail! This *Dharma* which gives happiness and which alone deserves to be honoured by the whole world should always be preserved. Nissanka Malla makes this appeal over and over again to the Rulers of the earth in the name of their good fame."

To win the loyalty of the Sinhalese Kirti Nissanka Malla remitted revenue during five years of his reign and abolished taxes of

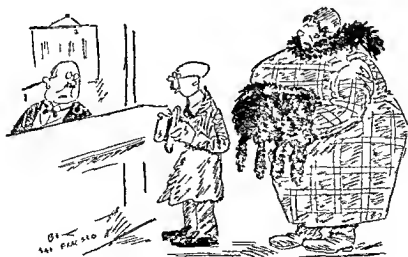
an oppressive nature. He decreed that so long as the sun and the moon lasted the State must not make any exaction upon land temporarily wrested from the jungle and sown to coarse grain—technically known as *hena*—corrupted by the British into *chena*—because such cultivation was of a precarious nature and involved great hardship. He re-tooled old irrigation works and built new ones and showed great energy in improving and extending communications.

Nissanka Malla introduced numerous reforms into the administration. He ordered that deeds and other important documents be inscribed upon copper plates that would last for ever instead of being written upon perishable palm leaves and stabilized measurements of land. He sought to remove from thieves the temptation to steal for need of money by bestowing upon them gifts—coin, jewels and land—that would enable them to live in comfort without committing crime. He established courts of justice and graven moral edicts on stone. He freed the kingdom from the thorns of lawlessness so thoroughly that a woman might even carry a basket filled with the nine kinds of gems and not be asked: What is it?

As I indicated in the first article Nissanka Malla believed in taking counsel with his subjects and had included non-official representatives in the Council that he set up. He was, however, a firm believer in the divine right of kings and more particularly in the divine right of the members of the *kshatriya* or *kahagiri* clan, and no other to be kings.

Nissanka Malla desired nothing quite so much as to outshine Parakrama Bahu. That desire was at the back of his building programme as well as his general administrative policy. Unfortunately, he was cut off in the prime of life. If the fact that he was only nine years on the throne—a fraction of Parakrama Bahu's reign—is borne in mind his accomplishment is not to be despised.

The writer of the *Mahavamsa*—undoubtedly a poet himself—was so biased in favour of Parakrama Bahu that he did not give to Nissanka Malla even as many lines as he gave pages to his hero. Had Nissanka Malla not left numerous lithic inscriptions behind we would have known little about his public works or administrative policies.



Why dare you not declare your age?  
Because it's the same as my wife's —  
*Sondag-nisse Strix Stockholm*

# The "Martial Races" of India

By VIRAD C CHAUDHURI

I

It is too much perhaps to expect from a weak human nature that it should hang a dog and out of a sense of mere gratefulness for that supreme sacrifice the supremest in fact that could ever be asked for and obtained from a living creature refrain from giving the poor animal a bad name. Our notion of what is and what is not sport does not we believe require of us a self-denying ordinance of so primitive a description. We have therefore never been at a loss to draw upon our fund of philosophy when one reproachful British official after another has come forward to tell us that it is our own incorrigible military incompetence which is compelling him to stay in this country of gruelling heat when he would much rather smoke his life away in an English club or dream it out of a still summer evening in England. And what is more under the hypnotic sway of that bland flow of argument, we have pretended to forget that it is he who has disarmed India, and deprived us of the right of bearing arms in defence of our country, our life, our honour and our property.

But our complacent philosophy and complacent self-love was not to be let off with so easy an ordeal as an admission of the axiomatic superiority of the European over the Oriental. The humiliation they deserved was deeper. A new shame and a new menace have therefore emerged for us in the shape of the martial races of India, who if we are to believe the Simon Commission are not only the only people in India who can shoulder the burden of her defence but are also inclined to set a rather high price on their capacities in this line by desiring to be allowed a wider discretion in the matter of cutting the throats of us non-martials which only the undue interference of our British protectors do not permit them to do to their satisfaction at present.

To these two features, says the Simon Report which distinguishes the case of India from that of any of the self-governing Dominions must be

added a third. In contrast with the self-governing Dominions and indeed in contrast with almost the whole of the rest of the world India presents to the observer an astonishing admixture not only of competing religions and rival races but of widely different military capacity. Broadly speaking one may say that those races which furnish the best sepoys are emphatically not those which exhibit the greater accomplishment of mind in an examination. The contrast between areas and races in India that take to soldiering and those that do not has no counterpart in Europe. Whereas the most virile of the so-called martial races provide fine fighting material other communities and areas in India do not furnish a man to man for the Regular Army.

It seems certain that in the future equal efficiency in the military sense such as is necessary in view of the severe tasks which the Army in India has to perform and in view of the urgent need of reduced military expenditure can only be expected from all sections of the population of India. As things are the presence of British troops and the leadership of British officers secure that the fighting regiments of India though representing only a portion of India's manhood shall not be a menace to millions who are conducting their civil occupations without any thought of consequences which might ensue if the British troops were withdrawn and the Indian Army consisted of nothing but representatives of the Indian fighting races.

The outlook for our future is dark indeed if the diagnosis of the Simon Commission be true. But, frankly, we do not think it becomes any the darker because of the mere embodiment of the theory in their report. Both the political and the military wings of the doctrine of the so-called martial races of India had been separately in existence long before the Simon Commission came and dovetailed them into a harmonious objection against the grant of self-government to India. The political half of the theory if we remember aright, dates at least as far back as 1919 when in the proto Reform Councils throbbing with the excitement of coming changes the strong silent martial races suddenly became declamatory in the speeches of Colonel Sir Malik Umar Hyat Khan of Tiwana and its purely military half is as certainly as old as the post Mutiny re-organization of the Indian Army.

\* The Simon Report Vol I pp 96-98 see also Vol II part VI pp 167-18.)

Sir John Simon and his colleagues will we hope forgive us if we refuse to take the political intelligence and the political ambitions of Colonel Sir Malik Umar Hyat Khan very seriously. But the military part of the doctrine deserves a less cavalier treatment. The theory that the people of India with the possible exception of a limited number of selected tribes and castes from specified regions were unfit for military service of any kind took gradual shape in the slow working brains of the British military authorities in India after the great catastrophe of the Mutiny had destroyed the old Sepoy Army and forced upon them the necessity of creating a new and reliable army from the population of the Punjab and the countries adjacent to it. Before that time the commanders of the Sepoy Army took good care that none but perfectly suitable material was incorporated into the Army but they did not trouble themselves overmuch about the selection of tribes and areas. So it happened that the three great Presidency Armies which grew up in the three centres from which British Power spread over the whole of India obtained their fighting material from their natural areas of recruitment: the Madras Army from the Tamil and Telugu countries, the Bombay Army from Western India and the Bengal Army from Bihar and the U P and to a limited extent, Bengal. This practice dating from the middle of the eighteenth century and confirmed by Clive in his re-organization of the Company's army, continued down to the middle of the 19th and it was the soldiers obtained from these areas that conquered the whole of India for the British. The rebellion of the Bengal Army in 1857 however put one of these regions so far as at any rate the British were concerned wholly outside the pale of military recognition and henceforward the army of Northern India came to be composed more and more exclusively of soldiers drawn from the Punjab and the Frontier Province and hillmen recruited in Nepal who by their timely help and loyalty had helped to crush the uprising of the Hindustani sepoys. But here as in everything English practice was allowed to take its course without any particular solicitude for a fully rounded theory and though the Army came to be composed exclusively of Punjabis and hillmen there was no clearly defined conviction that they represented the

only martial stocks in India. The final elaboration of the doctrine of the martial races and the definite recognition of certain groups and classes of the Punjab the North Western Frontier Province and Nepal as the martial races par excellence of India along with the conscious adoption of this theory as a fixed principle of enlistment for the Indian Army was due to Lord Roberts an Irishman who was the Commander in Chief in India from 1885 to 1893 and was also one of the staunchest opponents of all proposals to give higher military training to Indians.\* Since his days the doctrine has lodged itself firmly in the brains of the British military authorities in India, whose slowness in grasping an idea is only matched by their tenacity in retaining it.

## II

The bowdlerized version given in the Simon Report does not give any idea of the wealth of generalization upon which the theory is based and the vigour of language which ordinarily characterizes its expression. For that we must have recourse to British military writers one of whom—Lt General Sir George MacMunn K C B K C S I D S O a former Quartermaster General in India—writes

In the East, the townsfolk, traders, artificers, servants and any one save the peasant is quite incapable of saying 'boh to a goose'. Militant physical courage they are absolutely without while were their hearts in the right place their lack of sinew and muscle would make them quite unfit to carry arms of any kind. That is entirely different from the conditions in Europe, or at any rate of the Nordic races of whom any lusty vagabond can be made into a soldier †

The case of the upper classes if anything is still worse.

It has long been notorious that the intelligent classes of India were noted for their lack of normal physical courage and that out of over three hundred million the number of those who

\* Lord Roberts—*Forty one Years in India* 1 Vol (1903) edition pp. 31-33. Sir George Arthur—*Life of Lord Kitchener* Vol II pp 177-8. It is interesting to note that many of the sentences in this portion of the Simon Report seem to have been closely paraphrased from some of the writings of Lord Roberts. A Liberal paper once characterized the intellect of Lord Roberts as that of an average Tory. The old dard had renounced himself by converting from his grave a very superior Liberal.

† Lt Gen Sir George MacMunn—*The Times* (1929) pp 70-2.



by any stretch of imagination could be deemed material for soldiers was ludicrously small.\*

General MacMunn professes some surprise that this should be so.

It is extraordinary, he says, "that the well born race of the upper classes in Bengal should be hopeless poltroons while it is absurd that the great, in every powerful Kashmiri should not have an ounce of physical courage in his constitution, but it is so. Nor are appearances of any use as a criterion. Some of the most manly looking people in India are in this respect the most despicable.†

It is this fundamental difference between the East and the West, or at any rate between the Nordic races and the rest of the world we are told which renders any form of *levy en masse* after the European example an impossibility in India and forces upon the British military authorities the necessity of recruiting their Indian Army from certain carefully chosen classes and clans of specified regions.

"Who think military service the greatest and most honourable career they can follow, who come from the landowning yeomen peasantry the sons of princes, agriculturists who are yet Brahmans and the like, men of worth and standing who will return to the land when they pile their arms the prouder for a chestful of British war medals.‡

No reasonable man can doubt that this of necessity had to be so. But to argue from the fact that the Indian Army is recruited solely from men who feel all the prouder for a chestful of British war medals that the rest of the Indian population are unredeemed cowards is we fear to provoke the Indian definition of the martial races of India as the people who for money or from lack of education are least likely to question the orders of their British officers to shoot down their fellow countrymen. A military officer

of the young Aryan race—as Sir George MacMunn describes himself and his co-fraternity—who according to the maxim of the Persians has been trained to ride and shoot though not according to the same maxim of the Persians always to tell the truth may no doubt beg the question in this extremely unsophisticated manner. It is simply incredible in a Royal Commission presided over by one of the shining lights of the English bar. But we really have no desire to follow the example of the Simon Report by prejudging things and since it is the aim of this article to examine the history of the enlistment policy of the Indian Army and the statistics of recruiting from the earliest times to the present day in order to find how far the evolution of that policy and the ups and downs of recruitment confirm or disprove the theory of the martial races of India and how far the present composition of the Indian Army represents the military potentialities of India, we shall begin by not trying to deny the undeniable fact that the Army in India as it stands to day is not composed of soldiers drawn from every part of India.

In the tables given below are shown the percentage of men in the Indian infantry and cavalry drawn from each eligible class, the names of the districts from which they come, as well as the approximate number of combatants furnished by the different provinces of India. They will amply prove that everything that the Simon Report says about the preponderance of certain areas and classes in the Indian Army is literally true. In fact, of the 1,25,000 odd Indians who compose the Indian personnel of the Army in India, rather more than half come from Northern India, i.e. from the Punjab and the N.W. Frontier Province while approximately one quarter are hillmen from Nepal, Garhwal and Kumaon thus leaving less than one quarter to be found from the whole of the rest of India.

\* *Ibid.* p. 80

† MacMunn and Lovett *The Armies of India*

(1911) p. 130

‡ MacMunn *The Army* (1909) p. 71

Serial No	Class	District	Percentage in Infantry		Percentage in Cavalry
			Per cent excluding the Gurkhas	Per cent including the Gurkhas	
1	Punjabi Musalman	Punjab	27	22.6	14.25
2	Gurkhas	Nepal	—	16.4	—
3	Sikhs	Punjab	16.21	13.38	23.81
4	Dogra	N Punjab and Kashmir	11.4	9.51	9.53
5	Jats (1)	Rajputana U P & Punjab	9.7	7.91	19.06
6	Pathans (2)	N W Frontier Province	7.57	6.31	4.76
7	Mahrattas	Konkan	6.34	3.33	—
8	Gurkhwals (3)	Garhwal	4.53	3.13	—
9	U P Rayputs	U P	3.01	2.31	4.76
10	Rajputana Rayputs	Rajputana	2.8	2.31	4.76
11	Kumonis	Kumron	2.44	2.01	—
12	Gujars	N E Rajputana	1.57	1.28	—
13	Punjabi Hindus	Punjab	1.52	1.28	—
14	Ahrs		1.22	1.024	—
15	Musalman Rayputs				
	—Ranghars	Neighbourhood of Delhi	1.22	1.024	7.1
	—Kamkhanis	Rajputana	—	—	4.76
16	Kachins	Burma	1.22	1.021	—
17	Chins		1.22	1.024	—
18	Karens		1.22	1.024	—
19	Delhani Musalman	Deccan	—	—	4.76
20	Hindustani Musalman	U P (maulvi)	—	—	9.38
			60.55	50.54	61.92
				16.4	—
			35.79	29.974	38.0
			3.66	3.072	—

Pathan company  
Garhwali Brahmans and  
Garhwali Rajputs are incorporated  
in separate battalions. There are  
only two companies of Garhwali  
Brahmans in the 4-1st Punjab  
Regiment.

Regiment  
These two classes are almost negligible. Taken together they number only a few hundred men.

II Table showing the approximate number of combatants in the Indian Army furnished by the different provinces (See Simon Report Vol I, p 96)

<b>Province</b>	<b>Number of Men</b>	<b>Province</b>	<b>Number of Men</b>	<b>Province</b>	<b>Number of Men</b>	<b>Province</b>	<b>Number of Men</b>
Punjab	86 000	Kashmir	6 500	Hyderabad	700	Mysore	100
Nepal	19 000	North West } Frontier Province }	5 600	Baluchistan	300	C P	100
U P (including Garhwal & Kumaon)	16 500			Bihar and Orissa	300	Bengal Assam	nil nil
Rajputana	7 000	Madras	4 000	Central India	200	Miscellaneous	1 900
Bombay	7 000	Burma	3 000			Total	153 200

## III

Not only is the Indian Army recruited from a limited number of carefully selected clans of the peasant class from specified regions but its whole organization is based upon a caste system more rigid than that of the Hindu society. The Indian Army does not recognize the individual. It is neatly grouped into battalions, companies, squadrons and sometimes platoons of specified classes according to a fixed ratio and no one who is not a member of one of these prescribed classes can enter the army simply because he is individually fit. These groups are so distributed in a battalion that they retain their strong local communal or tribal loyalties at the same time set off the influence of one another. Thus for example in a typical battalion of Indian Infantry—the 1st 112th Frontier Force Regiment there is 1 company of Punjabi Musalmans, 1 company of Dogras, 1 company of Pathans (Khattaks and Orakzais) and 1 company of Sikhs. The 1st Regiment of Cavalry (Skinners Horse) has 1/4 Squadron of Hindustani Musalmans, 1/4 Squadron of Musalmans Rajputs (Ranghars), 1 Squadron of Rajputs (U.P. and Eastern Punjab) and 1 Squadron of Jats (King George's Own Bengal Sappers and Miners is composed of 1/4 Sikhs, 1/4 Musalmans (including Pathans, Punjabi Musalmans and Hindustani Musalmans) and 1/4 Hindustani Hindus (of which 1/4 may be Gahrwalis other than Garhwal Rajputs). With the exception of the 20 battalions of Gurkha Infantry, 5 battalions of Mahrattas, 3 battalions of Sikhs, 4 battalions of Dogras, 4 battalions of Garhwals, 1 battalion of Kumaonis, 1 corps of Hazara Afghans in the Pioneers and 1 Regiment of Madras S and M the rest of the Indian Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, Sappers and Miners, Signal Corps and Pioneers is divided into class units formed on the same pattern. A member of one of these classes even were he willing is not allowed to serve in any other class, company or class unit.\*

\* In this connection it is interesting to note that there is a good deal of difference between the practices of the French and British military authorities in the matter of employing indigenous natives for military purposes. In the French colonial army the natives are recruited by means of conscription though it is limited in extent on account of economic reasons. They are formed into regiments of the Crown or as in the "mixed regiments," thrown into the same unit with white troops who serve side by side with them. They are admitted

The Indian Army, thus organized has certain qualities and defects of its own. High military authorities tell us that as a fighting machine it would be able to stand up to any European army. They also tell us sometimes that in spite of its fine fighting qualities it stands in a class apart from the great modern armies of Europe\*. But in what respects it differs from them is a question on which these military writers are usually silent. They are to our mind serious and fundamental and directly connected with the principle of recruitment in the Army. The more outstanding of these characteristics may be summarized as follows—

1. Absence in the Army as a whole owing to its division into small tribal caste and religious groups distinguished by strong local communal and sectional loyalties of any sense of national unity and the patriotism that springs from it. This sense of nationality has always been regarded as one of the most valuable moral assets of a modern citizen army. It is hardly necessary to labour a point which has been stressed by all military thinkers. The latest Field Service Regulations for example says that

Success in war depends more on moral than on physical qualities. Neither numbers, armaments, resources nor skill can compensate for lack of courage, determination and the bold offensive spirit that springs from a national determination to conquer†.

This national determination is wholly absent in the Indian Army. It is a mercenary and professional army whose only incentive to action is pay and an artificially fostered military arrogance.

into the artillery and the engineering and signal services, and some colonial regiments (both Negroes and Algerians) form an integral part of the Metropolitan Army of France. These differences are explained by the difference between the roles that the French Colonial and the British Indian armies are respectively intended to play. The principal function of the Indian Army is to be an eastern branch of the B.E.F., with India as a sort of military Singapore base and on that account the Army in India must be as professionally sound and politically safe as the British military authorities can make it while the political and geographical situation of France on the Continent of Europe and her decreasing birth rate make it a case of almost life and death for her to draw upon all the available man power of her colonies in Africa for the protection of her home territories.

\* The Times special India number Feb 18 1930 p. xi.

† Field Service Regulations Vol II (1924) Ch. I Sec 1 para 2.

2 Absence in the Indian portions of the Army due to lack of education and the absence in the Army of persons with the necessary mental calibre of all capacity for leadership organization and initiative. As a modern fighting machine the Indian Army would go to pieces if the British officers were removed from it. The Indian officers with the so called Viceroy's Commissions are only magnified N.C.O.s. Their capacities are best summarized in the words of an old Indian officer to Lord Roberts:

*Sib ham log larai men bahut te... hain magar jang ka ban labast nahin Jante* (Sir we can fight well but we do not understand military arrangements) \*

It is in connection with the limited capacities of the Indian officers that Sir Valentine Chirol says:

No other system was indeed possible so long as no attempt was made to give to Indians any higher military training or to hold out to them any prospect of promotion beyond those within their reach by enlistment in the ranks †

Lord Rawlinson also had his doubts regarding the capacities of the present type of Indian officer:

"Will we ever get the sons of the landowners who wrote of the fighting races who are brought up to despise the Babu just as our feudal chiefs despised the clerks sufficiently educated to be trusted with the lives of men in modern war §

4 Employment of Indians in certain arms of the service only and their exclusion from all posts involving responsibility and powers of command thus making it impossible for them to make a fully constituted formation by themselves alone

5 The immunity of the Indian Army from political influences. On this point the writer of the article on the Indian Army in the *Times* Special India Number says:

Being mainly agriculturists they come from good sound country stock taking little interest in politics, and not easily moved by the appeals of the professional agitator \*\*

\* Roberts—*Forty-one Years* Vol 1 (1904) edition p. 153. Lord Roberts' comment on this is:

What the old soldier intended to convey to me was his sense of the inability of himself and his comrades to do without the leadership and general management of the British officers.

† Chirol—*India Old and New* p. 90.

§ Major-General Sir Frederick Munnice—*The Life of Lord Rawlinson of Trent* p. 294.

\*\* *The Times* Special India Number Feb 15 1930 p. xii.

This freedom from political sentiment of the Indian Army must not be confused with the much to be desired immunity of all armies from political party spirit. The British Army would be free from political partisanship in the light of the Government of India's principles if its soldiers were as ready to fight for Germany or the United States as they are for the British Empire. The Curragh incident of 1914 showed that it was politically vitiated in a much more reprehensible sense.

All these features of the Indian Army, as we have already said are closely connected with the principle of enlistment followed in it. Any modification of this principle is bound to alter the character of the Army and perhaps destroy its efficiency from the British point of view while its maintenance as Sir Valentine Chirol says however well it works in practice for the production of a reliable fighting machine was not calculated to train Indians to protect themselves \*

#### IV

The English are a fortunate people and we might well believe that all these advantages came to them unasked and unsought for. In any case, there is no suggestion the Simon Commission dismisses more curtly than that this state of affairs has been brought about through deliberate policy. It would have it that nothing but pure considerations of military quality and military efficiency has made the Army in India what it is †. Unfortunately however for this pleasant theory all official documents seem to tell a different tale. The Simon Commission has studied the recruiting returns of the last war with some care for it makes some sort of political capital out of them. What it has apparently not studied is the history of the Sepoy Mutiny which would have explained to it the true significance of those returns. As we sow so we reap. The measures that the British military authorities took after the Mutiny altered the whole centre of gravity of the military life of the people of India. The effects of a policy, deliberately and consistently pursued for half a century could not be undone in a moment simply because in her hour of distress Great Britain had thought it prudent to make a virtue of necessity.

\* Chirol—*India Old and New* p. 90.

† Simon Report Vol 1 p. 96-9.

Any intelligent appreciation of the military potentialities of India must take into account the ramifications of that policy and it is to the history of the Sepoy Mutiny that we must turn if we want to understand the present character and the regionalism of the Indian Army.

The great Bengal Army of the pre-Mutiny days was in every respect a fine fighting machine. When it disappeared after the Mutiny, Lord Ellenborough wrote regretfully

"It is distressing to think that we must abandon the hope of ever seeing a native army composed like that we have lost. It was an army which under a general it loved and trusted would have marched victorious to the Dardanelles."

But it was an army whose composition and organization was fundamentally different from the Indian Army of to-day. In the first place it was almost exclusively composed of

Hindustanees from Behar and the Doab except that of late a proportion of Sikhs and Punjabees have been introduced. The principal castes of Hindus in the Army were Brahmans, Rajputs and Ahirs. The Hindus formed the great majority, only from 100 to 200 men in a regiment being Mohammedans.\*

These high caste Beharis and U P men or Poorbeahs as they were then called are no longer considered to be one of the martial races of India. But even General MacMunn characterizes them as a "manly and warlike peasantry of fine physique and martial appearance and withal orderly and obedient."†

The second distinctive feature of the pre-Mutiny Army was that

"in the ranks of the regular army men stood mixed up as chance might befall. There was no separating by class and clan into companies in the lines. Hindu and Mohammedan, Sikh and Poorbeah were mixed up so that each and all lost to some extent their racial prejudices and became inspired with one common sentiment."

In the enquiry that followed the Mutiny no recommendation came out with greater emphasis from the evidence given by British military and civil authorities than the

unanimous opinion that this principle of recruitment and organization constituted too great a danger to the safety of the British Power in India to be permitted to continue.

In a memorandum submitted to the Peel Commission Sir John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the Punjab and the future Viceroy and Governor-General of India said

Amongst those defects (of the pre-Mutiny Army) unquestionably the worst, and the one which operated most fatally against us was the brotherhood or homogeneity of the Bengal army and for this particular defect the remedy is counterpoise—1stly the great counterpoise of Europeans and 2ndly that of various native races. Had the old Bengal Army had all these remedies applied to it ten years ago it would doubtless have been a much better army.\*

Major General W. R. Mansfield, the Chief of the Staff of the Indian Army was even more explicit on this point

Suffice it to say he says that the army owing to the manner in which it was recruited formed an immense quasi masonic brotherhood from Ishwar to Calcutta, and from the Himalayas to the Andudda. With that river the agency of the brotherhood stopped, and other military bodies were beyond which refused to acknowledge its claims or obey its behests.

The unwise tendency of the Bombay Government of late years to give a preference to the Poorbeahs of Oudh on account of the comeliness of such recruits had nearly caused its army to be affiliated to the brotherhood of Bengal. Fortunately the mischief had not gone far enough to complete the process when the outbreak of last year took place.†

And again

The old spirit of exclusiveness in favour of high and cleanly castes which operated on the officers to the full as much as it did on the sepoys themselves created the *imperium in imperio* which is ever the certain forerunner of mutiny in all armies. The subservience of the officers generally to the feelings of caste which gave them handsome and intelligent men was, I believe, appreciated in all its strength by the sepoys who actually played with the fears of their Brahminized colonels.‡

The practice of recruiting from the high castes of the U P and Behar was therefore to go and with it the mischievous principle of throwing in all castes and tribes cheek by jowl in the battalion. On this question Sir John Lawrence wrote

"To preserve that distinctiveness which is so valuable and which while it lasts makes the Mohammedan of one country despise fear or dislike

\* Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Organization of the Indian Army (Peel Commission Report) 1859 Appendix to Minutes of Evidence p 6

† Lord Clyde's replies etc. Peel Commission Report, App to Min Ev p 63

§ MacMunn and Lovett—*The Armies of India*, p 84

\*\* *Ibid* pp. 84-85

\* Report of the Peel Commission (1859) Papers connected with the re-organization etc., p 14

† Peel Report (1859) App p 97

§ *Ibid* L, p 99

the Mahomedan of another corps should in future be provincial and adhere to the geographical limits within which differences and rivalries are strongly marked. Let all those Hindn or Mahomedan of one province be enlisted in one regiment and no others and having created distinctive regiments let us keep them so against the hour of need. By the system thus indicated two great evils are avoided firstly that community of feeling throughout the native army and that mischievous political activity and intrigue which results from association with other races and travel in other Indian provinces \*

General Mansfield was also of opinion

That we should avoid creating any grand centralized army like the one lately dissolved and substitute in its place several local armies which should remain distinct and separate from one another †

In order to secure the practical application of these principles General Mansfield suggested the following measures

Let all castes and let the Mussalman share and share alike in the regiments of the local armies

There may be low caste corps and Mussalman corps

Other regiments may be formed of companies of different castes and in all those should probably be a company or two of Mussalmans. Uniformity in these respects is neither desirable nor advisable. The more diversity that can be introduced into the constitution of the different corps the better so that in case of any future combination the heterogeneous character of the various regiments may present an effective bar to it §

All other military authorities made similar recommendations Lord Clyde the Commander in Chief said

The field from which recruits were obtained was too limited. I should think men should be taken of every caste or no caste (if there are such people) and from every district. There cannot be too great diversity. Corps should differ as much as possible, one be of all castes, one be of some particular caste, one from a particular district, another from every district and every caste. Uniformity in such matters is dangerous. When corps consist of various castes they might often with advantage be formed in separate companies \*\*

Major General Buch Military Secretary to the Government of India said

If men of one tribe or caste are likely to combine for evil purposes the tendency to such combination would be greatly increased and facilities towards it would be furnished by the homogeneous organization of regiments. I would not have any regiment recruited exclusively from any particular district. I would entertain few

Brahmins and would restrict Mussalmans Rajpoot and Sikhs to one third of any regiment \*

Lt. General Sir Harry Smith said

There is nothing more important than that the British native army should be composed of different caste, and nationalities from one end of India to the other the principle of collecting nationalities in companies is judicious on the one hand it tends to prevent combination for evil on the other it creates emulation †

Colonel Burn said

I think it would have a very beneficial effect if recruiting for each separate regiment were confined to a prescribed district. This might do good on the principle of *Divide et Impera*. There has always been great jealousy between the Oudh and Behar men and I see that it was taken advantage of at Lahore when the Behar men were separated from those from Oudh §

Lord Ellenborough expressed the opinion that

The lower elements of combination in the Native army the better and therefore the more nationalities and castes and religions the more secure we shall be \*\*

Major General Tucker's memorandum on this question was far more comprehensive

Talk as we will he wrote "of the beneficial effect and the paternal character of our rule we can never alter the fact that in India we are foreigners and interlopers and while we remain what we are the natives of Hindustan what they are the haughty and offensive conscious manner—the consequence of our superiority morally and intellectually—will remain indelibly stamped in the bearing and character of the European, outweighing all the material benefits we can confer and it is opposed, therefore to all experience and to commonsense to suppose that over under any circumstances the Natives in their inmost hearts can become reconciled to our rule as a class. This has never been sufficiently understood or insisted upon. Nevertheless it is and will be found ultimately to be the truth and it speaks forcibly for the strong necessity which exists for so dividing and separating into distinct bodies the different nationalities or castes the rulers in our Eastern dominions may deem it safe and expedient to entertain in our armies so as to render them a little dangerous as possible to the State which they undertake so solemnly and faithfully to serve but to which solemnity they do it always remembered, attach little or no real meaning or importance and by which as we have seen they are in no way really bound.

See his Rajpoots and Goorkhas constituted part the best description of men for soldiers in British India and there are endless varieties of other, while the low castes will doubtless meet with great favour after the events we have experienced recently. It is however essential to be alike cast

\* Peel Commission Report, P. p. 18 etc. p. 30

† Peel Commission Report App. p. 37

§ Ibid p. 109

\*\* Ibid p. 63

\* Ibid p. 78

† Ibid p. 93

§ Peel Report Papers etc. p. 151

\*\* Peel Report App. p. 6

with them all and we should be most guarded and watchful with the Sikhs. Of these one fourth part would prove an ample proportion of Goorkhas and Hillmen generally a like number if procurable, but the real Goorkha is not to be found in any large numbers, another fourth part of low caste men of all sorts, and the rest must, it is presumed, be made up of the endless varieties of Hindostanees and Mussalmans usually employed. The introduction however of other different elements would be advisable if it can be done. African Malays and Arabs anything in short to divide and so neutralize the strength of the castes and nationalities which compose our armies in the East.\*

In view of the overwhelming nature of the evidence offered on this point the Peel Commission recommended that in future the Native Indian army should be composed of different nationalities, and castes and as a general rule mixed prominently through each regiment.†

## V

It is in the light of these statements of policy that we must test the sincerity of opinions such as the following expressed by the Simon Commission

"The plain fact is that the formation of an Indian national Army drawn from India as a whole in which every member will recognize the rest as his comrades in which Indian officers will lead men who may be of different races and in which public opinion will have general confidence is a task of the greatest possible difficulty. strenuous efforts are being made by many Indian politicians to develop a more general sense of citizenship and these efforts have the sympathy of all who sincerely desire to see the growth of Indian unity. The Army authorities are taking their share in the work of reducing the disparities which is no doubt due to economic and climatic considerations and to the unseen but potent influences of tradition and race.‡

or the following expressed by Lord Rawlinson

\* When India has got rid of her racial feuds her religious animosities and her eastern prejudices and is inspired by one dominating patriotism she can begin to think of defending herself. But when will that be \*\*

We are aware that it will be urged here that the times have changed and that following upon the change of heart that they have brought in their wake the principles of distrust and suspicion of the Indians upon which the post Mutiny reorganization of the Army

was based were no longer allowed to influence the policy of the Army Headquarters. The shortest and simplest answer to this is that in spite of the much touted revolution in the angle of vision there has been no modification of the practices of the distrustful regime, and so long as things remained where they were the call upon Indian credulity to admit the claim for good intentions without any reference to their possible translation into the region of fact will always strike Indians as bearing a close resemblance to the request for an overdraft from a customer who has never shown any disposition to pay his previous debts.\* But this is not the only instance in which the Army authorities in India have shown that they do not deserve to be trusted. There are two other questions whose handling by them constitutes no less shining examples of the inevitable disingenuousness of the British attitude in these matters. These are—the exclusion of Indians from the scientific and technical branches of the service, and the question of Indianization. Doubts have been expressed about the technical capacity of Indians to manage modern scientific weapons and as regards Indianization it has been stated 'that the Indian intellectual has as a rule no personal longing for an army career.† This categorical opinion expressed by the Simon Commission is apparently based upon the conclusions of Lord Rawlinson who was responsible for the reorganization of the Indian Army after the last war.

If the Indian Army is to be completely Indianized, he wrote in his diary, we want over two thousand and it is more than doubtful whether a sufficient number of the right type of Indian will ever come forward to supply the military requirements. The love of leadership and soldiering is one of the characteristics of the British public school boy of the present day a form of ambition which is quite absent in the average Indian boy. He does not now and I am afraid never will enter the army for the love of the profession of arms prepared to lay down his life for the sake of the land of his birth.‡

\* That the British Government in India is still profiting by the military system introduced after the Mutiny is plainly hinted at by a French journalist in one of the latest numbers of *L'Illustration*. Et une mutinerie comme celle de 1857 n'est plus a craindre depuis que les régiments ont été habilement truffés de soldats de tribus diverses et qui s'entre-détestent traditionnellement.—Georges Reimond in *L'Illustration* for May 31 1930 p 193.

† The Simon Report Vol I p 96.  
‡ Extract from Lord Rawlinson's Journal *Maurice—Life of Lord Rawlinson* p 332.

\* *Ibid.* p. 10

† *Ibid.* Report, p. xiv

‡ Simon Report Vol I p 97

\*\* Maurice—*Life of Lord Rawlinson* p 341

Both these objections are easily answered. As regards the exclusion of Indians from the scientific branches of the Army for example say the Artillery the motive, of British military authorities and the experience of Indians will come out clearly from the two following extracts from the evidence given before the Peel Commission which emphatically recommended that Indians should in future be excluded from the artillery. In his memorandum on this subject Lord Plimsstone the Governor of Bombay said

I agree with those who think that it is not judicious to train any natives of India to the use of guns. They make excellent artillerymen, and they attach great value and importance to guns, but these very circumstances make it dangerous to place them in their hands.

In this opinion Lord Ellenborough concurred.

It appears to be the concurrent opinion of all men that we should keep the artillery wholly in our hands.

The natives have a genius for casting and working guns and we should not afford them means of enjoying it. The natives die at their guns. Their practice in this war (the Mutiny) is allowed to have been at least as good as our own.

It is hardly necessary to add to a thesis so clearly presented. And as regards the question of Indianization we should have had less difficulty in believing in Lord Rawlinson's arguments had he not himself written before coming out to India

"People here are frightened of this talk of Indianization and old officers say they won't send their sons out to serve under natives. I agree that the new system must be allowed to take its course but it will want very careful watching and cannot be hurried. The only way to begin is to have certain regiments with native officers only."

And again

question of the relations between the British and native officers. It is full of snags. If it is rushed the supply of British officers will dry up long before India is in any degree ready to do without them. To my mind the only solution is to begin by making some cavalry and infantry regiments wholly Indian. This will avoid the difficulty of making white officers serve under Indian officers and will enable us to test the effect of the change."

None but a charlatan will pretend that at the time Lord Rawlinson came out to India Indians were fit to take over the entire control of the Army or that they are so to day. But the creation of an

efficient corps of officers require time and long training, and a beginning must somewhere be made. Why Lord Rawlinson was not able to realize or even start upon the restricted scheme of Indianization that he proposed is explained not by the absence of suitable Indian candidates but by the long and acerbated history of racial arrogance that lies behind the question. The exclusion of upper class Indians from the Company's Army and the degradation of the Sepoy army to the dead level of common soldiering began if we are to believe Kaye in the 18th century.

The founders of the native Army he writes, had conceived the idea of a force recruited from among the people of the country and commanded for the most part by men of their own race, but of higher social position—men in a word of the master class accustomed to exact obedience from their inferiors. But it was the inevitable tendency of our increasing power in India to cast the native functionary from his seat, or to lift him from his saddle, that the white man might sit him off there. So it happened, in due course, that the native officers who had exercised real authority in their battalions who had enjoyed opportunities of personal distinction, who had felt a honourable pride in their position were pushed aside by an incursion of English gentlemen who took all substantive power into their hands and left scarcely more than the shadow of rank to the men whom they had supplanted. An English subaltern was appointed to every company and the native officer then began to collapse into something little better than name.

As the degradation of the native officer was thus accomplished, the whole character of the Sepoy army was changed. It ceased to be a profession in which men of high position accustomed to command might satisfy the aspirations and expend the energies of their lives. Thenceforth therefore we dug out the materials of our army from the lower strata of society and the gentry of the land seeking military service, carried their ambitions beyond the red line of the British frontier and offered their swords to the Princes of the Native States.

The question of employing upper class Indians in the higher commands of the Army did not come up as a question of practical politics till 1880 when General Sir George Chesney the Military Member of the Governor General's Council put forward the suggestion that the Indian Army suffered from the exclusion of Indians from the higher military commands. Lord Roberts at once joined issue with him grounding his objections on the strong feeling inveterate to all ranks of the British Army that

\* Peel Commission Report—(Papers) p 140

† Ind App p 6

§ Major-General Sir Frederic Maurice—*The Life*

of Lord Rawlinson of Trent p 284

of Ind p 296

\* Kaye and Malleson—*History of the Indian Mutiny* Vol I pp 103-4



"natives were neither physically nor morally their equals."

"It is the consciousness," I wrote "of the inherent superiority of the European which has won for us India. However well educated and clever a native may be, and however brave he may have proved himself, I believe that no rank that we could bestow upon him would cause him to be considered as an equal by a British officer or looked up to by the British soldier in the same way that he looks up to the best-jointed soldier. Thus for the present at any rate the grant of such commissions to Indian gentlemen as would necessarily place them on the same footing as British officers, is in my opinion much to be deprecated."

To this judgment, Sir George Chesney bowed for the time. But he revived the question two years later.

"The Military Member regarding this differential treatment as doomed asked for the establishment of a military school for natives of good family. Roberts strongly dissented and recited again the old lesson of the Mutiny dangled before the eyes of the Government the possibility of fully trained native commanders using their knowledge against rather than for ourselves."

So the subject slumbered for two years more after which Chesney again raised the question. Roberts again protested and said "I would resist the beginnings on however small a scale."

Roberts' three successors took no action in this matter. But when Lord Kitchener became C-in-C the consideration of the question could no longer be postponed. In forwarding a memorandum on the subject, Lord Kitchener wrote

"The difficulty of finding a practical solution of this most delicate question is immense, for although there is a general consensus of opinion among senior British officers of the Indian Army

that some measure of reform is required, I cannot find any remedial means likely to secure the support of the majority. This is due in part to a dislike of change and in part to a deep-seated racial repugnance to any steps which brings nearer the day when Englishmen in the Army may have to take orders from Indians. Chiefly however it is due to an honest belief—which is certainly not altogether unfounded—that any substitution of Indians for British officers must be detrimental to the efficiency of the Army."

The same vicious circle of argument flourishes to this day, and so far as we can calculate the future from the past, it is assured of as long a span of life as the duration of the British domination of India.

What part these arguments have played in the elaboration of the theory of the martial races of India, how they stand in the way of our making a beginning however small for the creation of a national army—a task admittedly difficult, but neither more nor less so in this country than in any other with a similar history, and in what manner they serve to perpetuate the cobweb of half truths about our unequal military potentialities which however loudly proclaimed in the organization of the Army in India of to day is inherently neither greater nor worse than the inequalities to be found everywhere else—not worse certainly than the state of things in England, the declining military quality of whose common soldiers when compared especially with the superior physique and intelligence of the colonial from Canada or Australia or New Zealand would almost justify us in characterizing her as one of the non-martial regions of the British Empire—it will be our endeavour to show in a future instalment of this article

(To be concluded)

\* Arthur—*Life of Lord Kitchener* Vol II p 177

† *Ibid* p 178.

‡ *Ibid*, p 178.

\* *Ibid*, p 181



# "Indian Political Thought Impatient of the Doctrine of Gradualness" !

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

**F**OR the heinous offence of desiring freedom after more than a hundred and seventy years of British subjection the Simon Seven have accused Indian political thinkers of impatience of "the doctrine of gradualness" that being the old charge of impatient idealism differently phrased. They observe

Indian political thought finds it tempting to fore-shorten history and is unwilling to wait for the final stage of a prolonged evolution. It is impatient of the doctrine of gradualness. Simon Commission Report, vol. 1, p. 406

Nothing of the kind. Indians think that they have waited for self rule longer than they ought to have done. They are not impatient of the doctrine of gradualness. What they are impatient of is the doctrine of indefinite gradualness, the doctrine namely that they must wait for an indefinitely long period at the end of which (if there be any voluntary end!) others may or may not agree to their having freedom.

The Simon Septemvirate have dished up the old saw, "Rome was not built in a day" in new phraseology for modern consumption. They want to tell us thereby that as Britain and some other self governing countries took centuries to evolve and learn to work their present advanced political institutions, India ought not to expect to be self ruling in the course of what they consider a short period. From the historical primers which we read at school we did indeed learn that it took Rome centuries to grow from the collection of huts which Romulus and Remus may have built into a city of palaces and cathedrals with magnificent suburban villas. But in later times it did not take quite as much time to build Washington Melbourne Sydney San Francisco Chicago or New Delhi.

The modern up to date steam engines of various sorts can trace their descent to Hero's apparatus constructed in Alexandria in about 130 B.C. If a student of mechanical engineering now wants to learn how to

make a steam engine does he begin with making Hero's apparatus, then after eighteen centuries does he make Savery's pump; engine (1698 A.D.) then Newcomen's atmospheric engine (1705 A.D.) and so on receiving his final lesson in 1930 after 130 + 1930 = 2060 years? That would require several re-incarnations and at each re-incarnation possession of the accumulated knowledge experience and dexterity of previous incarnations. As a matter of fact mechanics learn to make steam engines in a few years.

The marvels of modern chemistry have grown from the days of the alchemists in the course of centuries. But the modern student of chemistry fears the science, not by toiling for centuries through a hundred births and re-incarnations but in less than a decade.

Primitive man made his dug out or canoe millenniums ago. Subsequent generations of men took thousands of years to gradually build better boats, merchant vessels, war ships, steamers etc. But at present the youth apprenticed to the ship building trade does not begin with dug outs or canoes but wit the most up to date vessels mastering the art of building the latest passenger and cargo ships and superdreadnoughts in a few years.

The modern mechanic who wants to manufacture all sorts of weapons for the army and the navy does not go to a museum to see how the palaeolithic and the neolithic men made their stone hatchets or flint spearheads and arrowheads or bone implements and does not spend thousands of years in imitating them. Nor does he pass on next to the manufacture of bronze weapons and implements spending millenniums in the process and then passes on to the iron age. No he learns in the course of a few years to make machine guns, 16 inch cannon shells, torpedoes, high power explosives etc. If he be commercially inclined he learns in less than a decade to make any kind of

machines used in factories. The modern Japanese did so learn from the West and are now teaching and helping the West in some cases.

Coming to political education let us first take the case of the American Negroes. Their forefathers in Africa belonged to an uncivilized race. They were captured and taken to America to slave in the plantations. They remained slaves till 1863. Then they were made legally free and got the vote. Millions of them have cast their votes as intelligently or unintelligently as any Nordic in America. But, according to the British Tory doctrine of "gradualness," they should not have been given the franchise all at once. They should have been given at first some political institution instead more primitive than the Anglo-Saxon Witenagemot to experiment with. After several centuries of struggle and experience they should have got something like Simon de Montfort's parliament. And after a thousand years' political training they might have qualified for the American franchise—according to British imperialist die-hards.

Similarly according to these British imperialist die-hards when about seventy years ago the Japanese wanted a constitutional form of government, they ought by no means to have adopted a more modern system than that which existed in the days of Alfred the Great. After ten or twelve centuries they might have aspired to have something like the modern British Parliament, American Congress or German Reichstag. But they had no Simon Commission to patronize and advise them. And so they were ambitiously foolish and tried all at once to combine the good features of the modern British, French, German and American representative institutions. They have now had some sort of constitutional government for more than half a century and have grown enlightened, prosperous, healthy and powerful under it. It is very sad that they have not totally failed—even to please British and Anglo-Indian die-hard and fools.

A similarly great evolutionary mistake made has been the granting of responsible self-rule to the Filipinos by America within less than two decades after their conquest by the Yankees, and a section of the latter now want to make the Philippines independent.

What a pity that the Americans have had no political evolution expert like the Simon Seven!

Turkey and Persia have adapted and adopted modern representative institutions without serving even a year's apprenticeship to British imperialists. Both these countries—particularly Turkey—are more prosperous than British ruled India.

I will now take the case of Poland. The following question and answer in the House of Commons on April 16, 1917, should be instructive—

Mr H. Samuel (Cl. Cleveland) for Mr Asquith asked whether His Majesty's Government was now in a position to make any statement in regard to Poland.

Mr Bonar Law: As the House is aware one of the first acts of the Russian Provisional Government was to issue a proclamation to the Poles recognizing their right to decide their own destinies and stating that the creation of an independent Polish State would be a sure guarantee of durable peace in Europe. (Cheers.) I am confident I rightly interpret the feeling of this House when I say we welcome the declaration and look forward to the time when thanks to the liberal and statesmanlike action of the Provisional Russian Government—the Poles—Poland will appear again in international life and take her share with other Nations in working for the common good of civilization. (Cheers.) Our efforts in the war will be directed towards helping Poland to realize her unity on the lines described in the Russian proclamation, that is to say under conditions which will make her strong and independent. We hope that after the War Great Britain will remain united to Poland in bonds of close friendship. (Cheers.)

India has been under the subjection of only one power—Britain. Poland before 1917 was partitioned between Germany, Austria and Russia, and was under their despotic rule for a longer period on the whole than India has been under British rule. Many British authors and journalists have written that the oppressors of Poland never made any efforts to fit her for self-rule. On the other hand the British rulers of India claim that they have been continually giving Indians a training in the art of self-government. And the achievements of the Poles in all spheres of human endeavour including the art of government, cannot be said to surpass those of the Indians. Nor have they won their freedom by a war of independence. But in 1917 British statesmen acknowledged with enthusiasm that Poland was fit for immediate independence. Where then was the doctrine of "gradualness"?

The practical acquaintance of the Indian people with representative institutions, both in ancient and in modern times, is neither more superficial nor of shorter duration than that of the American Negroes, the Japanese

before the sixties of the last century the Lihpinos the Turks the Persians the Poles and those Asiatic nationalities which are included in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia and some of which never before the Russian Revolution had any literature. We hope we are not the most dull and incompetent people on earth. Then why should we be subjected to the humiliation of being lectured on the doctrine of gradualness? If you do not want to practically recognize our right to immediate freedom say so with brutal frankness. But pray do not trot out specious arguments and false history. They are easily seen through.

The art of statesmanship like all other arts is and can be learnt in a single lifetime. The British baby who afterwards grows up into a statesman is born just as ignorant as the Indian baby. British infants are no more born with the generals' baton or the statesman's portfolio than are Indian babies born with the coolies' spade and hammer or the clerk's pen. Given the same opportunity and facilities the Indian baby is sure to equal any other baby in development. If statecraft were entirely or mainly inherited all or most of the descendants of all or most statesmen would have become statesmen themselves and few boys whose fathers were not statesmen could have become such. Abraham Lincoln would then have been impossible. Asquith and Lloyd George learnt what they did in their own lifetime. Count Okuma learnt what he did in his own lifetime. So did Dadabhai Naoroji. And so did Asoka Chandragupta, Samudragupta, Sher Shah, Akbar, Shivaji and others. Their ancestors did not pile up knowledge and experience of statecraft for them and physiologically transmit it to them. There may or may not be some truth in hereditary talent or racial characteristics. But it has always been a conscious or unconscious trick on the part of the few in possession of power and privilege to try to persuade the many outside the pale to believe that birth individually or racially is the sole or most dominant determining factor in the making of the destiny of individuals and nations. In India the trick succeeded to so great an extent that for countless generations most Sudras have continued to our own day to believe that it is only by acquiring merit during many re-incarnations that they can become

Brahmans or twice-born." But now the spell has largely broken. Many castes, hitherto known as Sudras now claim to be twice born." This is hardly the time to claim for Britishers the position of political Brahmanhood, to be attained by the Indian political Sudras after an indefinitely prolonged period of political apprenticeship.

Even a tyro in the theory of human evolution knows that the human embryo successively assumes in its mother's womb shapes like those of many lower animals. It repeats in its life the process of evolution of the many species of animals as it were. But in its case the whole process takes only months where the actual process of the evolution of different species of animals took aeons. Similarly, in political evolution, where one nation took a thousand years to perfect its constitution another nation can so profit by its experience and example that it can learn in a decade what the former took many centuries to evolve. The improvement of the human race would have been impossible if every people had to repeat in its own life the whole tedious process of civilization in each of its aspects. But fortunately, though the evolution of a thing or the discovery of a truth or a method may take a long time involve great labour and require much genius the acquisition of a knowledge of them is a very much shorter and easier process.

Statesmanship administration can be learnt like many other things. The successful management of the affairs of a country is neither so mysterious nor so intricate and complicated a matter as to be beyond the powers of Indians to tackle and master. The historian Lecky says:

Statesmanship is not like poetry or some of the other forms of higher literature which can only be brought to perfection by men endowed with extraordinary natural gifts. The art of management whether applied to public business or to assemblies lies strictly within the limits of education and what is required is much less transcendental abilities than early practice, tact, courage, good temper, courtesy and industry.

In the immense majority of cases the function of statesmen is not creative, and its excellence lies much more in execution than in conception. In politics possible combinations are usually few and the course that should be pursued is sufficiently obvious. It is the management of details, the necessity of surmounting difficulties that chiefly taxes the abilities of statesmen and those things can to a very large degree be acquired by practice.

So it does not require generations or centuries to learn statecraft, though it may have taken centuries to evolve and perfect the art, just as it does not take generations or centuries to learn any other art, science or craft, though the latter may have arrived at their present state of perfection or maturity after centuries. In the case of all other arts this fact has been tacitly admitted but it seems to be denied in the case of statesmanship. Facts however with their incontrovertible logic, have come to the rescue of all struggling and aspiring nations. What others have achieved within a comparatively short period we may also achieve. For both in ancient and modern times India has produced great spiritual teachers and thinkers, great literary men, great artists, philosophers and scientists, great statesmen and great captains of industry and different kinds of genius, talent and capacity.

are not separate and independent entities, they are organically connected and correlated. Hence if a nation gives evidence as India has done of genius, talent and ability in some spheres of human activity, it is safe to presume that it possesses the power to shine in other spheres of activity too if only it be allowed the opportunity to do so.

Our great men ancient and modern are not sports or freaks of nature. The biggest trees are usually found not in the midst of treeless deserts but in tracts where there are trees only less big than themselves. Take any age in any country and you will find that the most famous poet, scientist, statesman, general, etc., were not solitary individuals but only the greatest among great men. So the existence of some great men among us is proof positive of a pretty high average of ability in our country for all kinds of work.

## Comment and Criticism

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions and editorials published in this Review or in other papers embracing it. It is curious opinion may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. It is owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors who are always hard pressed for space, criticism are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor The Modern Review.]

### Indian Cultural Propaganda Abroad

To the Editor of The Modern Review

I trust you will pardon me (if pardon is necessary) for writing you a brief note to invite special attention to an article in the March number of your Review which seems to me of exceptional interest and importance of India, and indeed to nations outside of India. I refer to the article by Dr. Tarakanath Das entitled "The Value of Cultural Propaganda in International Relations."

Dr. Das is coming to be widely known both in America and in Europe as a scholar possessing unusual knowledge of international problems and of world politics and world affairs generally. The subject which he considers in this article is so timely and he discusses it with so large intelligence that I am asking him to re-publish his article in this country which I hope he will do. Our largest minded political thinkers and educators are beginning to give attention to this line of thought more than they have ever done before. And I am sure that if they are afforded a chance to read Dr. Das' clear reasoning and wide array of facts they will be impressed with their practical value. But if the article contains many important facts and suggestions for us here in America, does it not contain quite as many or more for India? Dr. Das believes it does, as is shown by the fact that he writes it for India. It seems to me that he is right, and that Indian leaders of all parties and

names may with profit read it with care if they have not already done so and read it again if they have read it once and ponder its wise words.

Especially does Dr. Das' article seem to me of importance for India's consideration now when she is struggling for freedom and a place once more among the world's great nations.

However before closing let me add a word to prevent misunderstanding. In nothing written above do I mean to urge that cultural propaganda is more important for India at this time than distinct political propaganda. Such I am sure is not Dr. Das' thought as it is not mine. In my judgment and I am sure in his political propaganda abroad is India's supreme need and should be carried on by every legitimate means to the end that the world may understand the intolerable nature of India's bondage and that thus a world wide popular sentiment—a world wide public opinion or general judgment—may be created in sympathy with her great and just struggle for self government. But in carrying on political propaganda, the importance of cultural propaganda should not be forgotten or overlooked. Both are needed. Both should be promoted in every way possible. The cultural added to the political lifts it up to a higher level and greatly increases its influence. Dr. Das' able article speaks for itself.

J. T. Sunderland

New York, April 29, 1930.



[Books in the following languages will be noticed Assamese Bengali English, French German Gujarati Hindi Italian Kanarese Malayalam Marathi Nepali Oriya Portuguese Punjabi Sindhi Spanish Tamil Telugu and Urdu Newspapers periodicals school and college text books and their annotations pamphlets and baskets reprints of magazine articles addresses etc will not be noticed The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged nor any queries relating thereto answered The review of any book is not guaranteed Books should be sent to our office addressed to the Assamese Reviewer the Hindi Reviewer the Bengali Reviewer etc according to the language of the book No criticisms of book reviews and notices will be published—Editor M R]

## ENGLISH

JOSHUA JOTIJI DARIAN B. Jashanmal  
Amratra Hyderabad Smd

This is a small book on Indian horoscopy of the usual type but plainly told The author is a professional astrologer and claims to have predicted many events of public importance such as war flood and famine and challenges his rivals to dispute their truth But he has not let the reader peep into his secrets in this book

I C RAY

BRITISH BUDGETS—Second Series 1913-14 to 1920-21 B. J. Sir Bernard Mallet K C B and C. Oswald George B Sc (Econ) (Macmillan 1929 20 net)

Sir Bernard Mallet's *British Budgets* 1887-88 to 1912-13 is well known as a valuable book of reference on the financial measures introduced in England during the quarter of a century just preceding the outbreak of the great war The present volume brings the narrative down to the year 1920-21 which marked the highest point of revenue so far reached in England Though confined to a much shorter period the interest in the second series is of a quite different kind from that of the first one The present volume gives a quiet but fascinating review of gigantic financial efforts made by England to defeat no less gigantic foes

The plan of the earlier volume has generally been followed in this volume It begins with an able summary of the different budget estimates which is made very realistic with extracts from speeches made in the House of Commons at the time The last section of the book is confined to notes and comments by the authors on the budgets referred to in the first section and to a general review of British finance during the war The remarks in this section show their impartial

judgment and freedom from political bias The value of the book is considerably enhanced by the inclusion of tables compiled from budget estimates and several other government publications These will prove very useful for purposes of reference

One interesting fact pointed out by the authors is the shifting of the burden from indirect to direct taxation a process which became very much marked during the war period Indirect taxes formed 42 p.c. of the total tax revenue in 1913-14 the proportion dropped to 20 p.c. in 1918-19 The great bulk of the direct taxes fall on the income-tax-paying class whereas indirect taxation is spread over the whole population On account of the more sharply graduated income tax in combination with the super-tax the real income available for saving or expenditure in the hands of the rich is pointed out by Bowley and Stamp is definitely less than before the war while the real earnings of manual workers have slightly increased There has also been a considerable increase in the transfer of wealth to the wage-earning classes in the shape of various social services The total for this class of expenditure increased as our authors remark from £611,57,551 in 1911 in England Wales and Scotland to £175,909,489 in 1931 In India however all expenditure on social services has been sought to be curtailed on the plea of wartime stringency The government in Britain without proclaiming from house-tops to be the *malap* of the common people is pursuing Socialism mainly in their interest in two directions firstly by taxing the rich on a heavier scale and secondly by returning to the poor a part of the revenue in the shape of direct benefits

It is not possible to deal here in detail with all the ten budgets included in the volume We shall refer only to a few of their salient features On outstanding fact is the increase of tax revenue from £163 millions in 1913-14 to £999 millions in 1919-20 Even if allowance is made for changes in the value of money the extent of

study of the materials. The author could not handle his resources with considerable critical acumen. In order to enhance the value of the work the author has added illustrations four of which have been executed in colours. They pretend to represent all the principal types and are printed on thick art paper. About a fourth part of the illustrations is unscientific. The author gives in front of page 60 the type of the worshippers of Siva called *Siva Bhakta* of the time of Patanjali (150 B.C.). How could the author warrant the type? These imaginary pictures are really dangerous specimens. The marks on the forehead, forearms and throat are far from being correct. The transliterations throughout the book have been eclectically made; they have nowhere been used on any particular system.

ANUSIA CHAKRAVARTY

THE EXPECTANT MOTHER & HER BABY P.  
Bodh Raj Chandra M.B.Ch.B. Published by  
H. Green & Son Ltd. Edinburgh

The book intended for the benefit of parents, divided into eleven chapters. The first deals with infantile mortality, its causes, the second with the expectant mother and her health, the third with postnatal care, the fourth with infant feeding, the fifth with wet nurse, the sixth with weaning, the seventh with artificial feeding, the eighth with hygiene of infancy, the ninth with the growth of the baby, the tenth with diseases of children and the eleventh with mentally deficient child. The book will be useful to English knowing women. The author speaks of girls being killed by their parents on account of extreme poverty. We profess ignorance of such a practice, specially in a country where a mother's affliction is proverbial and poverty is considered a concomitant of Indian life. Another curious theory stated by the author is that richer classes procure fewer babies. What we object to in the book is the advocacy of meat diet for a prospective mother. The Western authorities discourage meat diet on the ground that in pregnancy meat protein is ill digested and sometimes causes toxæmia leading to a very dangerous disease called Eclampsia.

The book is well set up and with the exception of a few errors may be recommended to those interested in maternity and child welfare movement.

SUNDARI MOHAN DAS

THIRUVAI VEDAS (READINGS FROM HINDU RELIGIOUS LITERATURE) Edited by A. Appasamy M.A.  
D. Hindu Association Press, Russell Street  
Calcutta 1930 Pp. xi+118

This tastefully produced little volume offers, in nine chapters, over two hundred selections from Indian religious literature in more or less rhythmical English. The range is wide and includes such moderns as Mr. C. R. Das and Tagore with semi-legendar writers and devotees of the past. The *Big Veda* (the *Panishads*) and the *Lurians* have been laid under contribution and nearly every part of India has been well represented. Among those who have helped

Dr. Appasamy in selection or translation are Dr. Sriyendrar Roy Swami, Shuddhananda Bharati and Mr. Cyril Modak.

It goes without saying it is a delightful book whether to read systematically or merely to dip into. The one criticism which we would urge in spite of the answer in anticipation that has been given in the prefatory note is that the division into chapters on the basis of the various aspects of spiritual life has been a somewhat strained and artificial one. There are many among these selections which would easily fit into one classification as well as any other. Another complaint would be on the score of a certain sameness of phrasing which however is unavoidable in a book of this nature. It is a book meant largely for the Christian reader so that at every step there is a mental contrast between the Christian and the non-Christian points of view delicately suggested in order to all appearances that it might form the basis for deeper study. But this it must be admitted is as much a hindrance as a help. Apart from this, the deliberate and almost showy attempt at classification produces notions of system which take away somewhat from the spontaneous enjoyment of utterances which are even one of their essentially lyrical. Possibly it would have been better to replete source after source in a chronological sequence leaving the reader to make his own conclusion. The ground covered might also perhaps have been fruitfully narrowed with better results in intensive treatment.

B. B. RAO

INDIGENOUS BANKING IN INDIA By L. C. Sinha  
M.A. LL.B. Ph.D. Macmillan and Co. 112,  
St. Paul Street 24. Illustrated with many a  
diagrams

A timely and important contribution to Indian Economics is made by Dr. Jain with his *Indigenous Banking in India*. What with his personal connections with the Jain community and what with his own attainments in Economics, he is well qualified for the work undertaken by him. One has no hesitation in saying that he has amply succeeded in throwing light on many of securities of indigenous banking.

The first chapter is devoted to the history of indigenous banking. The description of banking and currency during early British days seems to be incomplete and inaccurate at places. Apparently, Dr. Jain has not made use of Dr. J. C. Sinha's *Economic Annals of Bengal* which gives a detailed and comprehensive account of early Anglo-Indian currency. Thus, Arcot rupees were not current in all parts of Bengal about 1777 as stated by the author. Nor is it correct to say that land revenue was not paid direct but through indigenous bankers.

The next chapter on the structure and function of indigenous banking is very illuminating. Many new facts have been given. It is generally known that indigenous bankers have their own local own mercantile notes and own commercial instruments. But it was not known that they had their own Courts as well like the *pana pan* of India.

The two following chapters repeat familiar story but are marred by a few inaccuracies and

re-entered their houses, and shut the doors. Not being able to enter these houses the Musalmans set fire to the houses with petrol. The Moslem mob included even old men and boys of eight or ten. After setting fire to the houses of the lecturers, the mob proceeded to set fire to other houses. Taking advantage of this opportunity the lecturer effected their escape by jumping down from the upper storey of their houses sustaining injuries thereby.

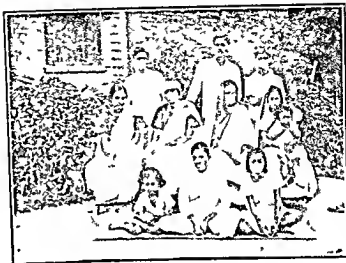
The police arrived two hours and a half after the attack on the Nandi's house. Then some 700 men, women and children, leaving their dwelling houses to their fate, took refuge in Dacca Hall and are there now. Mr. Kadir, Deputy Superintendent of Police, escorted the Nandi family up to the Dacca Museum which is close to Dacca Hall. Thence they were escorted to Dacca Hall by Mr. Kadir's chaprasi.

[The attack on the Nandi's house is described in detail in letter IX.]

This being vacation time most students of Dacca Hall have gone home, only 10 examinees being left there. They have taken upon themselves the onerous duties of hosts to these 700 people. The Musalmans are keeping watch over all shops near Dacca Hall and threatening the shopkeepers with death in case they sold even a piece worth of thing to the Hall people. There are no provisions in the store room of the Hall. Within sight of the people there the mob looted the coal shop and the rice shop. The Hall students some of them themselves fighting are serving their guests, nursing the wounded and guarding all avenues of approach to the Hall to prevent attack, keeping awake all night. The Musalmans both day and night are carried against Dacca Hall—why did it shelter so many refugees? They threaten to see how long the Hall can protect them. The students are smuggling in provisions, risking their lives

and carrying the things themselves. They never ask where they will get so much money. They are spending their last pice to serve the stricken refugees. It is some consolation to get a glimpse of the good in the midst of so much that is vile, dreadful and wicked. God is making people ready to fight against wrong.

I have been charmed with the conduct of the wife of one lecturer of Dacca University. When the mob attacked the house



The Nandi Family

of the Nandi, which was defended mainly by two girls, the latter blew a bugle as a signal of danger. The Hall boys were ready to go out to face even certain death at the hands of the mob, though their elders were restraining them. At this juncture the lady mentioned above bade her son go out to help those in distress. The boy leaped out but others prevented him. The lecturer told his wife to risk. Being a mother you were throwing your son into the jaws of death? She calmly replied, But the women in distress are also mothers, they too have sons.

The students of the Dacca Hall are busy day and night in doing everything possible for the refugees, numbering hundreds. People are running away from Dacca. But so long as a single refugee is in the Hall the students

\* There is unconscious humor in the use of the word smuggling in the original Bengali letter for when there is temporary *gondray* in any locality and looting becomes the recognized method of obtaining supplies the honest legal



cannot leave it. They are living in a beleaguered fortress as it were.

## II

June 1 1930

Last night a census of the Dacca Hall refugees was taken. There are still 69 men, 74 women and 107 children there. Even those among them who have lost their all and been wounded are afraid of telling the names of their assailants. Representatives of the Hindu Sabha and the Congress came to enquire. But the refugees did not disclose the names of any assailants though they said that they knew many—some being neighbours. They even said that they had

tins of ghee and oil within. In the Chowk near the jail yesterday rice was sold at Re 3 per maund and ghee at Re 1 per seer. Whether the police have noticed this or if they have how the sellers have explained the low prices I do not know.

If Hindus complain Englishmen mockingly say: Go to your Gindhi and get Swaraj. Hindus do not still move about in the streets. Moslems do so in small numbers. Market and shops are almost all closed. Hindus have opened two markets where Hindu buyers and sellers but those belonging to neighbourhood at some distance dare not go there.

A Maulvi connected with an educational institution was saying the other day that some Muslims complained that while they were carrying off an iron safe the police snatched it away from their hands, broke it open and made off with what it contained, not giving them anything. I saw yesterday many jewellers' shops which had been looted and burned down.

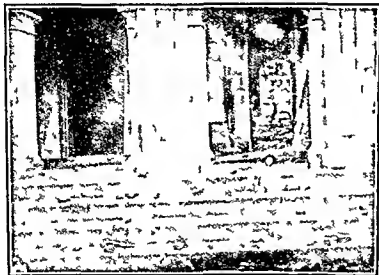
Some Hindus also in a few places have looted a few Moslem shops. But these were small concerns. In a tailor's shop there was a little selling fuel and so on. The owners of these have of course lost their whole stock. But the Dacca Muslims as a body have lost comparatively little. The Muslims may have done incredibly horrible and wicked things.

Many of them had a grudge against the picketing of gajra and liquor shops because they could not easily get liquor and gajra. These parties have turned this grudge to their own advantage.

## III

June 2, 1930

The nephew of—(a famous intellectual) took refuge in Dacca Hall with his wife and delivered of a baby passing through a street on fire with the help of a European nurse. It seemed as if this would be the climax of the tragedy. But something more unimaginable was in store yesterday a lady refugee gave birth to a child there and another lady did



The interior of Madhusudan's house, the house of a

seen the motor car of a certain rich and influential Muhammadan moving about among the mob during the attack. When policemen came after the looting, they simply told the Moslem mob to go away but searched the houses of the Hindus for weapons. The remains of those Hindus who fired them in self defence are being taken away by the Police. Mr.—a police officer is said to have himself taken away home a mounted tiger skin from a looted house when he went to inspect it. It is rumoured that some policemen carried off the remnants of looted cloth shops in motors. Yesterday I went over some parts of the town with the Hindu Sabha people and saw some Muslims carrying bags of opium on the roof of a hackney carriage and

e belonged to a wealthy family. Their  
endless mansion named Sushila Niba  
been looted and partly burned by the  
clerk mob their motor car has been reduced  
ashes. The young lady felt this shock  
early. Last night she went to bed as usual  
the morning seeing that she was late in  
raking her relatives tried to rouse her  
om sleep but found her dead. There are so  
any wounded men, women and children  
re but no doctors have peeped in to  
quire. It has fallen to nottrained hands  
do the work of doctor or midwife.

A relief committee has been formed at  
Dacca. I hear the Nawab has given a thousand  
pees to it and another thousand has been  
promised by Babu Ramanath  
has. This sum will quite suffice  
to make good the loss of the  
poor Mussalmans who have suffered  
out who will make good the  
loss of the many lakhs worth of  
property lost by the Hindus.  
So many panic stricken wounded  
helpless people have taken shelter  
at Dacca Hall but as yet no  
Government officer has gone  
here to enquire. Day before  
yesterday a spy is reported no  
doubt, to have visited the place.

Shops and markets are still  
closed. The streets are deserted.  
The students of Dacca Hall are  
also leaving for home one by  
one thoroughly fatigued. There  
are still about a dozen left.

Up to this time no rich man  
except the Hindu Sabha and  
Congress people has helped the  
Dacca Hall. Only a former  
student of Dacca Hall thrust P 90 into  
the pocket of a lecturer the other day  
unasked.

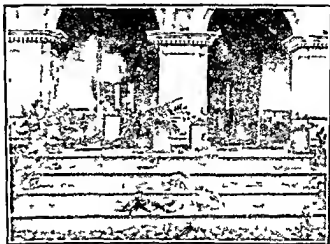
IV

June 5 1930

The accounts which have appeared in the  
*Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 3rd and 4th  
are true. Villages near Dacca have begun  
to be looted. In the town also locks of  
unoccupied houses are being broken and  
the houses plundered. Mussalmans are prevent-  
ing Hindus willing to go back to their  
homes from doing so and threatening them  
that it would be bad for them if they  
returned before the Muharram. Hindus do

not buy things from Mussalmans. Therefore  
the Mussalman plunderers are selling their loot  
through Hindu shop keepers by intimidating  
them. Some such shop keepers have  
kept their shops open. Coming to know this  
some gentlemen have given up buying  
things from them.

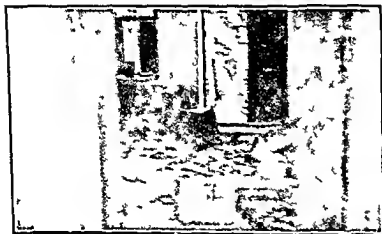
Some Mussalmans are blackmailing Hindus.  
Many of the families who have left Dacca  
have been able to do so in safety by bribing  
Muslim hoodlums. Many of those who have  
not been able to escape have to bribe them  
again and again for safety. They wanted  
Rs 200 apiece from some lecturers. They  
did not agree and so had to leave their  
houses.



The less damaged front of Sushila Niba

Cannot those who represent Dacca in the  
Legislative Council or some other members  
ask the Government (1) How many  
Hindus and Mussalmans have been killed or  
wounded? (2) What are the losses  
of property of Hindus and Mussalmans  
respectively? (3) How many Hindus and  
Moslems have been arrested? (4) Why did  
hundreds of Mussalmans attack the house of  
Bhabesh Nandi after he had been arrested?  
(5) Why have the guns of those who fired  
in self defence been taken away? (6) Is it  
a fact that on the 3rd June many Hindus  
were arrested with the help of Garkhas in  
Nawabpur Tikatali Wari and Thatheri  
Bazar merely on the information of the  
low  
himmiedans? (7) When

10 in the morning several hundred Muslim men devastated Kayetuli how many of them were arrested? (8) When at 10 at night Muslim hooligans burnt down Induprabha Cabinet Works near Babupura Police Station did the police go there and arrest any (or how many) Muhammadans? (9) When loot and arson were going on in Nawabganj and other places near Falg Police Station did the police go there and arrest any Muslims? (10) Is it true that comparatively more Muslims are released on bail than Hindus? (11) Have the police anywhere tried to prevent or stop looting during day or night



A Ho 6 in Kayetuli

June 1 1930

Mr Mahendrakumar Ghosh President of the Dacca Bar Association and some other lawyers went to Dacca Hall to know things at first hand. It is stated that he has said that among his resolution published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* the third contained a definite complaint against the Superintendent of Police expressed in plain language. In the *Patrika* this has been described vaguely as a serious allegation. But the complaint plainly worded has been sent to the Viceroy's Private Secretary and the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

VI

June 6 1930

Yesterday the Bengal Government has asked to the Commissioner to institute

enquiries. To day the Magistrate Mr Holland and his wife went to Dacca Hall. Perhaps by taking his wife with him the Magistrate wanted it to be understood that it was not an official visit. It is said Mr Holland asked the owner of the fine mansion Sushila Nibas seriously damaged by the plunderers and incendiaries whether it was at night that that building was attacked. The attack took place at half past nine in the morning with fierce and loud cries uttered by a mob numbering hundreds which could be heard from Dacca Hall. And yet the Magistrate did not know whether that disgraceful incident took place at night or during daytime.

It is also said the Magistrate asked how many men took part in the attack and whether they shouted. Further Mr Holland is said to have asked whether there were any policemen present. He was told that many persons have said that Mr X a high police officer was seen standing not far off from the place.

Many people in Dacca have heard that a Government official asked Mr X the above-mentioned police officer why he did not fire and that he answered "How could I fire when Mr — was himself present and did not fire?"

It is rumoured Mr X also gave broad hints regarding the identity of the instigator of the Dacca crimes.

It is reported the Magistrate was further informed at Dacca Hall that two or six constables had been heard to say that they were present at the time of the loot and arson at Kayetuli and could have stopped such things but that they did not receive any orders. It is said that on being so informed the Magistrate observed "What could 4 or 5 constables do against 3 or 4 hundred men?—People say the police did not render any help—is that true?" On this Babu Radhakrishnan Adhya proprietor of the fine mansion Sushila Nibas which was looted and set fire to and a Government pensioner is reported to have said:

When the D I G came to my house many Muslims were still there. He calmly told them *Jao jao chala jao* (go go

more off) Then they went away but nobody was arrested. After this the Magistrate left Dacca Hall. It is rumoured that an attempt was made to make him give an interview to the Nandi family but that he did not agree to stay longer. This is reported to have been all the enquiry made after twelve days.

## VII

June 7 1930

Yesterday in the afternoon a police daro went to Dacca Hall to investigate and take down evidence. The sufferers said that they had seen Mr—(a Police officer) present at the time of the loot even Mr—himself (a higher police officer) did not arrest any looters on his arrival he only obliged them to move off and that the hooligans looted the houses shouting "—salat ka hui hum —sahab-ki jai" (the person named being a rich Muhammadan). But the daroga did not take down these things. This was the kind of investigation made after some twelve days.

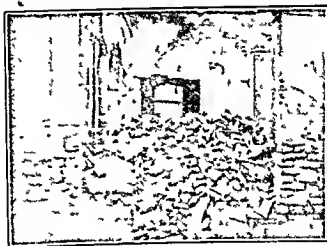
A titled and pensioned old gentleman went for help to a police station, phoned to another, phoned again to the central police office and seeing the S. P. passing by in his motor held up his hands in order to stop the motor and request him to give help but did not succeed in getting it in any way. The mistry who painted the doors of his house when it was building was the man who entered his house and threatened him with a knife to blackmail him. The mulla of the masjid near his house had also threatened him. That was why he wanted help.

A short while after this two constables in plain clothes went to a shop to make purchase. Musliman *qundas* shut them up in a room and threatened them. One of them made good his escape and informed the police at Babupura police section. And then a police officer came with some of his men rescued the other constable in plain clothes and arrested more than a dozen

Muhammadians. The other hooligans concealed themselves in a mosque. The police officer was informed of this but did nothing.

The police can recover much loot even now if the houses of some Muslims are searched. It has become difficult to cremate dead bodies for fear of the hooligans. They go to the cremation ground and create disturbances there. At the time of the riots they killed two of the men carrying or throwing a corpse to the cremation ground.

In the midst of these wicked things it is a relief to record incidents of a different character. One is that when a Hindu lecturer jumped down from the upper storey



A Grocer's Shop in Nawalganj Dacca

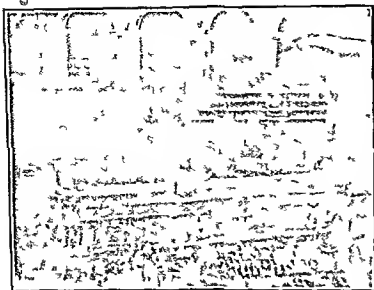
of his burning house into a neighbouring house a Muslim student disguised that gentleman as a Muslim and saved his life.

[The names of some other Muslims who acted in a neighbourly manner are mentioned in a subsequent letter.]

## VIII

June 8 1930

Some families went to Dacca Hall with only their scanty clothes on. Some have been able to recover some of their goods subsequently some others have nothing left. An old pensioner sleeps with the students and is entirely dependent on them with his family.



The burnt and wrecked front of Sushla Nibru of Kayet tui. The owner is a Police Sub Inspc for living at Barisal

A Hindu Citizens Relief Committee has been formed. They have helped the indigent families with rice and money and have promised to purchase and bring rice for other families also who find it difficult to make purchases. In the bazzars every shop is watched by a few Muslim hoodlums. They dictate how much is to be sold to this Bahu or that, if more is given they threaten to loot the shop. Gradually more Hindu bazzars are being opened. The magistrate has been personally requesting the shop owners of these new bazzars to go to the old ones but they say they are afraid to.

One before yesterday in broad daylight a Dacca Hall refugee was suddenly threatened by two Muslims with knives in a street. The gentleman fled from with a shiver in his hand and another Hindu wayfarer accidentally came up. Thereupon the hoodlums made off.

IX

June 8, 1930 Night.

After the riot of Bhalesh Nandi all the members of the family except the father

were at home. It was owing to Bhalesh Nandi that during the Jannamshanti festivals in 1920 and after the Independence Day celebrations on the 21st January last that during the riots the Muslims did not succeed in attacking Kayet tui (the quarter of the town where Bhalesh Nandi lived). This time Bhalesh not being at home having been arrested the Muslim mob attacked his house first. After the riots of 1926 Babu Prasanna Kumar Nandi the old head of the family who is a Government pensioner fixed an iron gate on the staircase leading up to the upper storey. The gate opens away from the staircase. When the Muslim mob attacked the house the Nandis shut this gate and moved upstairs. The hoodlums then



Indraprasta Culmet Works Dewan Bazaar Dacca. Within two hundred yards of this house live the Muhammadan. In the rear of the Dacca University the Muhammadan Principal of the Dacca Islamic Internadial College two Muhammadan Deputy Magistrates and one Muhammadan Subordinate Judge

entered the house and began to throw bricks upon the upper storey. Then the two sisters of Bhalesh named Amiyabala and Amiyabala and their sister-in-law (wife of Bhalesh) went on resisting the attack by throwing bricks.

and sending motor buses to convey people to and from law-courts. The Hindu community of Dacca are, for these services, very grateful to the Sabha which has thereby earned the thanks of the entire Hindu society of India.

Sriyat Rysanilanta Das a wakil and a member of the executive committee of the local Hindu Sabha has been untiring in his exertions. Even in these dangerous times he is moving about in the villages near Dacca, giving relief and trying his best to prevent Hindu-Muslim discussions.

## XI

June 19 1930

In addition to the Musalman student whose efforts to protect a Hindu lecturer have been mentioned in a previous letter many similar friendly deeds done by Moslems deserve to be recorded. For instance, it is said that the hostel superintendent of the

Intermediate College, Mr. Musa, the Principal of the Islamia Intermediate College, Mr. Dahl ud-din, a retired Deputy Magistrate, Mr. Hasibud-din, a sub-judge, etc., acted in a friendly manner. The *daftari* of the Dacca University Examination Department and his brother got thrashed for trying to dissuade Musalman hooligans and have fled from Dacca. It is reported that some Moslems were condemned as pro-Hindu, because they were unwilling to take part in the attacks on Hindus, and they joined in the tumult for fear of being themselves assaulted and simply kept watch to see whether Hindu defence parties were coming but did not themselves take part in looting, arson or assaults. When Kayet-tuli was attacked, Mr. Kadir, the Musalman D S P, went to the Babupura police section for help but did not get any. He phoned for help to the Lalbag Thana and the Police office but got none—on the alleged ground that there were no policemen available. When the D S P phoned for help, it is said Mr. Nahim Kanta Bhattashah was present there.

## India's Unity in Diversity

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

CERTAIN old objections to Indian self-rule have been cleverly, but not too cleverly, re-stated in Vol I of the Simon Commission's Report although ere now they had been repeatedly met. Our answers can never convince British imperialists. The only way to silence such objectors is to win self-rule. The reason, therefore, why Indian publicists may have to say repeatedly what they have got to say against these objections is not that there is any hope of convincing British imperialists, but that some of our own countrymen may have been hypnotized and misled by them. We must do our best to produce community of thought and sentiment among our own people. And if, in addition, some non-British foreigners also accept our view, that is no mean gain.

The Simon Seven say

Europe (if Russia be excluded) possesses a real unity, though no one is likely to fall into the error of regarding Europe as a single nation. In the case of India a sense of unity is growing too, but it is largely the outcome of the most recent stage of its history during which the influence and

authority of British rule over the whole area have made it possible to speak of India as a single entity.

It is true that a single system of government for the whole of India and many other things under British rule have been working towards the *further* unification of India, which has been one in a far deeper sense from time immemorial. And it is also true that a sense of common wrong and a common struggle for freedom are bringing together and welding the various classes of India's population more and more. But the unification of India under British rule is not the beginning but the continuation of a process. It is not governments only or mainly which made India one in the past. There is one ancient secular and religious Sanskrit literature, which is common to the whole of India. Buddhist and Jain literatures are also common to the whole country. These have gone to produce spiritual ties. Hindus, including Jains and Buddhists, have had from ancient times places of pilgrimage all over India. These and our poets and saints and sages have made us one. When Islam came, it contributed a new strand

to the variegated texture of Indian life and bound together north and south east and west.

The Simon Commissioners are wrong in stating that

"It would be an utter misapprehension to suppose that Hindu-Muslim antagonism is analogous to the separation between religious denomination in contemporary Europe. It is a false opposition manifesting itself at every turn in social, political and economic competition as well as in mutual religious antipathy."

The Commissioners are wise in speaking only of contemporary Europe. But contemporary Europe has its background in the past, when Roman Catholics and Protestants used to burn one another which Hindu and Moslems never did. And even in the present century there have been religious riot in Western Christendom.

In contemporary India in spite of a well known extraneous influences making for Hindu-Muslim dissensions the two communities inhabiting particular areas speak the same language, dress alike have similar manner and many common social customs take part in common festivals sometimes have private friendships help each other in distress have business relations are members of the same chambers of commerce and other mercantile associations and live together as good neighbours. This is the result of the welding process which had gone on in the past in culture and religion. It is bad history if not also a sinister suggestion which underlies the sentence in the Report, "During the centuries when the material power of Islam was at its highest in India it was quite unable to crush the enduring influence of Hinduism. The fact is except under fanatics like Aurangzeb Islam did not make any sustained effort to crush Hinduism. On the contrary Hindu and Islamic thought influenced each other and the construction of a Jama Masjid at Buxar by the Hindu Raja Makaranda Ray and the benefactions of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan to the Sringeri Math are by no means rare examples of mutual toleration and encouragement of each other's cults by leading persons of the two communities. This tradition of neighbourly reciprocity has come down to our days in spite of adverse extraneous influences as exemplified by what the "non-Mahammadan Maharajas of Mysore and Kapurthala have done to provide facilities for worship in mosques in their states."

Englishmen themselves when they do not write as imperialist politicians recognize the

unity of India. Thus Mr Ramsay MacDonald writes in *The Government of India* pages 28-29

India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin from the Bay of Bengal to Bombay is naturally the area of a single government. One has only to look at the map to see how geography has formed a single Indian Empire. Its vastness does not make it one; its oneness its unity does not make it a single unit. The Himalayas and the continuing barriers frame off the great peninsula from the rest of Asia. Its long rivers, its extremities and its interior with the sea knit it together for communication and transport purposes its varied productions interlocked with one another make it a convenient industrial unit, maintaining contact with the world through the great ports to the East and West. Political and religious traditions have also welded it into one Indian consciousness. This political unity dates from very early times in Indian culture.

The political traditions referred to by Mr MacDonald will be understood from the fact that almost the whole of India attained political unity under Asoka and Samudragupta in ancient times and under Aurangzeb in mediaeval times. Mr MacDonald continues

An historical atlas of India shows how again and again the natural unity of India has influenced and showed itself in empires. The realm of Chandragupta and his grandson Asoka (305-272 B.C.) embraced practically the whole peninsula and ever after amidst the sway of an influx of dynasties this unity has been the dream of every victor and has never lost its potency.

The very fact that Britain governs India as one whole and does it with comparative ease is a proof of the country's unity. According to the historian Vincent Smith (*Early History of India*)

India, cradled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit and as such rightly designated by one name. Her type of civilization too has many features which differentiate it from that of all other nations of the world while they are common to the whole country in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of the social religions and intellectual development of mankind.

William Archer declares in his *India and the Future* that Indian unity is "in the palpable."

Mr C. F. Andrews quoted the following observations of Lord Acton in *The Hindustan Review* for February, 1911

"Justin Christianity attempted during the Middle Ages to provide a common civilization for Western Europe on the basis of which the various nations and races might combine in a Common State in the same manner Hinduism provided during many centuries a common civilization for India, which has made and still makes the Indian continent a political unity in spite of a thousand

d integrating forces. To Hinduism with its offshoot Buddhism belongs this great glory that it was not content with a narrow racial boundary but included the whole continent in its embrace from the Himalayas to the furthest shores of Ceylon. There are few more imposing spectacles in history than this silent peaceful penetration of Hindu civilization till the farthest limits of India were reached.

Mohammedanism which came into India much later is sometimes being called a divider. But even if in some respects this is true in a larger and truer way it has been a uniter. The very fact that it has penetrated to virtually all parts of India has tended to give all parts a common interest in one another and therefore to bind all together. Having become in all India faith, like Hinduism and Buddhism it has tended to unify the whole land. (Dr J I Sunderland in *M I* April 1925)

The truth is if there is a real nation in the world, a nation with a unity so long standing, and so deep (the growth of thousands of years) that it has become a part of the very intellectual and moral fibre of the people, an ingredient of their very life blood that nation is India. Compared with the unity of India that of every American and European nation is superficial and ephemeral. (*Ibid*)

That India's unity is made up of variety that many constituent elements enter into it has been beautifully expressed by her eminent poet Rabindranath Tagore in the following lines:

We are one all the more because we are many  
We have made room for a common love  
A common brotherhood through all our  
separateness

O if unlikenesses reveal the beauty of a common  
life deeper than all

Even as mountain peaks in the morning sun  
Reveal the unity of the mountains range from which  
they all lift up their shining heads

Sister Nivedita thoroughly identified herself with Indians. She wrote in *The Modern Review* as an Indian:

It requires a foreign eye to catch the wonders of Indian solidarity. It was Englishmen who first saw that our unity was so great and our ignorance of that unity so universal that an immense harvest might be reaped from administering our affairs and taxing us as a unit. In this sense then the lesson of our own unity has been taught us by Englishmen. But we have now learnt that lesson. The scales have fallen from our eyes and we see and know that we are one. Those very surface diversities of which it has been common to make much have become in our own eyes not so many proofs of our unity. As in one of the higher organisms no limb is a mere repetition of any other but the

whole is served in some special way by each so here also no one province duplicates or rivals the functions of any other. The Maratha serves the Bengal and the Bengal the Maratha the Hindu and the Mohammedan find themselves complementary to one another and the Panjab and the Madras are both equally essential to the whole in virtue of their mutual unlikeness not their resemblances.

In the same vein she continues:

It is by our unlikeness—an unlikeness tempered of course by deep sympathy—that we serve one another not by our similarities. The lower the organism the greater the multiplication of a given part the more specialized is each limb and each organ. In humanity not even two hands or two feet are exactly identical. With regard to nations the requisites of unity are common place and common circumstances. A people who are one in home and one in interests have no absolute need to speak a common language or believe a common mythos in order to realize their mutual cohesion.

She concludes:

Questions of race and history are merely irrelevant in face of the determination of a given group to become a nation. Much has to be remembered and much forgotten but man can determine these things by his own will and when in addition he possesses as we in India do an enormous mass of common and related customs, he stands already provided with an inexhaustible language for the expression of his national unity. Ours is the advantage that not merely all sects of Hinduism but also all the peoples of Asia express themselves through certain characteristic modes in common fire to the European is a convenience to most Asiatics a sacred mystery. Water to the European represents physical cleanliness to Asiatics it is the starting point of a new life. The simplicity of the Asiatic environment is agnate with mystic associations vibrant with spiritual significance and to these Hindu and Mohammedan respond alike.

But let it be assumed that there is no unity in India that the Indian population consists only of discordant and jarring elements—how does that prove the justifiability of introducing another discordant element, namely the British which is neither Asiatic nor Hindu nor Mohammedan though it may explain the comparative east with which all the indigenous discordant elements are held in subjection by the foreign one?

In the opinion of the Simon Seven 'To immensity of area and of population must be added the complication of language. And the Indian problem or problems are in their view further complicated by the presence of numerous castes and creeds. Objections to Indian self rule based on such facts have been repeatedly discussed and examined. Nevertheless I shall here state facts suggestive of answers to such objections as briefly as I can.



nations of South and Central America, from all the nations of Europe, and from most nations of Asia, Africa and the principal islands of the Ocean. Counting the languages of all these and adding to them the nearly two hundred languages and dialects spoken by the American Red Indians, one can easily understand the truth of the statement that U.S.A. has a good many more languages than India. And there are at least as many religious faiths there as in Canada of which I shall speak presently. A recent census of New Bedford in Massachusetts shows that in that American town alone 58 languages are spoken.

Canada is a much bigger country than India though in 1921 its population was only 8,788,813 against 318,912,150 of India. Yet this comparatively small self-ruling Canadian population speaks 178 languages, and there are 14 nationalities and 79 religious faiths there.

The Philippines enjoy greater self-rule than India. The population of those islands is a crore in round numbers. The total number of languages and dialects spoken there is 87. This does not include many unknown dialects. The number of linguistic groups alone is 13. English is the *lingua franca* which is the case in India, too. If one crore of people speaking 87 tongues be not disqualified for self rule, then even if the 31 crores of India spoke 87×31 or 2697 languages, they should not have been considered disqualified for self rule on that ground. Instead we speak only a paltry 220 tongues! There are many tribes and religious faiths in the Philippines.

According to the census of 1901, the number of languages in India was 117, by 1911 they had increased to 220! In all parts of the world, minor languages—particularly those not previously reduced to writing—are dying out. But in India they seem to be increasing! Every one knows, however, that the languages in India which are worth while number about a dozen. Those spoken by the vast majority of the people are sprung from or akin to Sanskrit. One can make oneself understood by them through Hindustani. Only about 10 millions in South India cannot follow Hindustani but many of them are learning it.

The religious communities mentioned in the census of India are Hindu (Brahmanic, Arya and Itahme) Sikh, Jain, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Muslim, Christian, Jew, Animists, and

"Here is the largest country in the world trying the boldest social experiment known in history. Its area is more than twice that of the United States, more than double that of all the rest of Europe combined almost one-sixth of the habitable land area of the globe. Hitherto alone with vast undeveloped resources, if populated with the same density as Belgium could accommodate the whole present population of the world!"

"The Statesman's Year Book, which is a standard British book of reference does not give one any idea of the multiplicity of nationalities, religions and languages in Russia, the United States of America, Canada etc.—perhaps because it is not necessary for British imperialists to prove that they cannot be self-ruling political units."

The United States of America is a much bigger country than India and there is a vast possibility of the growth of its population, though it is at present smaller than that of India. It has more languages and more nationalities than India. In order to show that India has a large number of tongues British linguists have included the languages and dialects of all the small and unimportant hill and mountain and jungle tribes that live in remote and almost inaccessible places—analogous to the small tribes of the American Red Indians. In the United States there are people from all the

Minor Religions and Religion not returned. Hence as regards the multiplicity of languages and religions India does not even approach the record of Russia, U S A and Canada. And if Indians are unfit to govern India because they speak different languages and none of them speak all of these how are the English people fit to govern India when they do not speak even a single Indian language? That they have the might to hold India in subjection is a different matter.

Caste is said to be peculiar to India. The word may be but not the thing. Does any body think that the way Negroes, Asiatics and coloured persons are treated in South Africa which is self governing does not betray some of the worst features of caste? Are the "untouchables" in India ever lynched as Negroes sometimes are in America? Negroes are in many other ways also treated very unjustly in America. My professed opinions and my practice as regards caste are well known. So in writing what I am doing I do not run the risk of being misunderstood by my countrymen as a defender or apologist of caste.

There has been a considerable number of Indians working for the destruction of caste for decades.

Let me now give some idea of the existence of caste in say Great Britain and U S A. which are independent and free countries. The following is from an article by Mr Sydney Brookes in the *North American Review*.

"The caste system was beyond doubt the outstanding feature of the British structure. It was the caste system that made the West End of London the governing centre of the Empire. It was the caste system that in every British ministry reserved an excessive number of places for the aristocracy whose title to them was based mainly on the non-essentials of birth, manners and social position.

Mr Brookes then goes on to speak of England as

a country where a man born in ordinary circumstances expected and was expected, to die in ordinary circumstances where the scope of his efforts was traced beforehand by the accident of position where he was handicapped in all cases and crushed in most by the superincumbent weight of convention on good form and the deadening artificialities and conventions of an old society. There were some trades and professions and occupations that were respectable and others which were not. There was not a single Englishman who had not the social privilege of despising some other Englishman and the lower one penetrated in the social scale the more

complex and mysterious and the more rigidly drawn did these lines of demarcation become.

Many of our countrymen who have recently travelled in England know that they were refused accommodation in this hotel and that for no other real reason than the fact of their being Indians or Asiatic. Colour or the actual complexion of a man has not much to do with such discrimination, as will appear from an incident brought to light by the *Jewish World* a few years ago which proved the existence of caste-prejudice in England. It is that, while on the recruiting campaign Sergeant Issy Smith V C was invited to a restaurant but its owner refused to serve the Jewish hero.

Regarding caste in America two extracts from two well known American journals will suffice for my present purpose. The following is from *The Literary Digest*.

The New Orleans *Times Picayune* observes that the separation or segregation of the races which prevails generally through the South on cars, boats and in public places has caused no special injury to any one and has unquestionably tended to prevent friction between the races when travelling which of old frequently developed into serious disturbances and what were called race riots.

Such riots and anti Jew and anti Catholic disturbances are by no means yet extinct in America. A few years back I used to reproduce in this *Review* accounts of anti Jewish and anti Catholic outbreaks in U S A and Great Britain. But I have ceased to do so as no facts or arguments can convince white imperialists that they themselves have the faults which they ascribe only to orientals. *The Literary Digest* continues

It forbids Negroes to move into blocks in which as many as 75 per cent of the occupants are white and prohibits the use by Negroes in white or mixed blocks of any building or part of a building for a church, dance-hall, school theatre or place of assemblage for Negroes.

*The American Journal of Sociology* writes

The constitution of six of the American States prohibit Negro-White intermarriages. Twenty-eight of the States have statute laws forbidding the intermarriage of Negro and White persons.

Nothing is so effective in producing unity among divided peoples as self government as for example the condition of America before she became independent proves. According to Burnaby an acute observer who travelled through the North American

colonies then under British rule in 1769 and 1760

Fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in North America. Nothing can exceed the jealousy and emulation which they possess in regard to each other. Even the limits and boundaries of each colony are a constant source of litigation. In short such is the difference of character of manners of religion of interest of the different colonies, that I think if I am not wholly ignorant of the human mind were they left to themselves, there would soon be a civil war from one end of the continent to the other while the [Red] Indians and Negroes would with better reason impatiently watch the opportunity of exterminating them altogether.

This prophecy did not prove true as independence with self rule proved a great unifier. Ours is a well known American patriot wrote in 1765

"Were these Colonies left to themselves to-morrow

America would be a mere shambles of blood and confusion before little petty states could be settled

This prophecy too proved false for the reason given above. The historian Lecky says

Great bodies of Dutch Germans French Swedes Scotch and Irish scattered among the descendants of the English contributed to the heterogeneous character of the colonies and they comprised so many varieties of government religion belief of commercial interests and social type, that their union appeared to many incredible on the very eve of the Revolution. Lecky's *England in the Eighteenth Century* Vol iv p 19

But self rule and independence made their union an accomplished fact.

There is every reason to believe that, whatever disunion there may be among us now will gradually disappear under self rule but never under British domination

## Gandhi goes down to the Sea

By Mrs UPTON CLOSE

Through sleeping village and plain and field  
The master goes down to the sea  
To scoop the wave with its salty yield  
And set his people free

A magic symbol is freedom's salt  
Dryingneath India's sun —  
Blood will atone an ancient fault  
In the struggle that has begun

Monstrous machines their fires disgorge  
Displacing the spear and the sword  
But material weapons Time never will forge  
To slay spiritual Truth or its word



Food Ma What are you doing with the salt?  
Innocent in-chief Oh nothing We are only playing trans  
—Bulletin Sydney



## Literacy and Adult Education

Though the illiteracy of the Indian masses is the most formidable obstacle in their uplift any attempt to improve their condition by removing this cruse would according to Mr K T Paul, who writes in *The Young Men of India Burma and Ceylon*, prove too long a process before the completion of which the peasant might be exterminated by evils that are gnawing at his vitals Mr Paul writes

There is a current fallacy that Adult Education should begin with conferring literacy and then proceed to build on it more or less along lines of modern school education for the young. Such a procedure will be clearly like putting the cart before the horse.

(a) The situation in the country is too grave to wait such a slow process. Take, e.g. our vital statistics. More than a third of all the children born in the Madras Presidency never see their first birth-day and our Presidency has the best ratio among all the Provinces or States of India. How can such a situation wait?

(b) If literacy is indispensable for Adult Education we may give up the task at once for one very cogent reason at least. Our population is increasing by colossal figures. Last census e.g. when the rate of increase was the lowest as low as  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, the increase was on an average of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions a year 15 millions in the decade. If we are dependent on literacy how will it ever be possible to overtake the education of a continental population of 300 millions when it is adding to itself by such numbers.

(c) But literacy is not indispensable. Education is dependent only on the transference of ideas from one to another and that can be done in more ways than one, as every one of us knows perfectly well. In the situation in India, with the problems so many so diverse so complicated so urgent and all the time becoming more and more grave with the steady and enormous increase of population we should in fact definitely deprecate the conferring of literacy to a subordinate and incidental position and endeavour by all means to perfect a system of Adult Education which is totally irrespective of literacy. In all our plans and programmes the query should be how much will the illiterate person get out of this? If the test should be the effect on the illiterate person, nothing should be reckoned as satisfactory or least as the illiterate can have.

At the same time I should in justice to myself recall that I have already cited the case where the

education of the illiterate awakes in him the desire for literacy at least for his children. This is no fancy but a fact based on experiences abroad and in India. Educate the community aright which means is practically possible and the community will demand more education and better education. For example one of the serious difficulties now before the spread of literacy in the land is the inability of the children to stay long enough at school. This inability is due partly to economic reasons and partly to lack of appreciation of the value of the school by the parents. This latter problem which is psychological will be entirely and automatically solved with the success of adult education. In fact the desire for literacy will be so keen that the economic problem will also begin to be solved.

While I have said all this I should make it clear that the conferring of literacy should certainly be designed as a part of the general curriculum of Adult Education. But it must only take its place among all the other objectives and that place should not and need not be a central place.

## Hindu Writers of Urdu Literature

Mr Hafiz Syed contributes an interesting article to *Trien*, showing how Urdu literature is indebted to Hindus as well as a greater part of its serious as well as imaginative writings.

When we consider the unpleasant phrase which the controversy between Urdu and Hindi has assumed in recent years it is difficult to believe that the Hindus could ever have been interested in the Urdu language but the fact is that, if the Urdu writings of the Hindus are eliminated the stock of Urdu literature would be greatly impoverished. Words in a language may be classified under two heads firstly words on serious and scientific subjects like history philosophy, Mathematics etc. which seek to elucidate and explain certain problems, and secondly novels dramas etc. where delight and pleasure are directly afforded and incidentally considerable knowledge is imparted and a moral expounded. It is impossible to overlook the additions made by Hindu writers to both these sections of Urdu literature. As long as Urdu novels are read the name of Sarshar will not be forgotten. Landut Ratan Nath Sarshar etc. are among the finest Urdu novelists.

Hindus have written so abundantly that it is impossible to make a comprehensive reference to their writings. Some of these are ancient and relate to the very early period of the Urdu language. Even a passing reference to the Urdu novel

ists would be incomplete without mention being made of Munshi Jwala Prasad Barj.

Of the Hindus who took a lively interest in Urdu literature, two sects figure prominently e.g. Kashmiri Brahmins and the Kayasthas. Just as Sarshar had a special place of honour amongst the Kashmiri Pandits amongst the Kayasthas no other person probably possessed a truer appreciation of the Urdu language than Barj.

From the above it should not be gathered that the Hindus wielded their pens only to produce wit and humour and were out of the field of serious writings. At the present time the quality and standard of a language are judged by the number of journals and newspapers issued in that language and in which the public mind is interested and through which its knowledge of public affairs is enhanced. In the United Provinces the *Quadrant* is the oldest Urdu newspaper owned by a Hindu and mostly edited by Hindu editors. The second oldest paper in this Province is the *Hindustani* always owned and edited by Hindus. It is the best Urdu paper through which alone the Urdu reading public was acquainted with all political activities.

The oldest paper in the Punjab is the *Khbar-e-Aam* owned by a Hindu. The widely circulated *Hindustan, Desh, Pratinidhi* and *Udhar* are also run by the Hindus. At one time the *Rahbar* of Moradabad which had gained some reputation belonged to a Hindu gentleman.

Without reckoning the light literature composed by the Hindus we find that the Hindu authors have written standard works on serious and literary subjects and have produced numerous translations and compilations on science and arts.

## Indian Nationalism and Communism

Dr Tarakanth Das writes in the *Calcutta Review* on the leanings of the extreme left wing of Indian Nationalism towards Communism and utters a word of warning as to the risk that it involves.

A section of Indian Nationalists, in the struggle against British Imperialism, is consciously or unconsciously inspired by what looks like the success of the Russian Revolution. Some of them are admittedly worshippers of Communism and believe that the Indian Nationalist Movement should at least in matters of foreign relations become an adjunct of the Soviet Russian Foreign policy. They advocate that the Indian National Congress should be affiliated with the Anti-Imperialist League which regards the Indian Nationalist Movement, as represented by the All India National Congress, as merely capitalistic and concludes that the masses—workers and peasants—of India consequently should not have anything to do with it but on the contrary they should organise an "Anti-Imperialist League" in India towards the ultimate goal of the establishment of a Communist State in India.

These saviours of Indian workers and peasants believe that they should preach and practise Class War in India. They are anxious to propagate a doctrine which earned into practice,

will inevitably lead to civil war in India. Sincere Indian Nationalists should not forget that civil war in India was the principal cause of her subjection to foreign rule.

The principle which should guide Indian nationalists in their activities for gaining freedom is not class struggle but co-operation among the nationalists of all strata of life to make their country free and independent. National freedom is but a means towards the betterment of the condition of the masses of India. It cannot be denied that the Indian masses are victims of exploitation by Indians of a certain class while the people of India as a whole are being exploited by the British. Yet it will be a criminal folly if Indian Nationalists at any stage of their struggle for freedom make class war the principal issue or adopt it as their policy and in appropriate means for the attainment of their goal.

Class War may be an effective weapon against their enemies. They however should not forget that the same weapon might be used against them and it may eventually undermine the very existence of the Nationalist Movement. Recovery of Indian freedom and promotion of genuine welfare of the people of India is the ultimate goal of the Indian Nationalist Movement. Therefore Indian Nationalist activities should be directed in such a way as will lead to the harmonizing of the varied interests of the various strata of the vast population affording the best opportunity for the development of national life. If the Indian Nationalist Movement is to become a factor for human progress then the gravest responsibility for the Indian political leaders lies in the fact that they should not allow it to degenerate into activities for spreading class-hatred or race-hatred.

## Women in Insurance

With the growing emancipation of women in this country the question of the means by which those of them who desire to live independently or add to the earnings of their husbands might secure a livelihood is coming more and more to the fore. A neglected field of their activities is pointed out by Mr S. C. Ray in *The Insurance and Finance Review*.

In Western countries women have established successful positions for themselves in the insurance world. In England except one office all insurance companies have a large number of women on their office staff and some of these workers are holding responsible positions. Three women are now occupying outstanding places in the realm of insurance viz. Mrs F. H. Bessley, West End Manager Southern Life Association, Miss Marion French, Head of the Women's Section in Liverpool London and Globe Insurance Co. and Mrs Boyl, Agency Manager for United Kingdom African Life Assurance Society.

Women insurance workers have become more successful in America where quite a large number of women are employed on the agency staff of many insurance companies. One Insurance Company is running an agency department composed

entirely of women who are sixty in number. During the year 1929 they secured aggregate new business amounting to one million pounds. Eight of the ladies secured personal business to the extent of £20,000 (Rs. 270 lakhs) or more each.

Time has come when women of our country should seriously consider this question. There are women who have to earn their own living, others may also enhance the happiness of the family by tapping some sources of additional income. Perhaps the most suitable line of work which they may take up is insurance. They can approach men through the womenfolk of the family. They can also approach women as insurance is as great a necessity for them as for men. And I have already stated that there are insurance companies who accept proposals on female lives without much restriction.

### Insurance and Swadeshi

*Indian Insurance* contains an editorial note on the position of Indian Insurance Companies vis à vis their foreign competitors in course of which it is said:

In respect to the general business however the position is still somewhat difficult because as against half a dozen Indian companies we have in this country over 100 non-Indian insurance companies who are all well established financially strong, aggressive and able to compete. And every year some new non-Indian company or other comes and opens up offices throughout the country. We have repeatedly stated that India is such a country where any foreign company be it insurance, bank, shipping or any other trader can come and open up offices without let or hindrance. There is no properly constituted authority in this country who is competent to examine such newcomers as is the case in various parts of the world. Be these things as they may, the fact remains that in spite of these formidable rivals in the field the Indian general companies are steadily coming up because the Indian public is rapidly rallying round these national institutions.

The Swadeshi movement which is now rapidly growing in this country is one which is bound to take firmer roots and already this is having very good results. Be it said to the credit of those who are very actively championing this movement (we know it is our ex-President of the Legislative Assembly Mr. V. J. Patel who has put his heart and soul into this movement) insurance has been given a prominent place in the Swadeshi programme. It is a very good sign of the times that every association representing trade and commerce of this country is behind this movement and if only the present resolution of the public is followed up in practice (as it is being done now vigorously) there is no business which can prosper like the insurance business.

### The Message of the East

The decay of religious belief in the Western world' says Mr. C. F. M. Joad in the opening sentence of an article on 'What

Eastern religion has to offer to Western civilization' in *The Scholar*, 'is notorious, and I propose to take it for granted.' The broad result of this fact is that in Europe life is found less satisfactory than might have been expected. Hence the aimless and pointless character of much of modern Western life.

In this impasse what assistance if any can we derive from the traditional wisdom of the East? Much provided the wisdom of the East be stripped of the religious dogmas which have accreted around it. Common to all religions is the belief that the universe is in some important and fundamental sense and in spite of all appearances to the contrary, worthy while. The appearances to the contrary include the everyday world and the everyday business of living in it. It follows that the everyday world is not the sole type of world; it may indeed be merely a mask or veil concealing a world of reality that underlies it. Further, it may be possible by living a certain kind of life to tear aside the mask and penetrate however obscurely behind the veil. Very well, then, it may be worth while to try to live the kind of life in question.

And here I take it we are within sight of the basic truth of all Eastern religions which is that for those who live in a state of agitation certain kinds of serene and lasting happiness, certain intellectual and creative processes are impossible. Hence the religions of the East have insisted upon the systematic cultivation of mental quietness and the conscious pursuit of a certain way of life in a word they have laid down rules for the attainment of spiritual health.

Adopting them we gain a criterion of value a yardstick by which to measure and appraise the worth of our activities which the current thought of the Western world fails to provide. Such a criterion of value invests our lives with significance by suggesting that it matters—and not only to ourselves—how they are lived. Given the belief that some kinds of activity are more valuable than others we may go wrong but we shall know that it is wrong and that we might have gone right. Thus the belief in the intrinsic value of certain kinds of activity springs directly from the conviction of the fundamental worth wholeness of the universe. Lacking the latter the Western world lacks necessarily the former. It has in fact, lost the sense of value. Thus it prides itself continually on its ability to do things without stopping to enquire whether the things are worth doing. Its boasted efficiency may indeed be defined as doing the wrong things in the right way.

### Opium Policy in India

The opium policy of the Government of India is the subject of a memorandum prepared by a group meeting in London who are studying the opium policy of the Government. The following extracts from it, amply proving the unprogressive character of the opium policy of the Government is quoted

from the reprint published in *The National Christian Council Review*

1. It has been the practice of the Government of India for many years past to assert that it is undesirable to interfere with the moderate use of raw opium for this policy the Government has the authority of the medical member of the Royal Commission of 1893 and in their Resolution issued on the 17th June 1906 they reassert that policy, quoting the authority of the Royal Commission and adding that they do not propose to take action to suppress an age long habit the temperate exercise of which has been pronounced by the highest authorities to be free from injurious effects. That statement admits of one modification on the findings of the 1893 Commission and only one, namely that opium is not as was thought in 1893 useful as a remedy for malaria. This is a very important admission, and it seems doubtful whether its importance has been sufficiently recognized. The Resolution of June 1906 was referred to by Sir George Schuster in September 1909 as giving the latest statement of opium policy. It is therefore assumed that it is still accepted as authoritative. The purpose of this memorandum is to suggest that it requires revision, in the light of the following facts.

2. In January 1918 a statement was issued under the auspices of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, signed by Surgeon General Ewart Sir Alfred Pearce Gould Sir Frederick Traves Professor Sims Woodhead, Dr Saleeby and a large number of other Indian and British physicians of repute and with good experience of Eastern medicine, asserting that even a moderate use of opium as of other drugs and alcohol is harmful especially in tropical countries like India. They are of no avail permanently to relieve physical and mental strain. It should be noted that the experience of many of these men is as wide as and is based on much more modern knowledge than the few medical experts whose opinions supported the majority report of the Opium Commission of 1893.

In January 1913 a joint sub-committee of the League of Nations Health Committee and the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium consisting of Dr Carrere (Director of the Public Health Department, Brest) Dr Chodz (Polish Minister of Health) Dr Anselmino (German Minister of Health) and Mr J. Campbell (representative of the Government of India on the Opium Advisory Committee) presented a report containing the following statement:

"After a detailed discussion and in view of the fact that the sub-committee was instructed to draw up its report solely from the health and medical point of view it was decided that medical use should be considered the only legitimate use and that all non medical use should be recognized as an abuse, and also that in the opinion of doctors the use of opium as a stimulant could not be considered legitimate even in tropical countries."

This statement, strongly upheld by the three medical members of the committee was objected to only by the non medical member Mr (now Sir John) Campbell.

The League of Nations Committee, recognizing that medical and is sometimes not available in cases where the alleviation of pain is urgent, specially exempted Dover's powders from the

restrictions applied to the other derivatives of opium. It has since been pointed out that quinine and coal tar products can between them be used as household remedies for all the physical needs for which opium is used in India to day with much more benefit and without the evil results that follow from the moderate use of opium.

### America's Campaign Against Illiteracy

How America sets about to remove the evil of illiteracy is explained by Dr Sudhendra Bose in course of an article in *The Citizen of India*

The national census of 1930 will be upon us in the United States in April. After the census has been taken, the names and addresses of all illiterates in each of the forty eight States will be given to the authorities to remove their illiteracy. This will be the first time in the United States that the census takers will be helping in actually fighting illiteracy.

A person is illiterate who cannot write in any language. At the last census taken ten years ago it was disclosed that six per cent of the population in this land is illiterate. It is lowest in the State of Iowa where 9.1 per cent of the population is literate and highest in the State of Louisiana where less than 10 per cent can read and write. Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland and Germany even England and Wales have much less illiteracy than the United States.

A nation wide campaign against illiteracy is now being waged since the beginning of this year under the auspices of the National Advisory Committee on Illiteracy. The Committee was appointed by the Federal Government with the approval of President Hoover. The various State Educational Boards working with the members of the National Advisory Committee are endeavoring to teach illiterates the rudiments of reading and writing before the 1930 census begins next month.

The National Advisory Committee has worked out complete and detailed plans for the purpose of carrying into the States and every home, the desire for education. The five Southern States where illiteracy is highest—Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama—are conducting hurried campaigns among their uneducated citizens to blot out the stigma of illiteracy. The state Superintendent of Education of South Carolina tells me that a State-wide fight for reducing the number of illiterates in South Carolina is vigorously under way. It is said to be the first State-wide effort of its kind in the history of America, but the other States are not lagging behind.

The method employed for teaching the adults is simple. The name of the illiterate is grooved into a soft substance with a hard pointed instrument, and then the pupil is required to trace the outline until he becomes proficient in writing his name. Later the pupils will probably be taught how to write more than their names and then an effort will be made to teach them to read. The hardest task is to induce the illiterates themselves to learn.

The leaders of the movement do not contemplate

raising the country of illiteracy in a few weeks merely to make an excellent record in the next census. They are only taking advantage of psycho-critical movement to advance the cause against ignorance. Few people in America like to be classed as illiterate in a census. Now that the time is near it is hoped that when they will have to face the lit census takers many who have heretofore been indifferent will abandon the joys of idleness and make a special effort to read and write. And they are taking it up with determined enthusiasm.

### The Influence of Indian Thought in America

An account of how Indian thought has influenced some great American writers of the 19th and 20th centuries is given in the editorial notes of *Prabuddha Bhavata*.

Many of us are vaguely aware that some of the greatest thinkers of the nineteenth century America were profoundly influenced by Indian thought. The name of Emerson prominently occurs to us in this connection. The thinkers who were most profoundly influenced were Thoreau and Emerson. But there were also Walt Whitman, Edgar Allan Poe, Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy and others.

Thoreau gives the sources from which he derived Indian influence. A French translation of the *Gita* whose author must be Hounouf, although he does not mention him, published in 1840 and more important the English translation of Charles Wilkins of which an edition had just appeared in 1846 with a preface by Warren Hastings.

It appears that in 1834 the Englishman Thomas Chalmers, the nephew of the great Bishop Reginald Heber, visited Concord and became the friend of the whole intellectual colony. On his return to England he sent Thoreau a collection of Oriental classics in 44 volumes. Thoreau said that it was practically impossible to find any of these works in America.

How far was Walt Whitman influenced by Indian thought? No direct connection has yet been discovered between them though some resemblances may be observed between his thought and Indian thought.

Too had no less affinity to the spirit of India. His *Eureka* published in 1848 showed thought closely akin to that of the Upanishads. Some people such as Wido Frank believe that he must in the course of his wanderings have come in contact with Indian mysticism.

The indelence of Mrs. Eddy, the founder of Christian Science can however be more clearly proved. It is enough to mention the little lexicon of philosophy and religious terms added by her to her Bible (*Science and Health*) in order to see the likeness of certain of her fundamental ideas to those of Vedanta.

Lastly analogies to Indian thought are still more striking in the most important treatises on the mind-cure by Horatio W. Dresser, Henry Wood and R. W. Tine. But as they date from the end of the century that is to say after the death of Swami Vivekananda, they may well have owed much to the teachings of the latter. They agree on all points with the rules of Yogic concentration

and with the faith behind it. We have reasons to believe that some at least of the protagonists of Mind cure and New Thought had attended Vedanta classes. William James, said of the Mind cure.

It is made up of the following elements: the four Gospels; the idealism of Berkeley and Emerson; spiritualism with its law of the radical evolution of souls through successive lives; optimistic and vulgar evolutionism and the religions of India.

### Parents and Children in the West

*The Collegian and Progress of India* publishes an article by Dean Inge on the revolt of youth in course of which the Dean traces the decline of parental authority and the loosening of the family ties in the West.

Some time ago a pair of distracted parents consulted a magistrate as to how they were to deal with their refractory daughters. The magistrate could only reply that the law does not compel children to obey their parents. How strange this decision would have sounded in ancient times! In Greece the father began by deciding whether his child was to live at all. If she was a girl, she was lucky if she escaped being put in a pot and buried. The Roman law originally gave a father the right to condemn his son to death. In other countries parents have been allowed to sell their children as slaves.

The emancipation is most complete in the United States then in England. In the Latin countries the parent still controls his children in some very important matters. For example, marriages are still arranged by the parents and there are some who think that though this custom prevents the romance of courtship as we know it it also prevents a great many young people from marrying in haste and repenting at leisure.

By the French law the father's consent to a marriage is necessary and there have been unhappy instances where an English wife has been repudiated by a French husband on the ground that the marriage was not approved by his father and is therefore invalid. The marriage which the French man continues to pay to his mother as long as she lives is not a legal obligation but is part of an old tradition which in our country has been almost forgotten. We might say that the solidarity of the family is far more acknowledged in the Latin countries than in Northern Europe.

Economic independence has much to do with the break up of the family. In the working class this independence is achieved at a very early age; there remains only a possible obligation on the part of the sons to maintain their parents in old age and this burden has now been taken over by the state. In the professional class the son is and feels himself to be dependent on his father till the end of his education which may last till the age of twenty three and the daughter till her marriage.

Among the wealthy we find again more independence the daughters frequently living away from home on an allowance. But the enormous increase of careers open to women has set free the daughters of the middle class. In countless instances they



keep themselves as doctors, secretaries, teachers and in many other ways perhaps paying only short and infrequent visits to their parents.

That the old proverb, 'My son is my son till he gets a wife. But my daughter is my daughter all her life' is no longer true, and many parents are bitterly disappointed they hoped they say that their daughters would have made them son return for many years of loving care and affection and the daughters seem to acknowledge no obligation whatever. They have a right to their lives and their parents have a right only to the withering leaves of their own lives the flower of which was in part willingly sacrificed to the heavy though ungrudging calls of parenthood.

### Europeanizing of Turkey

Dr Germain contributes an article in the modern movements in Islam to *The Paris Revue Quarterly* in course of which he describes the reforms introduced into Turkey by the Angora Government.

The National Assembly of Angora intrepidly proceeded to newer reforms and framed new laws with a compl to disregard of the Koran Hadith or Idjma. Legislation became a purely human affair, a complete separation of the church and the state was effected. The *wakf* endowments were sequestered by the State, the dervish fraternities dissolved.

The Government edited a series of new codes. It accepted the best codes from all nations, the penal code of Italy, the civil code from Switzerland and the commercial code from Germany. They were all translated into Turkish and put before the Assembly and after short discussions unanimously carried. As a consequence of these European codes many aspects of social and economic life imperceptibly underwent a deep change. Wine drinking is no longer interdicted, polygamy lost its legal sanction, commercial restrictions of shariat times are no longer valid and many new customs were created by the acceptance of the codes. For example in future women and children will have to bear the name of the husband and the father respectively. It was inevitable that the new legislation would change the outward appearance of life in Turkey. Harem life and the veil disappeared, women go about freely in society, participate in social activities, dress in the European fashion and share all the amusements of life with their husbands.

It cannot be denied that the change was a little sudden and the war time hardships and privations found relaxation in somewhat easy going conception of life in large towns. Much of the superficial frivolities of European life were accepted at their face value as European culture. The lightest forms of pleasure seeking and the rapid outgrowths of superficiality were greedily accepted. European dancing, in its modern hysterics found ready acceptance and was looked upon as a praiseworthy mark of progress. Fortunately such conceptions are confined to a very small minority and it is to be hoped that after the novelty has worn away it will soon subside.

A more striking change was effected in religious life. Before the war the streets of Constantinople were teeming with white-turbaned *sophas* (students of the *Imam*) and *hodjas* (teachers, priests). With their many-coloured cloaks they contributed largely to the picturesque of the town. Most of them enjoyed a modest living on the numerous *wakfs* and being exempted from military service spent their lives in studying Arabic, medieval jurisprudence and scholastic theology. The most exquisite lands were taken away from agriculture by their diversion to the mosques where they led an unproductive life. While firms could not be worked for lack of labour the *imarets* (student hostels) were filled with stalwart peasant boys cringing Arab. With the sequestration of *wakfs* this source of productive material ceased. A fatal blow had already been administered to the *wakf* system during the war when an edict suspended the exemption of such students from military service. It had become evident that most of them took refuge in religious studies in order to avoid military duties.

Mosques have again become purely places of worship and their *perone* was restricted within the necessary limits. It must be confessed that the Turks do not appear to be very fond of going to mosques as most of them are half empty. They pretend that the European dress hampers religious ablution and the posture of prayer on the ground. An innovation is to be introduced, new music, most horrifying to the priests. Such innovations appear to be equally futile in the eyes of the sober-minded Europeans as well as to orthodox Muslims who consider them unnecessary. No Christian has ever felt a mosque without being deeply touched by the noble simplicity of Muslim worship. An atmosphere of inspiration pervades the lofty cupola vied with the sublime names of the Prophet and the four Caliphs under which fleeing Mecca, man infinitely small compared with the powers of nature humbly worships his Creator.



### The Lesson of Revolutions and Dictatorship

Writing in *The Century* on the red dictatorship in Russia and its black variant in Italy Mr Jerome Davis says

Perhaps the greatest lesson both of the Italian and the Russian revolution is that wherever there is widespread injustice there liberty and democracy are endangered. The amount of radicalism and unrest is a barometer of the extent of injustice. The Russian Revolution was caused by the widespread injustice in the Czar's autocratic despotism. Again the opposition of Bolshevism to all religions because it has been used by a selfish minority in his own interests should make the churches realize that a religion is in danger which does not turn into its ethical precepts into the community life. A genuine religious spirit cannot permanently continue if it is contradicted by the dominant practices of the business world.

### The Rebirth of Germany

The rebirth of disarmed Germany is the subject of an article in *Current History*, in course of which Mr George McClellan points out the achievement of Germany.

Germany offers the greatest economic object lesson of history. That national group tied white by an unparalleled war exertion stripped to depletion financially and physically, obliged to rebuild its national structure under depressed morale, general bankruptcy and political chaos has rehabilitated itself is a modern miracle. It is a monument to German resources and character.

Let us not miss the chief significance of Germany's achievement. The unanswerable proof that any developed nation or economic group need only be relieved of military aims and burdens and released to the free use of its inherent resources in order to achieve rapidly economic prosperity and social well being.

The intellectual and cultural gain that has come to the Germans is not to be denied. The one time intellectual and musical leadership of Germany had become atrophied, paralyzed by the domination of the Hohenzollern and his military clique. The stifling grasp of the military system paralyzed and froze the springs of national life at their source.

In the new Germany there is a democratization of education by eliminating the snobbery of private schools and by provision for universal schooling. Already there is a literary output that comes close to leading the Continent. The youth movement and the development of tennis, baseball, football and all outdoor life is a sound factor in Germany's new national growth and may perhaps account in part for the 25 per cent decrease in beer consumption without the legal pressure of prohibition.

Nor is that all. By her superiority in aviation and chemicals Germany will become potentially a greater reservoir of war power than France.

The world significance of the renaissance of the new Germany lies in this. That with modern inventions and productive capacity any intelligent and resourceful people can rapidly produce a surplus of the material wants of life—that to do this they need only release their mental and economic activities from the burden of military establishments and the distortion of military aims—that given such freedom they not only rise rapidly toward well being and affluence but do so even under a heavy burden of reparation payments laid on their shoulders by a former misguided military regime.

### Arthur James Balfour

Earl Balfour was one of the greatest figures of late Victorian England. The following estimate of his career and personality is contributed to *Current History* by Mr Angus Fletcher.

Among the generation of statesmen now passing away the late Lord Balfour was one of the most fascinating figures not only in his long career as a political leader but also in his personality and his intellectual qualities.

Arthur Balfour (as he was known to the English-speaking world for so many years) presented in the two sides of his character an enigma which is perhaps peculiarly English. True, he was a Scot of an ancient line born within a few hours' ride of Edinburgh and some have seen in his metaphysical turn of mind a characteristic which is said to be peculiarly Scottish. But for all practical purposes he was an Englishman—the product of Eton—the amiable dilettantism of Eton and of Cambridge and what is more he grew up and flourished under the sheltering influence of the great English house of Cecil.

His mother was a sister of Robert Cecil, Marquis of Salisbury, the last Prime Minister to direct the British Government from the House of Lords, and at that time still a personage of the weightiest influence. Had Arthur Balfour been exposed to the rough and tumble of life had those powerful props not underpinned his early political career, it is question whether he would not have found his way to a chair of philosophy at one of the ancient universities rather than to the frontbench of the House of Commons.

His interest in philosophy early made its appearance. By the time he was 30 he had published his well-known *Defense of Philosophy*. Doubt and from time to time throughout his long life he offered considerable contributions to the literature of philosophy. His place among the leaders of philosophic thought cannot it is true be estimated as in the first rank but his work has received undoubted recognition. His fame even here is perhaps due in no inconsiderable degree to his skill in dialectics, which was one of his outstanding talents. It is not without interest that the argument of his *Foundation of Ethics* was primarily directed against the dominant philosophy of the day—not against science properly so called but against the construction put upon it—Naturalism.

There was the enemy! It is interesting also to know that the quality which he conceived as distinguishing man from the brute creation was the capacity of being influenced through the action of authority rather than through the exercise of reason. Perhaps this was not surprising in a Tory of the old school.

And perhaps it was the philosopher in him that enabled him to retain his youthfulness so long, through a life which most people would regard as the best possible excuse for an inactive old age. His whole outlook was towards youth rather than in the direction of incoming age. No words in express this essential feature of his character better than his own. "To be an optimist is to be a believer in youth. It is after all the young people who are going to do this work. Let us believe in them. I believe in them. Doubtless they occasionally have their weaknesses. And among these weaknesses sometimes is a very imperfect appreciation of the virtues of their seniors. But these weaknesses are always amiable; they always give me at least a great feeling of pleasure mixed with a slight touch of pathos. When I hear of the new art I know it is going to be the old art quite soon. When I hear that there is going to be a new school of politics I know that in a year or two its professors will be described as the old gang." That after all is how the world is made and, after all it is not a bad way. If it were not for the young, how would the world move? Whatever the old people may think of themselves, it is inevitable that they should be somewhat petrified by long experience as well as taught by it, and that they should lose some of that flexibility of mind which is possessed by youth.

### Europe in Asia

The message on the Indian situation which Rabindranath delivered before the Friends Service Council in London was a plea for the co-operation of the East and the West. Rabindranath still has faith in the West but he believes that the plane on which they have met in India and other countries of the East, is not where they could have come together to the mutual advantage of both. As he says:

But what is most unfortunate from in Asia is the fact that the advent of the West into our continent has been accompanied not only by science which is truth and therefore welcome but by an impious use of truth for the violent purpose of self-seeking which converts it into a disruptive force. It is producing in the countries with which it is in contact a diseased mentality that refuses moral ideals, considering them to be unworthy of those who are to be rulers of men, and who must therefore cultivate their fitness to survive. That such a philosophy of survival fit for the world of force cannot but bring a fatal catastrophe in the human world they do not see. They become too busy arguing at those who protest against it, fearing that such a protest might weaken in them the animal that should be allowed to . . .

for eternity. Doctors know that infusion of animal blood into human veins does not give vision to man but produces death and the intrusion of the animal into humanity will never be for its survival. But faith in man is weakening even in the East for we have seen that science has enabled the inhuman to prosper the lie to thrive the machine to rule in the place of *Dharma*. Therefore in order to save us from the anarchy of world faith we must stand up to day and judge the West. But we must guard against antipathy that produces blindness. We must not disable ourselves from receiving truth. For the West has appeared before the present day world not only with her dynamic of passion and cargo of things but with her gift of truth. Until we fully accept it in a right spirit we shall never ever discover what is true in our own civilization and make it generously fruitful by offering it to the world. But it is difficult for us to acknowledge the best in the western civilization and accept it when we are humiliated. This has been the reason why the West has not yet come to our heart why we struggle to repudiate her culture because we are under the dark shadow of a western dominance. We need freedom we need a generous vigour of receptivity which the sense of self respect can give to us and then only the mission that Europe has brought to the world will find its fulfilment in our people and India will all at once proudly join in the federation of minds in the present age of enlightenment.

### The Alternatives in India

The situation in India is the subject of a leading article in *The New Republic*. The following extracts from it will give a fair idea of the more enlightened American opinion regarding this subject.

The situation in India is following the expected lines and moving toward ever deeper tragedy. A considerable number of persons have already been killed—it is impossible to say just how many because news-gathering facilities are inadequate and there is every reason to believe that the censorship is at work.

Many Americans who are in close sympathy with the general aims of the British Labour government are puzzled to understand the seeming apathy of Mr MacDonald and his followers toward the slanger of a world that craves explanation in India. It cannot be had to ignorance for the Labour party for many years made effective campaign ammunition out of the treatment of the Indian question by previous Tory or Liberal governments. Mr MacDonald has himself visited India and is the author of two books on the subject. It is true that the Labour government has only a minority in Parliament and that its strength has been still further depleted recently by the formal defection of the Independent Labour party. But if the Indian situation is as serious as it appears to be and as expert observers like Mr Andrews, Mr Brailsford and Mr Ritchie assert it is a time-serving policy toward it is now as fatal as any other. It is the task to explain that any new Government in England is at the mercy of a permanent staff in the Indian Office which

knows all the ropes and does its own way but affairs are now at a stage where no subordinate official would dare to take action on his own initiative. Undoubtedly the key to the government's failure to act can be found in two things: reluctance to yield under pressure which is connected with the question of imperial prestige throughout the world and the probability that in this crisis Mr MacDonald and his advisers are at a loss to know what is the best thing to do.

There are only three possible choices confronting the British government to-day. It can set India free; it can grant Dominion status; or it can appeal to the sword. Whatever we may think of the desirability of complete freedom for India it is at the present moment a political impossibility. Great Britain may yield something under pressure but it is fantastic to suppose that she will yield as much as that in one sudden act. The extensive use of armed force on the other hand would plunge all India into a bath of blood; it would be accompanied by the moral reprobation of the whole civilized world; it would lay intolerable burdens on the British taxpayer and it would have an outcome exceedingly dubious and not to be foreseen.

There remains then Dominion status as a logical step on the road to complete independence. It is true that Dominion status has been hinted at ever since 1917 and was definitely promised by the Viceroy six months ago. The difficulty was that no time has ever been indicated at which Dominion status should come into effect.

### Religion in Soviet Russia

To the same paper Mr H. A. Brailsford contributes an article on the position of religion in Soviet Russia. Extracts from the writings of competent observers of this question have been often quoted in these columns. If a further confirmation were necessary of the hollow character of the outcry against the Soviets on the score of religious persecution it will be found in Mr Brailsford's testimony.

In England a hot campaign against Russia is being engineered with more than the usual apparatus of terrors and echoes of it reach us from every corner of the world. Here its purpose is manifestly to discredit the Labour government and to drive it to break off the diplomatic relations which it has resumed. That if it could be compassed would be a triumph for if even the dealings with the Revolution are impossible the break would be permanent and the way would be clear to a policy first of boycott and then of cover or open attack.

The ground is well chosen. In the name of religion men will perform every good deed save one, they will not weigh evidence.

My present witness who has been twice in Russia since the Revolution gives his own testimony bluntly and frankly. One does not begin to get at the truth until one dismisses the whole of this mythology. The tortures are inventions

Murders did occur during the famous civil war but if priests were sometimes executed, like many leaders on both sides it was because they openly worked for the Whites and not because they were Christians. It is certainly the policy of the Communists to discourage religion. They have destroyed and disestablished the Orthodox Church. They regard tolerance as they do democracy in the Western sense as part of the tradition of middle-class liberalism which they reject. They are doing what no state has ever done since the French Revolution: they openly encourage free thought. Towards the priesthood their attitude (as that of the French Republic often was before the War) is one of un concealed suspicion and contempt.

All this is true and yet it is a mistake to talk of persecution. Belief is not an offence for which any man has ever suffered punishment. There is no attempt to suppress the Church; nothing indeed, that could compare with the much more ruthless struggle in Mexico. All the observances of the Church go on freely and unmolested and I who happen to enjoy its music can testify that I have visited many of its services and found them well attended. Education is severely secular but the law guarantees freedom for the performance of all the rites of the many religions of Russia. To this summary of the essential facts one must add that the official atmosphere is without question unfriendly to religion; that the Church suffers as does every organized body of opinion save Communism from the oppression of the free printing press and that its leaders must do their work under the eyes of a vigilant police which is prompt to cast them into prison if they do anything which can be called "counter revolutionary."

### The Right and the Left Hand of the United States

Mr Hugh Walpole the famous English novelist, has delivered himself of a strikingly new judgment on the United States upon his return from that country after a lecture tour. Mr Walpole's opinion is quoted in *The Living Age*.

What nobody in England seems at all to realize is that the right hand of the United States has no longer the slightest notion of what the left hand is doing. The right hand (which is the hand of the old properly descended colonial-ancestored cultured and civilized American) is to-day completely bewildered by the left hand (which is the logical grandchild of the wild two generation ago immigrant-immigrant from Italy Poland Hungary Russia) Not only bewildered, but helpless. Every system arranged by the right hand for the decent governance of the country has broken down under the wild new independence of the left. Not only does the left hand scream with derision at Washington when it considers Washington at all but it raises its fingers to its nose at any kind of law order or discipline and is producing quite happily a kind of mediæval fair garden that is alive picturesque romantic and the most libertine state of society that the world has seen since the Middle Ages.

The vigour of the left hand is everywhere. The clothes pastimes dwelling places sports newspapers of the left hand are overwhelmingly in evidence. The parcel over prohibition has simply emphasized this. In Fifty Third Street in New York there are fifty speakeries. Well and why not? The left hand knows what it wants and will see that it gets it. And it is from the left hand that the future America is coming. It is just now crude, ill directed and half-educated scornful selfish and reckless. It will not always be so. It has more vigour than any other body of people in the world saw possibly Young Russia. It is ever excited violent. It is reading books of every kind. The drug stores in America are filled with dollar books that are *not* borrowed from circulating libraries. It goes to plays like *Berkeley Square* and *Street Scene* with eager enthusiasm. It despises the present system of American government and is hotly going to make one of its own. It cares less than nothing for the future or prosperity of Europe save in so far as they concern the New America.

And the right hand? There are no kinder warmer hearted people anywhere—but it is not with them that the future of America lies. They are bewildered and baffled as we ourselves would be in like case. It is of no use for any of us here to make our appeal to them. It is not in their hands that future decisions will lie.

### The Troubles in India

We do not reproduce the following characteristic pronouncement of Lord Brentford better known as Jiv, published in *The Daily Mail* as a very wise diagnosis of the Indian situation but simply as a specimen of the average Briton's thoughts about India.

The cause of all this trouble has been the practical abdication by Great Britain of her duty in India. It began with the Montagu and Chelmsford so-called reforms and sedition has been permitted and plied with for years.

When I was out there ten years ago Mr Patel the same gentleman who has just resigned the Speakership was engaged in fomenting sedition. Gandhi has been notorious for years past and for months has been deliberately setting the Viceroy at defiance.

Why was there this delay in his arrest—because we would have thus made him a martyr? Believe me that is all nonsense. In prison he will not be a martyr he will become a mere memory and that not for many weeks.

But worst of all when all this was known when the Press of India had become more seditious perhaps than any other Press in the world when the parliamentary institutions were deliberately smothered as an instrument of government by the extremists our present Government authorised or directed the Viceroy to issue in the summer of last year his ill fated proclamation in favour of Dominion self government. It was surely the maddest proposal that was ever made

as well light your pipe on a barrel of gunpowder

as dangle before the eyes of rebels proposals of Dominion Home Rule

I wonder what the Government thinks to day of Dominion Home Rule for India with the very same rebels in office as Dominion Ministers with the same independence as Australia and Canada with the same right to appoint their own Governor General and to send their Ambassadors all over the world.

What would be the position of British commerce British trade and the British themselves in India? The masses of India are not civilised they do not understand democratic government yet they have been stirred out of their pathetic contentment by a number of the cleverest and bitterest seditionists that the world knows clearly in intimation should be given that however much Dominion Home Rule may be regarded as the ultimate goal of India in the far distant future it is quite impossible even to think of it at the present moment.

It is no good trying to placate the extremists and smooth down the sporadic riots and rebellions India must be told quite definitely that England is not going to give up control and as long as she is there she will rule the country.

### The French and the English

The hesitations and the difficulties of the League of Nations as well as its strength and dignity writes Professor Salvador de Madariaga in *The Spectator* spring not always from external facts but are also due to a considerable extent to a subjective factor—the temperamental difference between its two great champions the French and the English.

As it happens there is perhaps no clearer contrast there than that between the two protagonists of the League, England and France seem to have been selected by Providence as the two pure antagonistic elements or poles of the international system forming a couple of opposites comparable to the couple and base in chemistry or to that of the masculine and feminine elements in human life. In Geneva everything gravitates either toward the empirical or toward the theoretical toward expediency or toward principles rule of thumb or general law wait and see or foresight of all contingencies English ways or French

It shrinks from generalizations Narrow and shortsighted the Englishman remains firmly attached to the earth of realities.

The Frenchman on the contrary comes to Geneva with a mind which nature and training have made an aim in itself. He approaches questions as problems and while the Englishman is feeling a way out he has already thought out a solution. It is more often than not a perfect solution applicable in all cases and at all times—so perfect in fact as to stagger the Englishman who as an empirical man feels as uncomfortable in the presence of perfect as a sailor on land or a horseman walking. Generalization and foresight are the two qualities of the Frenchman's thought. His method is logic.

Furthermore these profound differences of the English and the French characters as they manifest themselves outwardly are enriched by their very effects on the inner man. For it is obvious that the Englishman's picture of the Englishman and the Frenchman's picture of the Frenchman are bound to differ perhaps more profoundly still than their respective views of the outside world. The Englishman does not know himself at all. He is too well fixed to be inquisitive. He feels himself and is quite satisfied that he is all right, as every man with his record—public school etc.—is bound to be. Whatever his empirical mind brings forth is therefore all right also and this assurance enables him to come forth before the world with the most naively egotistical proposals presented with an impassive earnest and sincere face as universal boons. The French man smiles and exclaims *Mais l'anglais!* Yet his way does not lead to much greater concordance between professions and intentions. His mind is too active and clear not to know the inner man well. While the Englishman sees his intentions as nebulae seen in a foggy sky the Frenchman sees his as clear stars marking the course of his action and thought. It follows that the French man has all the qualities of the general staff of a good army. He plans in advance calculates his marches counter-marches and strongholds. He defines his aims accurately and proceeds toward them skilfully.

The result is curiously alike in both cases. The Englishman is always advocating England's interests as if the world were sure to do her for dear and the Frenchman always proposes as mathematical truth the particular principle which happens to fit at the time. Marianne's little finger. But the Frenchman gives the impression that he has more faith in his position since he seems to be able to invent his arguments while the Frenchman at times argues so perfectly that it seems unnecessary to assume that he needs truth to be on his side.

lite been inclined to be rather severe upon Great Britain about her policy in India. Professor Rushbrook Williams, one of the most skilful publicists experts at the disposal of the Government of India is therefore sent post haste to America. The following editorial note in *The New Republic* on his arrival in New York requires no comment.

The good luck which proverbially serves the British Empire was never better exemplified than in the arrival of Prof. Rushbrook Williams in New York. Professor Williams is Foreign Minister of Patana, India, and a well known authority on the recent history of that country. At the moment when American liberal opinion is gravely concerned over the turn of events in India, and inclined to be harshly critical of British policy, along comes Mr. Williams to assure us that all is, on the whole, well. The Indian unrest is about to end, he says, and will be all over by October. The outbreaks have been sporadic, the work of "the turbulent element from the bazaars. Gandhi is not regarded as a real political leader. In India cannot be unified because it is composed of many peoples and many castes. Mr. Williams is travelling privately, and it is of course sheer coincidence which causes him to bob up in New York at the moment when the British case so badly needs stating. It reminds us of the similar coincidence by which Sir Gilbert Parker arrived to tell us, during the War, how sweet and pure were the Allies and how dastardly the Germans.

### Gandhi and Jesus

The comparison between the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and Jesus has more than once been drawn. But from none else could it come with so much propriety as a Christian preacher. Mr. John Haynes Holmes draws the same comparison in *Unity* and incidentally draws attention to the opportunity lost by the Government of India by its arrest of Mahatma Gandhi.

In the New Testament we read of the arrest of Jesus of Nazareth in ancient Palestine by the troops of the Roman Empire which occupied the country as a conquered province. They led him unto Pilate runs the text.

"And they began to accuse him saying: We found this fellow perverting the nation and forbidding to give taxes to Caesar."

In another place the story reads:

"And they were the more fierce saying: He stirreth up the people teaching throughout all Jewry beginning from Galilee to this place."

All this has a curiously modern sound as we read of what has been happening in India. On Sunday May 14th—historic date!—Mahatma Gandhi was arrested by the solders of the British Empire which occupies his country today as Rome occupied Jesus a country yesterday as a conquered province. Against Gandhi is brought the same charge that

was levelled against Jesus—that he is "perverting the nation" which means of course turning it against the rule of the alien oppressor. Stirring up the people, forbidding to give taxes—how familiar these phrases sound and how perfectly they fit as carried over from the Christ yesterday to the Mahatma today! To be sure the parallel is not perfect. Jesus was at least given the semblance of a trial whereas Gandhi is held in prison without even so much as a hearing. Pilate showed a decent reluctance to punish a man whose notoriety he seems instinctively to have recognized whereas Lord Irwin has no compunctions and does not even deign to look upon the heroic Indian whom he has seized and cast behind the bars. But it is the crucifixion episode all over again and if Gandhi dies, he will like Jesus rise again to vex the world forever.

The peculiar force of the tragedy (in India) lies in the fact that the most civilized Empire of the West should have failed after a decade of opportunity to come to an understanding with a leader of Gandhi's supreme generosity and fairness."—*New York World*.

Last opportunity is indeed the tragedy of India. With such a man as Gandhi exercising such control over the masses of the Indian people as no man in history has ever before exercised over any people it needed but a little good spirit and a high degree of statesmanship on the part of Britain's leaders to settle the Indian question amicably and permanently. At any time in the last ten years co-operation with Gandhi instead of hostility against him would have brought about reconciliation and peace. Is it the irony and curse of empire that it cannot thus act? Twice at least in these ten years the door of hope has swung wide open. The first time was in 1919, when Gandhi a loyal subject of the Empire led his people in a glad and grateful expectation of reward for their fidelity during the Great War. Constitutional reforms had been promised. Any fulfilment of promises would have moved India to new loyalty but these promises, instead of being fulfilled were flouted by Lloyd George Liberal. The second opportunity came in 1924 when Gandhi released from prison retired from active political leadership to take up the work of social and religious reform. Here was an unexampled chance to meet the Mahatma in his repentant and unite with his movement of internal reform an imperial movement for improved political relationships. This chance was thrown away by Baldwin and Birkenhead Tories. Last year came a third and in this case the last opportunity to co-operate with Gandhi and thus avoid a catastrophe that may well wreck the Empire and shake the very foundations of the world. This opportunity was lost by MacDonald Labourite. What difference does it seem to make in the hour of great crises whether we have Liberals, Tories or Labourites in office?

### Gandhi and Tagore

The recent publication of two books of selections from the writings of Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi both edited by

Mr C I Andrews furnishes Dr Nicol Macnicol with the opportunity of drawing a comparison between the personalities out looks and modes of action of these two representative Indians, in course of an article on India to dry in *The International Review of Missions*

They represent two diverse types of personality but both of them undoubtedly are great souls, mahatmas and both are at the same time Indians through and through. Just because they are men of insight and spiritual genu they hold the key—if only we can use it—to the understanding of the Indian enigma. India is peculiarly fortunate in possessing these two interpreters of her mind to the world and these two examples of the possibilities of achievement latent in her.

Their difference is no doubt, in part due to the fact that the one belongs to Bengal and the other to Gujarat, and to their widely contrasting inheritance and interests. The one is a poet, the other we may provisionally describe as a prophet, and indeed a prophet in some respects distinctly of the Hebrew variety. But at the same time far deeper than their divergence is their essential agreement and that because especially of two bonds that bind them together: their common Hinduism and their common love of their land and their people. It is interesting to contrast their Hinduisms. It is not possible to read the two books edited by C I Andrews without being impressed by this contrast. In spite of what might be expected in view of their inheritance and early environment, it is Tagore who is less of a theist and Gandhi who is more unambiguously one. I claim said Mr Gandhi to be a man of faith and prayer and no one can contest his right to make that claim. The emphasis of his life is on the ethical in religion—on religion as a practice and a discipline rather than a body of truths.

Tagore on the other hand is essentially the philosophic Hindu. He speaks of himself in one place (Tagore p 175) as in danger of turning into a prophet but that is not his role. He is a philosopher-poet. His desire is to reach the under-

lying unity of all things: the final freedom' which he repeatedly describes as *Santam sram adastam*. The complete man' his soul he tells us cries out must never be sacrificed to the patriotic man or even to the merely moral man' (Tagore p 115).

Both men have their roots deep in Hinduism—in the case of the one in what we might almost call caste Hinduism or traditional Hinduism though caste and tradition must yield to moral claims in the case of the other in philosophic Hinduism for which there is no such thing as caste or nation but the soul is all.

These comparisons and evaluations are not irrelevant to our inquiry into the condition of India. They are not irrelevant for they show us on the one hand how wide is the net of Hinduism which can hold within itself as it undoubtedly does two natures so diverse two outlooks so opposed and on the other hand how deep the affection India wins that can make these two one in their resentment of India's present humiliation and in their demand that she be set free. But are they agreed as to what that demand implies? I think they are. The whole of Gandhi's programme for his country's liberation is summed up in his word *Satyaagraha* (soul force). It is a programme that seems in essentials indistinguishable from what the poet in these letters is continually urging. Freedom can never be given as charity.

Our most difficult problem is how to gain our freedom of soul in spite of the cramped condition of our outward circumstances: how to ignore the perpetual insult of our destiny' (Tagore p 90). This perpetual insult has inflicted a wound deep and except in the healing atmosphere of freedom incurable. Its pain is as deeply felt by him as it is by Gandhi. Perhaps more anxiously than Gandhi he watches that the freedom he desires shall be honourably won. He fears lest non-cooperation should outrage that ultimate truth of soul which is love (Tagore, p 133). It is this attitude of Tagore towards Gandhi's policy that makes Gandhi call him the great sentinel, warning against the approach of enemies called Bigotry, Lethargy, Intolerance, Ignorance and other members of that brood (*Mahatma Gandhi* p 260).





# The Table Round

By NAGENDRA NATH GUPTA

*Shade of King Arthur*

What is this I hear of my Table Round

*Shade of Sir Gareth*

A Lure tale, Sir King, I'll be bound

*Shade of Sir Bedivere*

Nay, there are knights, so we be told

*Shade of Sir Kay*

Ay, no spurs but purses jingling with gold  
Knights that babble as the day is long  
And confound the right with the wrong

*Shade of Sir Geraint*

'Yonnda' are knights no better than clowns  
And belled caps pass for royal crowns

*Arthur*

I mind me of my order and the Table  
Round which we met in knightly fellowship  
On earth bides the memory of our deeds,  
But nor Table nor the clank of our arms

The brand excalibur that I never drew  
In cause unjust I left in safe keeping  
With the mystic nymph of the mere  
Soft who comes here

*[Enter the shade of Merlin]*

Here cometh Merlin the wise, the Wizard  
Hast heard of men now on earth  
Sitting round my famed Table Round

*Merlin*

Not thine, O King, not the oaken Table  
Round which gathered thy gallant knights,  
But a hollow deal table round which  
Sits a motley crowd. They sit and they talk  
By the road and the mile, and anon they  
Move round and round in a circle  
That never comes to an end. Rest in peace,  
Royal Shadow for the Table means nought,  
These mimic knights move in a maze  
And their minds are filled by a haze

*[Exeunt]*

## FINANCIAL NOTES

### The Boycott of Foreign Cloth

It is generally supposed that the boycott movement is most intense in Bombay, but the following table of British trade statistics for April, 1930 shows that Bengal leads in the boycott of foreign cloth, the fall in the import of cotton piecegoods being proportionately greater in Bengal than in the rest of India.

Into	Quantities and values of British cotton piecegoods imported during April 1930 and April 1929	
	Quantities in million yards	Value in £ thousand
	1929	1930
Bombay and Karachi	27	19
Madras and other ports	24	15
Bengal Assam, Bihar & Orissa	10	8
Burma	6	3
Total for British India	67	45
Grand total for all countries	343	217

The above table brings out clearly in the first place what an important market India is for British cotton piecegoods and in the second to what extent the boycott movement has affected this trade. Unfortunately complete figures for May, 1930 are not yet available. But certain items for which figures have been published show a proportionately heavier decline (when compared with the corresponding figures for 1929) during May than during April, when the boycott organization was naturally not so developed.

Studying the question from the Indian end the following figures may be arrived at.

From	Aggregate imports of foreign piecegoods of different kinds during April 1930 and April 1929 in million yards	
	Grey	White
	1929	1930
United Kingdom	68	11
Other countries	31	30

It is apparent that other countries have not been affected by the boycott to anything like the same extent as the United Kingdom. Nor can diminished imports from Lancashire be explained away by speaking of proportionately higher prices there beyond the purchasing power of Indian buyers. For the index number of the price of cotton cloth in Manchester as given in Tattersall's Cotton Trade Review shows a heavy fall from 151 on 12th April, 1929 to 133 on 11th April 1930 the base being 100 on 31st July 1914 in each case.

How the movement has spread into the interior in the different provinces may be studied by analysing the figures of cotton piecegoods despatched by rail from the principal ports as shown below.

Weight in tons of cotton piecegoods despatched by rail during the period				
From	9-1-29 to 4-2-29		30-3-30 to 2-4-30	
	Foreign	Indian	Foreign	Indian
Calcutta	5 072	1 080	2 114	12
Bombay	1 038	7 367	1 288	6 795
Karachi	2	34	29	46
Madras	503	541	703	766
	188	9023	7134	854

Thus there has been no sensible decline in the despatch of foreign cotton piecegoods to the mofussil. It is clear that except in Bombay Presidency the boycott was not taken up in the mofussil to the same extent as in the ports and the importers there sent their goods up country in the hope of better sales elsewhere. Recent statistics however show that the boycott is also spreading in the mofussil and that the movement of foreign cloth up country has been somewhat checked.

#### Finance of Local Bodies

According to the Government Resolution on the working of the District Boards in Bengal during 1928-29 the District Boards are essentially carrying out the functions of promoting rural well being which they were designed to fulfil. This faint praise is coupled with the following remarks:

The problem of ensuring closer attention to financial regularity on the part of District Boards is one on the solution of which progress in the field of local self-government in the near future must largely depend.

The usual tirade against the 'party in declared opposition to Government is also there. While there is no question that all local bodies should devote their best attention to the duty with which they have been charged and exercise effective financial control it must not be overlooked that nowhere else except in India is responsible government sought to be denied on the score of alleged financial irregularities. When the sapient authors were inditing their pompous resolution news was received in India of the hopeless financial embarrassment of the municipality of Chicago the second largest metropolis in the United States it being unable to meet pending obligations such as the salaries of the police, school teachers and other city servants or to raise money from any sources. According to the reports of the Citizens Committee of Investigation the interest charges on the unfunded or floating debt amounted to the formidable figure of \$ 50 000 000 a day. For a number of years the city had been spending its income one year in advance. There were as many as 12 to 20 agencies with independent spending powers. But no one spoke about superseding the municipality. For the root cause of these irregularities is not responsible government but its absence. This great city is wholly under the control of the southern part of the State of Illinois, the entire State having a population of about 7 millions during 1928. Even if we leave out the areas in the adjoining States of Michigan and Indiana and take into account only the population of the Cook county which embraces the city of Chicago we get a population of not less than 3 1/2 millions. In spite of this fact the city of Chicago has practically no say either in the government of the State or the management of its own affairs. According to a competent authority a clique in the State capital persists in maintaining this situation in the interest of legislation which the rural communities of the State want to impose upon Chicago. The same difficulty is present in India also. So long as franchise is not sufficiently wide and representation really effective it is hardly fair to ascribe financial irregularity to responsible government.

H SINHA

# INDIAN Womanhood



Miss ARUNDHATI MITRA and her sister Miss RENUKA MITRA have both passed the entrance examination of the Indian Women's University Poona with unusual distinction. Miss Arundhati standing first in

We regret to announce the death of Lady BASANTA KUMARI DEVI the widow of Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterjee a former judge of the Lahore High Court. She established and endowed the Basanta Kumari Widows Home of Puri an institution which is doing very useful for the upliftment of the condition of



Miss Arundhati Mitra and Renuka Mitra

order of merit. Their achievement is all the more creditable that they have not had the advantage of a regular school training but were educated for the most part at home





Mrs. Tirumati Patel

Hindu widows. Until her death Lady Basanti Kumari herself lived in the Widow's Home and supervised all its work.

Miss Tirumati Patel is the first Gujarati lady to pass the L. C. B. examination. She belongs to the Patidar community which still observes the *pudrah*.

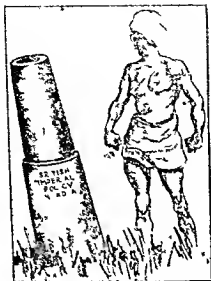
## The World's Humour



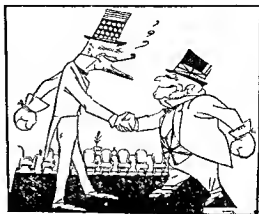
THE SNAKE CHARMER—  
Pravda Moscow



THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE  
Izvestia Moscow



THE MAN AGAINST METAL  
—St Louis Mo



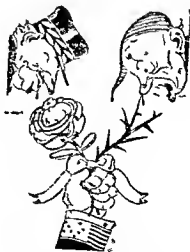
ANGLO AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP!  
The hand shake before the boxing match  
Pravda, Moscow



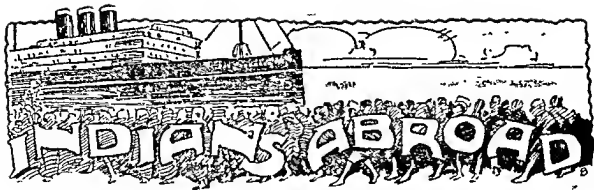
THE REVOLUTION IN INDIA  
John Bull "This I don't expect"  
—Campana de C. rera Barcelona



"JUST KEEP ON TRYING"  
—Thüringia Tipper



THE YOUNG PLAN—as it  
appears to France and Germany  
Pravda, Moscow



### Arya Samaj in East Africa

When speaking of colonies we should remember that the stuff that has gone there from all countries, European and Asiatic, is not at any rate of the best. The first to yield to the temptation to leave the shores of their mother-country are mostly people who find it hard to earn a decent living in the land that has given them birth. All praise to them for their love of adventure and romance, but very few among them represent in their character the most praiseworthy moral traits of the nation to which they belong. The majority typify in them the dark side of the picture. Somehow, it is ethical conservatism in which all values generally tend to centre. And those that venture on a voyage abroad are of nature the least conservative. In a strange land, where there are ties neither of love nor of hate, the restraints of society which are the main factor in the maintenance of virtue and morality in individuals are missing. One is free to live as he will and do what he lists. A fellow-passenger on board the *Karagala* by which I was sailing for the first time for Mombassa told me that it was only recently that teetotallers and vegetarians could be met with among the fashionable section of travellers to foreign shores. That line of steamers especially which plies its trade between India and Eastern and Southern Africa was marked by the absence of passengers who should care for any moral principles. Of late, however, when foreign travel has become a common, everyday occurrence and the economical conditions in India are becoming more and more stringent, men of education and standing have made for themselves a footing in a foreign land, have invited their relatives, and secured them a foothold, thus laying seeds of brotherhood which makes for love and

fellow-feeling. In the absence of regard for elders and kinsmen whose love and respect one values most, a man of ordinary moral calibre has every chance of getting morally lax.

Such was the state of things when foundations were laid of the Church of the Vedas in some of the important centres of East Africa. The Arya Samajists at Nairobi, Mombassa and Zanzibar are some of the oldest Arya organizations. The Arya Samaj at Nairobi owns today a temple which may in its magnificence stand comparison with any Arya Samaj temple in India. It has a large membership and is conducting a girls' school, a reading room, a Young men's Arya Association and a Ladies' Arya Samaj. A short while ago it opened a night school for the natives. Adverse circumstances, however, first thinned the attendance, which had at one time risen to the high figure of three hundred, and then closed down the institution. As a result of the venture stray Negro lads may even now be met with who with folded hands shout *Namaste*.

The Arya Samajists at Zanzibar and Dar-es-Salaam owe their inception to Karsan Dwarkadas, a Gujarati gentleman of pluck and means. He is said to have had a manta for the Arya Samaj. Dar-es-Salaam was before the last war German territory. I have brought with me a photograph of a mixed school of girls and boys which passed into the hands of the British and which this Arya Samajist enthusiast had started. At the time when Tanganyika passed into the hands of the British he had to undergo a good deal of trouble because of certain adverse reports against him. Time, however, dispelled all doubts and he was allowed to proceed to India where a few years ago he died. The memory of this Arya pioneer is yet cherished with feelings of deep affection and esteem.

would still adhere to the Indian mode of dress

It was in the Transvaal that the memorable scenes in the history of Indian women were enacted. It was in this very province that the heroic band of women joined the menfolk in the passive resistance march. It was an inspiring moment. Those who feared hardship gave of their wealth unstintingly whilst others of a heroic mould suffered on that march. Such was the indomitable spirit of the Indian woman in the Transvaal. But the Indian woman in the Transvaal has suffered valiantly in spite of the overwhelming odds against her. Here in this province where Dutch is usually spoken she has learnt to speak it and often fluently. She has tried to assimilate her European neighbours in the well ordered arrangement of her home.

But the Indian woman in the Transvaal still cherishes their love for their own customs, mode of dress and religion. It is impossible to break down these deep walled prejudices in so short a space of time. If the Indian woman in the Cape has been made to feel a citizen of the Cape her sister in the Transvaal has been treated as an alien. It cannot therefore be surprising that she cannot lose sight of her motherland. The little pictures on the walls tell of the duties which have been associated with her early childhood. She is loyal to this strange new country, for she instils in her children love for the country of their birth and reverence for her motherland. When she is sufficiently blessed with worldly goods there are occasional visits to India to revive old associations.

Natal with its luxuriant tropical vegetation seems to be a part of India transplanted in South Africa. No wonder the Indian woman in Natal cherishes Natal more for is it not reminiscent of far off India? Here the Indian woman on the whole has been transplanted happily. Life to her is a continuation of her life in India. Natal has aptly been named the garden province of the Union and it was partly due to the toil of these hard working Indian women and their men on the land that this province was transformed into a veritable garden.

The Indian woman in the Cape in most cases has come out as the wife of the Indian trader. The Indian population in the Cape is small and she was from the beginning a home maker. Her home was the centre of her activities. In most cases she lived

away from her husband's place of business. She has imitated her neighbours in their mode of living. She has succeeded remarkably well and has a more Western outlook in social affairs than her sisters in the Transvaal and Natal. The Indian woman in this province mixes freely with the women of other races. For her, the benefits of an outdoor life do not appeal but as time rolls on she will not demur when her children participate in sports.

Lured by the wonderful discovery of gold in the Transvaal the Indian woman followed her husband to this land of sunshine. She too became a home maker. Of this country of strange contrasts she soon became a part. She gradually settled down. It is true that she has not accustomed herself to South African conditions so rapidly as her sister in the Cape but her progress has been gradual. As she is surrounded by many of her own kith and kin she feels happy.

In Natal the Indian woman who settled there has come from all ranks of life. Some from the working class, others from trading and agricultural classes. Many of the women worked with their husbands on the tea and sugar estates. The Indian woman worker was exploited in the field of unskilled labour. But that was not the end of her activities; she worked in the coal fields and even was employed by the Municipality. The life of an Indian woman worker was not a happy one. Very often she was employed in domestic service. These toiling women, physically unfit and financially impoverished had the treble burden of child bearing of domestic service in the home and of work outside the home. Life to them seemed to be one of ceaseless toil. Could one expect these overworked, harassed and underfed Indian mothers to have an enlightened outlook in matters which matter today? But in spite of their difficulties these very women by their toil by their endurance and by their wonderful foresight have carved many a successful educational career for their children that redounds to the credit of the whole Indian community.

The opening of the Sastri College where Indian men and women are to be trained as teachers will mark a new phase in the history of Indians in Natal. It will be a light in this province where the lamp of Indian education has been so dimly lit. There are few pioneering women who have

been employed as teachers. With better facilities more Indian women will flock to the teaching and other professions. The dearth of Indian women teachers will then gradually disappear.

But work in child welfare and in nursing is in its beginnings. It is here where the Indian women with her womanly sympathy her love for suffering humanity and her experience in social service can render infinite help to her community. The need for Indian women workers is imperative. There may be willing workers but the greatest obstacles in the way is the lack of training in such work. Indian charity and Indian workers will not be found wanting when training schools come into existence.

The child of today has become a topic of endless interest. Long before he gazes at this world of clouded pain his wants have been silently administered. After his birth unflagging interest follows him until he reaches school going age. The Indian child has come in for his share of interest, and he like his mother leads a varied life in this land of vast spaces and unending interest.

It is only in the Cape where there is no educational differentiation between Indian and coloured children. The Indian child in the Cape benefits greatly by this healthy contact with children of other races. He immediately becomes alert. It is here in the school room where deep-walled barriers of race of religion and of caste are swept away. He is nurtured in an enlightened environment. This broadminded spirit is more in evidence in the Cape than in any other part of the Union.

The education of the Indian child in Transvaal is vastly different. The Indian child in the elementary classes is taught in the medium of one of the Indian vernaculars. He mixes only with Indian children in school but out of school the friendly

companionship of the Malay and coloured children is his.

If the plight of the Indian child in Transvaal was bad the Indian child in Natal fared no better. There were a number of schools mostly Government aided, such Government aided schools were mostly in the hands of Missionaries who were the pioneers of Indian education. Mosques have madrasahs in almost all cases for the teaching of vernaculars and religion. There are vernacular schools conducted by others in some of which English education is given. But even these were not enough for this populous Indian community. There is however one secondary school where Indian pupils are only received. The provincial Government instituted an enquiry into Indian education. Two experts were sent out from India and as a welcome aftermath a sum of money has been earmarked for Indian education this year. In spite of the scanty educational facilities the Indians have striven in this land most heroically.

In this country of sunshine and of stress of mixed races the Indian woman has played her part quietly. For although the home is essentially her sphere in life she has imbued the ideals of this land. She is smitten by the vigorous country, and strives against the walls of custom of prejudice and of ignorance to best herself for her life in South Africa. If the time is not nigh for her to discard these deeply rooted prejudices she knows that her children will take their part with dignity as citizens of South Africa. The Indian woman has come to stay in South Africa for good. She knows that she cannot return to the village of her fathers, for life in this strange land is wonderfully stimulating and her children have imbibed some of the brooding spirit of the open spaces of this glorious young South Africa.

FATIMA GOOI





# NOTES

## The Political Atmosphere in India

The political thermometer in India does not give any indication of the cooling of the atmosphere in spite of the breaking of the monsoon though the Government machinery for maintaining law and order are at work with full steam up.

One of the objects of promulgating the Press Ordinance was that the civil disobedience movement should not be fostered by journalistic writings in its favour. Probably Government had an idea that it was an artificially galvanized movement and would collapse as soon as the externally applied artificial journalistic stimulus had ceased to operate. The Press Ordinance has prevented all newspapers except perhaps Mr. Gandhi's two little organs (which are no longer conducted by him) from encouraging the civil resisters. Government may now be in a position to judge whether the movement owes its strength (whatever its quantity) to mere agitation or to something in the heart of the people.

The few leaders of the movement who are still out of jail will also be able to judge what hold it has or has not on the heart of the people and what its inner strength is.

## Women's Part in the Movement

The part which women have taken in the movement has surprised friend and foe alike. It was perhaps expected that in Gujarat, which has felt Mahatma Gandhi's influence most, women would take an active part in the movement as there is no purdah there. It was not unexpected too that in the other provinces where there is no purdah women would be politically active. But even in provinces like Bengal which are purdah ridden women have been sent to jail. In fact, in Calcutta women satyagrahis

have given comparatively more work to the police to do than men.

It is noteworthy that some of those who like Mrs. Sirojini Naidu, Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya are leading members of the women's social and educational reform movement have been among the first to be sent to jail showing that social, educational and political movements are inter related.

## Simon Commission's Report

The first volume of the Simon Commission's report was published in advance of the second volume in order to impress the public with the enormous difficulties of framing a constitution for India and in order that people labouring under that impression may consider the recommendations embodied in the second volume as a very generous dole bestowed on the Indian people.

The first volume has been written in such a way as to lend to it a deceptive air of impartiality. Some appreciation has been shown of educated Indians and their aspirations but much more has been written having a contrary tendency. It is a regular feat of dancing on the tight rope. But Indians can easily detect the trick.

As propaganda the first volume has been a great success in Britain as most papers and people who have said anything about it have cried themselves hoarse in praise of its supreme excellence. But in India it has left all parties cold. That however does not matter. For the British people and their statesmen think they can afford to ignore and despise Indian opinion. The appointment of an all white statutory commission having been a result and indication of that kind of British mentality. Britishers feel however that they cannot entirely ignore the opinion of European and

American independent nations and of Japan. A proposal is therefore, under consideration to translate the first volume of the Simon report into the principal European languages and Japanese. Money will not be wanting to give effect to the proposal and it will not be surprising if the cost of these translations is drawn directly or indirectly from India. There is no Indian National Publicity Bureau to counteract the effects of British propaganda. British propaganda has an easy task to perform. For the most powerful nations of the world to day are imperialists like the British and there is, therefore, much sympathy felt for Britain in her 'troubles' in India by those nations, who all have similar 'troubles' more or less. Moreover all powerful nations are also manufacturing nations and profit by India's undeveloped condition which is due to her loss of political autonomy. Therefore, for India to gain the genuine sympathy of any powerful nation is a very difficult and uphill task though in every civilized country there are many *private individuals* who really sympathize with Indians.

If the Simon report has succeeded remarkably well in England and perhaps in other foreign countries too its achievement in India has been no less unique in a different direction. The Simon Seven must be men of uncommon talent. For they have succeeded in drawing up recommendations which have pleased no Indian party large or small. That is a remarkable achievement, unparalleled in the history of Commissions relating to India. No doubt, there are *individuals* whom no official thing emanating from British hands can possibly disappoint and displease. They are *enigmas* and must be left out of account.

Another achievement stands to the credit of the Simon Seven. Their report may or may not bring actual adherents to the civil disobedience movement from the ranks of neutrals and opponents but there are strong indications to show that, owing to it, there have been conversions at heart *en masse* to the Gandhi cult in all provinces even in many very unlikely quarters.

### The Latest Ordinances

That seems to be the result also of recent Government repressive measures generally.

Ordinance No V of 1930 makes the picketing of foreign cloth shops and liquor shops a crime. Such picketing is characterized in the Ordinance as "molestation." There may be some kinds of picketing which amount to molestation. But certainly, to try to persuade people by polite argument and humble entreaty not to buy foreign cloth or liquor is not molestation. If any shopkeeper or any would be purchaser thinks that he is molested" the law should have left it to him to complain against the molester and get his remedy from a law court. But picketing has been made a cognisable and non bailable offence, and magistrates can take cognisance of it, upon the written reports of facts made by a police officer. And as the picketing *atyantriks* do not defend themselves when tried they are all punished as a matter of course whether they had molested any buyer or seller or not.

It is significant that when during many labour strikes factory owners repeatedly asked Government to legislate against picketing nothing was done to comply with that request.

Government has incurred particular odium by making the picketing of liquor shops a crime in India, where the two most largely followed religions consider drinking a sin. The *Guardian* a Christian weekly of Calcutta has observed in this connection that if any one tries to dissuade a man from visiting a brothel the former may be sent to jail under Ordinance No V, for the latter has a right to do it.

In the Statement which explains the reasons why the Governor General has promulgated this Ordinance it is stated

2 The most common object with which picketing and other kinds of molestation and intimidation are being employed is for the purpose of preventing the sale of foreign goods or of liquor. It is no part of the duty of my Government and certainly it is not their desire to take steps against any legitimate movements directed to these ends. They are anxious to see the promotion of indigenous Indian Industries and it is perfectly legitimate for any person in advocacy of this object to urge the use of Indian goods to the utmost extent of which Indian industry is capable. Nor have I anything but respect for those who preach the cause of temperance.

But what is not legitimate is for those who desire these ends, proper as they are in themselves to pursue them by means amounting in effect to intimidation of individuals and to endeavour to force their views on others, not by argument but by the coercive effect of fear. When resort is had

to such methods it becomes necessary for Government to protect the natural freedom of action of those who may wish to sell and those who may wish to buy.

Lord Irwin declares definitely that "it is no part of the duty of my Government, and certainly it is not their desire to take steps against any legitimate movements directed to these ends." What are 'these ends'? In the words of the Statement they are, "preventing the sale of foreign goods or of liquor." Therefore, "the purpose of preventing the sale of foreign goods or of liquor" is admitted as a legitimate purpose. But while this admission has been distinctly made by clear implication, the ordinance leaves no loophole for conducting "any legitimate movements," such as peaceful persuasion "directed to these ends." This is a strange inconsistency. However, the effect of the ordinance has been to intensify and extend picketing.

Similarly, though social boycott of Government servants and asking the police and sepoys to give up Government service had been thought of before, the civil resisters have begun to follow these lines of activity more actively after the promulgation of the ordinance. For, in their present temper the civil resisters perhaps think that whatever is forbidden is the thing they must do. So it might be more statesmanlike on the part of Government to think of other means to gain their ends than the promulgation of fresh ordinances. But we forget "Government" also is constituted of human beings, who probably would in their present temper suspect all non-official suggestions to be prayers for mercy and would not, therefore, even consider them.

Ordinance No VI of 1930 is meant to provide against instigation to the refusal of the payment of certain liabilities.

To cut off supplies by not paying taxes has been long recognized as a constitutional means of obtaining rights or redress of grievances. Of course, non-payers of taxes have had to suffer the consequences of their action. But the promoting or conducting of a no-tax campaign had not hitherto been considered a crime. Now it has been made criminal.

But it is idle to expect that *satyagrahis* who are not deterred by *lathi* blows and worse assaults would be scared away from their contemplated methods by the prospect

of imprisonment. They, in fact, want to fill the jails to bursting.

What is curious is the inclusion "within the purview of the Ordinance certain liabilities (for instance, the rent of agricultural land), which, although not included in the dues which form the present announced object of attack by the Congress, have been mentioned by them from time to time as coming within the scope of the civil disobedience movement and would indeed in many parts of the country form the inevitable object of attack if any movement were initiated to withhold payment of revenue to Government." This inclusion of the rent of agricultural land is intended perhaps to serve as an inducement for landlords to keep aloof from the civil disobedience movement themselves and to discourage others from joining it. *The Servant of India's* comment on this inclusion is "In the language of lawyers, it is a 'retainer' to the landlords, in vulgar language, a bribe for their support. To legislate by ordinance for possible contingencies which do not affect the safety of the Government is meeting the Devil half-way" (June 5, 1930).

### One Thing at a Time

For our part, we do not remember to have read any Congress resolution or any writing of Mr. Gandhi's in which non-payment of rent to landlords has been advocated, though some prominent or non-prominent members of the Congress have, in their individual capacity, declared themselves socialists and against the existence of privileged classes like ruling princes, landlords, etc. Whatever movement we may or may not support, we have always advocated the undertaking of one fight at a time. At present the struggle is for winning political freedom for the whole nation. For gaining that object the Congress has started civil disobedience, and the Liberals and others have adopted other means. The struggle for freedom is serious enough to engage the whole attention and require all the energy of each party and all parties. Whether after freedom has been won, landlordism is to be ended, as in Ireland, by buying off the landlords and peasant proprietorship is to be established, or whether there is to be nationalization of land, are questions which can wait. We presume, therefore, that even

the extreme left of the Congress have never contemplated the non payment of rent on agricultural land at the present juncture

### 'Police Excesses'

The last June 5 issue of *The Servant of India*, the organ of the Servant of India Society founded by the late Mr G. K. Gokhale and presided over at present by the Rt. Honble Srinivasa Sastri contains an article with the above heading. That paper does not, it need not be said, support the civil disobedience movement. On the contrary it opposes and criticizes it. The editor begins the aforesaid article thus:

In his reply to Panit Hriday Nath Kanzru over the latter's resignation of membership of the Legislative Assembly Lord Irwin denied the charge of police excesses and reiterated that only the minimum of force was used on occasions when force had to be used. Mr Kanzru was not alone in making such a complaint. Several others and among them the Bombay Liberals, have made such charges. It is futile to deny them in toto and profess to be innocent. We have no desire to base our charge of police excesses on mere propaganda literature nor are we impressed that the Government communiques contain the whole truth and nothing but it. But when responsible leaders of public opinion who are no friends of civil disobedience or of law breaking, some of whom were actually in charge of the departments of law and order in Provincial Governments, not long ago when such people with a full sense of responsibility, support the charge against the Government, it is, to put it mildly foolish on the part of the Government to content themselves by just denying it.

Our contemporary gives the following advice to the *satyagrahis*:

If the *satyagrahis* are serious when they wish their campaign to be peaceful and non violent they should take every care to prevent crowds gathering and getting out of hand and behaving like anything but *satyagrahis*. If it is going to be "war" between them and the Government let them see to it that the non-combatants do not defeat their non violent purpose and are out of sight and danger.

The article concludes as follows:

It is open to the Government to contend that since the object of the civil disobedience movement is to overthrow the present Government, since it means civil war between the Government and a section of the people and since its sponsors have not hesitated to call it "war" they are exempt from the restrictions imposed by the ordinary law of the land and that they are free to use the maximum of force to preserve their status. It is further open to them to say that those who break laws have no right to expect the Government to act within the law and that in "war" all is fair. But they may not pretend that they are acting within the law that only the minimum of force

was being used and that they are respecting the ordinary canons of public administration. The Ordinances are standing refutation of such pretences.

### 'Incredible If True'

*The Servant of India* in its issue of June 19 1930 has an editorial paragraph with the above heading in which it is said:

In the last issue of *Young India* Miralai alias Miss Slade writes a distressing tale of the excesses alleged against the police. No head so cool no heart so callous but must be stirred to indignation and pity by the tale, if only a part of it was true. She sums up her charge as follows: *kathi* blows on head, chest, stomach and joints, thrusting *kathi* in private parts, abdominal regions and into the anus pressing and squeezing testicles till a man becomes unconscious dragging of wounded men by the legs and arms and throwing them into thorn hedges and into salt water riding horses over men as they lie or sit on the ground thrusting pins and thorns into men's bodies sometimes even when they are unconscious, and beating them after they had become unconscious, besides hurting the most sacred feelings of the *satyagrahis* by the use of foul and vile language. It is rather a formidable and ugly indictment.

We do not wish to pick out from this paper only such extracts as contain allegations against servants of the Government. We give below without any comment the remaining part of the paragraph which contains "very strong disapproval of the action of the Congress also."

Even if allowance were made for the rough methods and crude psychology of the average policeman even when controlled by I.C.S. officers on the spot whose own tempers were sorely tried, what are we to say of magistrates sitting in their courts coolly and deliberately sentencing young boys to rigorous imprisonment for trivial offences. The *Hindu* of Madras reports that at Bhimavaram a boy aged 12 was arrested and sentenced to two years stay in the reformatory school for cutting *palmyra* spathes. Another Congress volunteer was sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment for a similar offence the cutting of the spathes of *palmyra* trees.

While we indignantly resent these disgusting actions of the Government and their agents we cannot conceal our very strong disapproval of the action of the Congress in exposing innocent and excitable young men to such brutalities and indignities. It is positively criminal to exploit the zeal enthusiasm and idealism of youth only to subject them to such wanton suffering.

Rabindranath Tagore at Oxford

*The Manchester Guardian* writes

Dr Rabindranath Tagore's last Hibbert Lecture at Manchester College to-night was more crowded than ever in spite of the counter-attraction of E. G. S.

Week and the burst of applause at the close lasted several minutes. Afterwards Sir Michael Sadler, Master of University College, expressed the deepest gratitude of the audience.

No series of Hibbert Lectures that has been delivered in recent times has had such an enthusiastic welcome and such an overflowing audience as those which have been given by Tagore. Though the subject was difficult to follow yet it was rendered luminous throughout by bright gleams of humour and remarkably lucid illustrations. Above all the personality of the poet as he spoke with the sunshine falling on his white head and lighting up his beautiful face made comparatively easy even his most difficult thoughts. Indeed they would have been often hard to understand if they had not been thus interpreted by his living voice and glowing spirit.

Oxford has rarely received such a gift from the East as she has received during these last ten days owing to the visit of Rabindranath Tagore.

On Sunday when Dr Tagore preached at Manchester College Chapel the congregation was so great that many had to remain standing around the walls and others found seats on the steps leading to the pulpit.

#### *The Christian World* says

The brief series of three Hibbert Lectures at Manchester College Oxford have now been completed and probably no previous series has attracted such marked popular attention.

These lectures will be published in book form after the Poet has delivered them in America in the autumn.

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#### *'Spurious Saint of Gujarat'*

Assuming that there is some truth in the saying 'No man is a hero to his valet' some one has observed 'That is not because the hero is not a hero but because the valet is only a valet.'

Lord Zetland is reported to have spoken of Mahatma Gandhi as the spurious saint of Gujarat. He did so not because the Mahatma is not a true saint but because Lord Zetland does not possess the capacity and freedom from prejudice to appreciate Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

The Marquis of Zetland further displayed his heroism and his good breeding by referring to the Mahatmas 'blind insensate folly'. History will show who is blind senseless and foolish. In the meantime the Marquis will do well to reflect whether he could have mustered enough courage to speak of a Frenchman, an American or even a Japanese of much less eminence than Mahatma Gandhi in the way he has spoken

#### Why England Holds India

Your British Imperial Bounders are more likable than your mealy-mouthed sanctimonious British philanthropists, because there is no humbug about the former. When Sir William Joynson-Hicks, now Lord Something said, 'We did not conquer India for the benefit of Indians I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for Lancashire goods in particular,'—he spoke the honest truth. Under the influence of a similar onrush of honest truthfulness, which is not the usual characteristic of Viscount Rothermere that Lord wrote in the *London Daily Mail* (June 3 1930),

'Foolish people in this country talk about the eviction of India as if it would make no more difference to the prosperity of our Empire than the abandonment of British Guiana.

They do not realize that the step they so lightly contemplate would be the end of Britain as a Great Power. Their hazy minds are incapable of understanding that the loss of India would bring immediate economic ruin to this country that instead of close on two million unemployed we should have four or five millions for whom no relief could be provided and who would soon be faced with sheer starvation.

India is still far and away the largest consumer of British exports and our imports from there are second only to those from the United States.

Without the profits which Great Britain draws from her commerce with India the most ruthless Chancellor of the Exchequer would be unable to raise enough revenue to provide old age pensions, unemployment relief, education grants, and all the other state allowances which are regarded by their beneficiaries in this country as part of the automatic routine of existence.

These advantages are unparalleled in any other nation and the only reason we are able to afford them is that we have hitherto found the greatest overseas market for our manufactured products among the 320,000,000 people of India.

At least four shillings in the pound of the income of every man and woman in Great Britain is drawn directly or indirectly from our connection with India.

But this veracity was only a temporary aberration. For a few paragraphs below, the Viscount said that Dominion Home Rule would place the administration of justice in hands notoriously oppressive and corrupt. This is as black a lie as even Lord Rothermere is capable of uttering. He displayed his crass ignorance of Indian history by saying 'Since history began, India has

never experienced a single day of democratic freedom

### Simon Commission Report on the Recruiting of Sepoys

With reference to the paragraphs published in Vol I of the Simon Commission Report, the attention of our readers is drawn to two articles on the Indian army the first of which is published in this issue. These will show to some extent why Indians from all provinces are not in the army.

The Commissioners make much of the fact that even during the last great war when recruiting was undertaken in all provinces of India most provinces furnished an insufficient number of soldiers. They use this fact against India having self rule. But the causes of such a state of things should be understood by our countrymen. The discrimination made between "martial" and "non martial" races is not a sufficient explanation. In *The Times* Special India Number (Feb 16 1930) it is observed

"The Sikhs are a martial race of good physique and make fine soldiers." —

But as regards their recruiting it is stated

"Service in the army is popular and there is no lack of recruits, although military service is no longer quite as attractive to certain classes especially Sikhs whose prosperity has been increased by canalization measures or who are beginning to turn their attention to industrial pursuits." Ibid

This is an indication that either for the economic reasons given above or owing to some other cause recruiting among Sikhs has perhaps diminished. If this process continues the Sikhs may ultimately cease to be classed as a martial race. So may not economic causes have led to the people of some provinces, which formerly supplied sipahis, being called non martial?

If recruiting be disproportionately small from a certain class that does not necessarily show that that class is unfit either for self rule or for the army. For example the following paragraph appeared in *The Literary Digest* for June 17 1916 when the great war was going on and when in India, too efforts were made to obtain soldiers from all Indian provinces

"An important feature of the dispute between the English and French Canadians in the schools of Ontario is the discovery that the recruiting

statistics of the various provinces show that out of a total of 330,000 men enlisted, French Canada, with more than a quarter of the entire population of the Dominion has furnished fewer than 14,000 men.

Proportionately, French Canada ought to have furnished at least 82,500 men. Instead of that it supplied about one-sixth of that number in spite of the fact that France the motherland of the French Canadians was in danger of being invaded and defeated by Germany. England is not the mother country of Indians, and India's freedom was not jeopardized by the great war as she was already under subjection. So if Britain could not get a sufficient number of recruits from most provinces of India (which formerly furnished sepoy and being subsequently de-martialized had ceased to look upon the army as a career or a source of income), these provinces were no more disqualified for self rule than French Canada. As French Canada's insufficient quota of recruits did not prove that her inhabitants had not the ability to fight in defence of their hearths and homes so the fact that most provinces of India did not supply a sufficient number of recruits cannot prove that their inhabitants cannot or will not fight in self defence.

The fact is in those provinces of India which have become politically conscious of their subject condition and in which the standard of living and average income are such that mercenary soldiering is not an attractive proposition it is possible to raise only a citizen army if the political status of the people rises to the desired level. This is not a mere theoretical assumption. The political status of the people of a country has been found in history to have much to do with its effective man power.

### Political Status and Man power

Even in independent states history has proved the difference in man power between a country whose people possessed the franchise in very large numbers and a country where the franchise was confined only to certain sections of the people. Major Cartwright in his pamphlet, *The Commonwealth in Danger* (1795) contrasts England and France as they were during the Revolutionary War. The French Republic, relying on the populace had more

than a million men under arms Great Britain was 'a disarmed, defenceless, unprepared people, scarcely more capable of resisting a torrent of French invaders than the herds and flocks of Smithfield' How, then, could the danger be averted? 'Solely,' he replied, 'by trusting the people and by reviving the ancient laws which compelled householders to bear arms But this implied the concession of the franchise' 'Behold,' he said "make the kingdom a commonwealth and the nation will be saved A million of armed men supporting the state with their purse, and defending it with their lives, will know that none have so great a stake as themselves in the Government Arming the people and reforming Parliament are inseparable"

In *William Pitt and the Great War*, H. Roso writes in similar strain

By the talisman of trust in the people France conjured up those armed hosts which overthrew all Europe [Instead of] trusting and arming the people Pitt was fain to plod along in the old paths and use the nation's wealth not its manhood' Pp 280-291

Hence Pitt's failure

If it be objected that even the highest political status will not give the unwarlike races of India the courage and endurance needed in war, the question may safely be asked whether at any time in history any class of soldiers displayed greater fearlessness and power to bear extreme anguish than the non-martial 'satyagrahis' of Gujarat

### The Function of the Army in India

The Simon Commission's suggestion that the control of the Army in India should be vested in the Imperial Government, India paying only a fixed annual sum for its maintenance throws unexpected light on the question of the real function of the Indian Army

Indian opinion has always been, and still is, too prone to hold that the Army in India is an army of occupation a foreign garrison stationed in India to keep her people in their present political status This is no doubt partly true for a portion of the Army in India is permanently allotted to internal security a phrase the real meaning of which we should have no difficulty in fathoming Yet one would be inclined to say that in this matter our political pre-occupations have

really put us on a false scent The idea that the principal function of the Army in India was to prevent popular outbreaks in India, was once no doubt widely current, even in military circles, but in the light of the practice of today, it belongs, we should say, not even to the military thought of yesterday, but to that of the day before

Though the Indian Army is still the muled fist behind the civil administration of India, we do not think the British authorities envisage the task of governing India quite as a military problem If they did so the outlook for us would have been much more cheerful So it happens that as far as internal security arrangements are concerned, the duties of the 'district' and 'command' commanders in India are confined to taking an annual stock of the domestic situation and earmarking a certain number of troops for this purpose The rest is left to policy and the police And again, the strength of the Army in India is so regulated that any calculable internal disturbances in the present disarmed state of the country, far from immobilizing the covering force or the field army, will not even touch a fringe of their war organization

Lord Haldane once said that in order to organize an army, it was necessary first of all to ask what was to be its objective In the case of the Army in India, there have been three shiftings of point of view as regards the major role it was intended to play In the post-Mutiny period it was the prevention of armed outbreaks on the part of the Indian people When Lord Kitchener undertook the reorganization of the Army in 1903 he defined it as the protection of the N-W frontier against an aggressive enemy And the third shifting of the point of view has come from the terrible fiasco of the Mesopotamia campaign

It was during the great war that the Army in India was first employed for Imperial purposes in a major operation of the modern type, and in course of it it was found that the limited objective for which the Indian Army was trained and maintained had imposed upon it an organization and equipment which was wholly inadequate for the much more extended needs of the actual situation This was the seed idea which bore its full fruit in the post-war reorganization of the Indian Army

The *Financial Times* writes that Britain will not be able to spend anything for the army in India. That paper evidently wants that while Britain is to use and control that army for her own purposes India should pay the whole expense, or worse still that India should pay the greater part and Britain and the other States under the Crown should contribute the remainder. For that is the meaning of the suggestion that the subject may be submitted to the Imperial Conference in an endeavour to find means by which the Empire and not the Chief member of it only shall accept the responsibility. That would practically mean that India's army and therefore India would be under the control of not only Britain but also of the other states under the Crown. A very cheerful prospect indeed!

### The Problem of India's External Defence

The question of India's external defence at which the Simon Commission points so threatening a finger has always been dangled before our vision as a task of almost insuperable difficulty and the whole problem is worth a little detailed analysis. The requirements of the external defence of a country are conditioned by two capital facts: first its geographical situation and secondly the state of its foreign relations. As regards India the military obligations imposed upon her by her geographical position will of course remain the same whether or no India forms a part of the British Empire. But we have no means at present of estimating the full extent of the military burden imposed upon her by her political position. She has no foreign policy of her own today. All the international rivalries, enmities and alliances into which she finds herself drawn are those of Great Britain and they all arise out of the latter's position in European or international politics. With an India freed from the British connection all this might altogether be changed.

We shall therefore leave aside as purely hypothetical the question of India's future military needs arising out of her relations with Persia, Russia, China, Tibet, Japan, French Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies, only observing in passing that they all lie beyond the natural frontiers of India

and India in no way affects their full political and economic development. Of all the limitrophe countries of India the case of Afghanistan perhaps deserves in some ways no exceptional treatment. But with a modernized and settled Afghanistan and a neutral Central Asia the settlement of this question need not be very difficult.

The question of defending the actual frontiers of India is however of more immediate practical interest, and can be considered apart from the intricacies of international politics. This task comprises in a sense the *natural* military requirements of India: the requirements that is to say, imposed upon her by her geographical position and the backward political and cultural development of some of the peoples on her frontiers.

British military authorities never weary of telling us that the existence of innumerable savage and warlike tribes all along her frontiers constitutes a first class military danger to the settled population of India and make the task of defending this country a peculiarly onerous one. In point of fact, however, the British Government in India does not employ a single battalion of the Regular or the Auxiliary and Territorial force for the protection of more than three fourths of the total land frontier of India. Starting from the point where Afghanistan, Soviet Turkestan, Sinkiang and India meet, the whole northern frontier of India is considered absolutely safe from the military point of view. Further on the frontier from the eastern boundary of Bhutan to the 26th parallel is also considered secure. The next two sections of the frontier from the 26th parallel to the 24th parallel and from the 24th parallel to the frontier of French Indo-China though inhabited by fierce and warlike tribes, are only protected by nine battalions of the British military police while the last section of the frontier running along French Indo-China is of no military importance whatever. The task of defending the frontiers of India thus resolves itself into the much more restricted problem of defending the N.W. frontier.

### The North Western Frontier

The military importance assigned to this frontier is something of a puzzle to the detached outside observer. If we are to believe the British military and civil



authorities the defence of this frontier constitutes as vital and important a question of security for India as the defence of her North Eastern frontiers against a possible attack by Germany is for France. Yet the military potentialities of the Pathan tribes living within as well as outside the administered border seem hardly to justify such an assumption. They might be very warlike and very jealous of their independence. But their number is limited to some hundreds of thousands; the population of one of the larger Indian districts they are armed only with rifles, swords and knives, their supply of ammunition and arms is precarious; they have no artillery and cannot make any use of the automatic weapons as by fortunate chance fall into their hands. Their presence undoubtedly constitutes a very troublesome political problem but to proclaim that it requires the maintenance of a permanent army of 273,464 men armed with the most modern appliances of war at a cost of about fifty crores of rupees a year is to put up a gigantic advertisement of one's political and military failure.

Britishers do not know or forget that before they conquered or occupied the Punjab and the N-W F area the frontier problem had been practically solved by the Sikh rulers and generals by their valour and statecraft. The Sikhs still exist.

We are aware of course of the amusing legend that as India has more than once in the past been conquered and settled by warlike tribes from beyond her frontiers who have poured down upon her plains through the N-W passes such an eventuality might again be in store for her in the future and the heretic Afghans and Pathans—tribes who have not forgotten history—are only holding themselves ready to swoop down upon India once the army on the frontier is weakened. But no one we think will blame our intelligence if we refuse to lose one night's sleep over these chimeras. The impossibility of a second irruption of Huns into India, it does not require a very profound knowledge of history to see. The Scythian Hun Turki Mongol and Tartar invasions of India were caused not by any circumstances on this side of the Hindu Kush but by ethnological disturbances in the Central Asiatic steppes. The clashes of the nomadic tribes of those regions resulted in the surging out of these barbarous or semi-barbarous peoples over the plains of Russia,

China Persia and India. All these countries had to suffer more or less from the incursions of these tribes and if an exodus of nomadic tribes of Central Asia such as had taken place in the past were again to be feared the countries which would suffer most from them are as likely to be Soviet Russia and China as India. But no one we think advances such a manifestly absurd proposition for the consideration of the General Staffs of the Soviet or the Chinese Armies. It is reserved only for the consumption of credulous Indians and Britishers.

The fact is with the settling down and civilizing of the nomadic tribes of Russian Turkestan and the expansion of the Russian Empire in Central Asia, the prospect of a nomadic invasion of India or of any other country has vanished into the limbo of superannuated fears. The very source so to say of all widespread ethnographic disturbances in the North West has dried up. There is thus every justification for regarding the problem of the frontier tribes as a local and restricted problem of policing, civilizing and educating. If the worst comes to the worst it may mean a campaign of three or four years duration with the expenditure of a few crores of rupees. So far as the control of the Pathan tribes is concerned the British authorities themselves have adopted this policy. Why they are unable to treat the whole question of defending the frontier as a comparatively unimportant—speaking from the military point of view—task of frontier policing is explained not by anything inherent in the tribal organization but by the presence beyond the Oxus of the arch enemy of Great Britain the Russian Empire.

The rivalry of Russia and England is one of the great motive forces of 19th century diplomatic history and strange as it may seem, it has been inherited by the Bolsheviks from the Czarist regime. Under the threat of the German menace it slumbered for a period of ten years from 1907 to 1917. But with the advent of the Bolsheviks to power it has broken out again in all its old fury. This must not however be taken to mean that Russia intends to invade India through Afghanistan. As far back as 1907 General Palitsin the Chief of the Staff of the Russian Army assured the British Military attaché at St Petersburg that the idea of a Russian invasion of India was a phantasy which had never been seriously entertained by responsible

**Russians** This opinion is probably shared by the chiefs of the Bolshevik Army also But that does not prevent Bolshevik diplomats as it did not prevent their Czarist predecessors from making full use of their capacity to create trouble in Afghanistan and the North Western Frontier of India with a view to extorting concessions from Great Britain in other matters and other regions

It is this possibility which makes the North West frontier the subject of so much watchful solicitude on the part of the Army authorities in India. The tribes too knowing the strength their position between two great powers show a boldness which they would not have dreamt of showing had they stood by themselves alone

In conclusion we do not deny that the trans frontier No man's land is a convenient ground for practical military training and military exercises

### **Allegations Against the Police and the Military**

Since the inauguration of the civil disobedience movement, the papers have contained numerous allegations of police excesses and some excesses of soldiers. Some of these allegations have been confirmed by public men noted for their high character and calm judgment. Some of them are not themselves *satyagrahis*. By saying this we do not mean to throw any doubt on the veracity of *satyagrahis* as *satyagrahis*. Our opinion of the truthfulness of sincere *satyagrahis* is quite different. What we mean is that those who have accused the police and the military in some places and on some occasions of committing excesses wholly from their own personal knowledge are eye-witnesses or partly as eye-witnesses and partly from knowledge gathered from reliable sources belong to different schools of political thought and action.

In a few cases there have been official contradictions in *communiqués* issued by some provincial Government or other. We have read many of these contradictions—some we may not have come across.

After reading both non official and official statements we are inclined to conclude that the non official statements are substantially correct. The Governments concerned which issue the *communiqués* have to depend for their information on subordinate officials—sometimes some of the very officials whose

conduct is complained of. It cannot be claimed that these anonymous officials because they are officials are more sober, accurate and careful observers of occurrences have better memories and are more truthful than even some of the best of our public men.

### **Report of the Contai Enquiry Committee**

At a conference held at the Albert Hall Calcutta on May 21 1930 a Committee of Enquiry was appointed to enquire into the alleged violent and unlawful acts on the part of the Police and of the Executive Administration in the district of Midnapore and in other districts of Bengal and to make a report embodying the result of such enquiry. Mr K C Neogy, M L A Advocate Calcutta High Court and Professor P R Sen agreed to act as Secretaries of the Committee. Mr J N Basu M L C solicitor President of the Indian Association and leader of the Liberal Party in Bengal, acted as the chairman of the Committee. Some members of the Committee visited several villages in Midnapore.

Some members visited altogether nine houses in connection with which complaints had been made that local officials and their subordinates including excess officials and jeons had forcibly entered private houses and had assaulted inmates without any provocation and had damaged or destroyed the belongings of the villagers. They also visited six sites where general assaults on the police were said to have been committed. Altogether one hundred and twenty witnesses were examined of whom seventeen were women.

We have received a copy of the report of this Committee. It is a very temperately worded document as befits the standing in public life and the character of the signatories e.g. of Messrs J N Basu Professor Sen J N Mukherjee K C Neogy etc. We presume copies of this report have been sent to the Secretary of State the Governor General the Governor of Bengal and some Members of Parliament.

We cannot find space for the entire report. But it is necessary to make a rather long extract to give the reader an idea of the difficulties placed in the way of the visiting members of the Committee making the enquiry with which they had been entrusted. They did not, to say the least receive courteous treatment from the local officials concerned. *They were everywhere under arrest by the sub-divisional officer*

damage which they saw there and which was said to have been done by the police that morning. They found that a large number of earthenware vessels in the house had been broken, some books and papers had been scattered about in the verandah and the courtyard, a part of the thatch on the roof with the framework had been pulled down, some paddy bags had been cut open and a part of the contents had been strewn about and some pumpkins smashed.

The members next visited a house close by where they found a girl about eighteen years old in an advanced stage of pregnancy. Her name was Ainu. She was lying down on the verandah apparently still suffering from shock and pain. She was breathing with difficulty. Her eyes were closed with tears trickling. She made her statement with some difficulty. She complained of her breasts being twisted and of her being kicked on the hip. While her statement was being recorded, a subordinate official came from the Sub-divisional Officer and asked the members to proceed again to his tent as he had a letter to show them. The members informed the messenger that they would see Mr. Gaffar after they had completed inspection of some more houses in the locality, as some of the villagers who had come up to them had said that there had been similar destruction of property that morning in nearly every house in the village.

While the members were speaking to the messenger Mr. Gaffar came up in a car to a point on the road nearest to the house. They were then in and sent another messenger over the intervening fields to the visiting members requesting the members to see him. Mr. N. Basu went up to Mr. Gaffar followed later by the other members. The Sub-divisional Officer showed a letter from a Sub-Inpector of a distant station in the Sub-division stating that he was expecting trouble. Mr. Gaffar requested the members not to proceed further with their enquiry that morning but to accompany him to Contai. He said that he wanted to show some papers which were in his office and which would show the treatment the police had received. The members told him that they were being prevented from continuing the local enquiry in the villages in the neighbourhood but the Sub-divisional Officer pressed them to accompany him to Contai which they did. At Contai he showed them some signed letters addressed to him by villagers informing him that they would manufacture salt

willing to place evidence before the members. But the local officials were reluctant that the visiting members should see more than what they had seen or heard. Though at the request of the members the persons engaged in the manufacture of salt near Pichhaboni put suspended their activities in order to enable the members to obtain direct information about the conduct of the local officials and the police towards the inhabitants of the villages, the officials were anxious that the members should not proceed with the enquiry. A local enquiry at that stage would have been of great help in ascertaining facts as the assaults and raid were said to have been committed within the previous hour or thereabouts, and there would have been no difficulty in ascertaining the nature and extent of the injury said to have been inflicted on the villagers. The Committee were surprised that anxiety should have been shown by the local officials for stopping a careful enquiry at a time when the events had only recently happened. The presence of the visiting members led for the time being to the discontinuance of manufacture of salt. There was no ground for the unfounded statement of the Sub-divisional officer that the visiting members were inciting the men of the locality. They recorded statements of several wounded and inspected damage to property. They succeeded in dispersing a gathering of people in order that the enquiry might proceed in a calm and judicial atmosphere. They acted with forbearance when obstructed by local officials. But though the local officials found that the presence and attitude of the visiting members led to the atmosphere becoming peaceful with the absence of all incitement to violence yet they tried to stifle the enquiry in the locality where evidence tendered by the villagers against the local officials and the Police was fresh and the physical signs had not been obliterated. The Committee regret to notice such want of administrative sense and executive capacity in the local officials concerned.

Some of the conclusions of the committee require to be reproduced.

what is more we have to search for ways and means of making our manner of living under these new conditions as suitable and hygienic as possible so that we may remain fresh healthy energetic and alert.

We understand Dr. Deyendranath Mukta is getting ready to visit this exhibition. As he was the founder of the Bengal Social Service League and the pioneer in the preparation and exhibition of sanitary hygienic and demographic pictures and charts it is natural for him to be eager to acquire new knowledge and fresh ideas on these subjects by which the country will benefit. It would be a pleasure to hear that the Bengal Government or the Calcutta Corporation or some other public body had deputed him to represent them at the Exhibition.

#### Indian Insurance Institute

That Indian insurance companies are getting to be resorted to more and more by our countrymen is what ought to be. For foreign companies not only take away all their profits to their home countries but the funds in their hands are lent to or otherwise invested in manufacturing and mercantile concerns which exploit and drain away wealth from India. We therefore wish all possible prosperity to Indian insurance companies under Indian management. But they cannot flourish as much as they ought to unless they co-operate with one another

nearest shall we be to the Freedom of India? Are we going back to the pre-Home Rule days fitter way our time over Salt Tax and Forest Laws while our duty lies in striking off the fetters from our Mother's limbs and setting her free as Britain is free.

I can't peacefully submit the counter question. How much nearer were the U.S. Americans to their Freedom when they had flung the Tea Boxes into the sea in December 1773? Was it not their duty to strike off the fetters from their Mother's limbs and set her as free as Britain was free instead of frittering away their time over Tea Boxes?

Dr. Bhagavin Das next tackles another question asked by Dr. Basant.

She asks: Is it not time to stop wasting strength on fragments of bondage instead of breaking that bondage once for all meeting Britons as their equal not as their inferiors, and clasping hands of friendship for the helping of the world?

But what is the magic *mantra* by which all this marvellous change of heart and change of spirit may be brought about, and Britons induced to regard Indians as equals and not as inferiors without any travel in India with ease and comfort to all? Is innocent childlike trust in the words of British diplomats repeated at fixed intervals like the chimes of a clock that our policy still stands as it has always stood such a *mantra*? Is not this the very misbelief that the policy still stand as it has always stood keeps at a standstill and never moves forward so far as India's real progress is concerned? And what policy is it that stands so perpetually and so immovably? Is it not the policy of exploiting and burdening India ever more and more and keeping Indians talking endlessly over meaningless announcements and proclamations?

Surely the revered Editor knows full well that there can be no *Siddhi* without *Tyag* no relinquishment of powers without much trial and much tribulation and much self-denial.

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### Change of Heart

Dr Bhagavan Das of Benares is well known as a scholar and author and also as a distinguished member of the Theosophical Society. His replies in *New India* to two questions asked by Dr Annie Besant in the same paper therefore passers more than a passing interest. In the course of an article on Change of Heart in that journal he writes

In *New India* for May 1 1930 on p 3 the venerable Editor puts these questions. When Salt Tax (has) been abolished how much

nearer shall we be to the Freedom of India? Are we going back to the pre-Home Rule days fritter away our time over Salt Tax and Forest laws while our duty lies in striking off the fetters from our Mother's limbs and setting her free as Britain is free?

I most respectfully submit the counter question. How much nearer were the U.S. Americans to their Freedom when they had flung the Tea Boxes into the sea in December 1773? Was it not then their duty to strike off the fetters from their Mother's limbs and set her as free as Britain was free instead of frittering away their time over Tea Boxes?

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But what is the magic mantra by which all this marvellous change of heart and change of spirit may be brought about and Britons induced to regard Indians as equals and not as inferiors without any travail in India with ease and comfort to all? Is innocent childlike trust in the words of British diplomats repeated at fixed intervals like the chimes of a clock that our policy still stands as it has always stood such a mantra? Is not this the very mischief that the policy still stand as it has always stood leaps at a standstill and never moves forward so far as India's real progress is concerned? And what policy is that stands so perpetually and so immovably? Is it not the policy of exploiting and burdening India ever more and more and keeping Indians talking endlessly over meaningless announcements and proclamations?

Surely the revered Editor knows full well that there can be no *Siddhi* without *Tyag* no achievement of powers without much trial and much tribulation and much self denial.

Dr Bhagavan Das wrote these words before the publication of the Simon Commission's Report. If the recommendations of that report give any indication of British policy then according to even co-operators like Sir Hari Singh Gour that policy has not even stood still but has gone back to the Morley Vinto reforms thus contradicting the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and placing them in a false position.

Dr Bhagavan Das corrects Mrs Annie Besant on another point when he writes

I have read with deep distress in the same issue of *New India*, on p 2 the editorial note saying that Mahatma Gandhi "has been advising Indian boys to get their heads broken for India's freedom that any one who advises others to face head breaking should say come and not go and implying that Mahatmaj has not been saying come but only go. Surely this must be a very inadvertent slip of my loved and honoured friend's pen surely else was not really thinking of Mahatmaj when she wrote those words for not even the present Governmental regime has said

any such thing against him and all the world knows that he has been *leading* marching in front and in advance of his special band of volunteers saying to them not "go" but "come after me and if you determinately wish to otherwise not all the time, till taken captive by midnight attack on his ascetic's hut

### Mr C F Andrews prefers Independence

In the article on 'Rev C F Andrews in America' by Dr J T Sanderland published in our last issue, it is stated. As between independence and dominion status he declared his preference for the latter (p 683). With reference to this statement Mr Andrews has sent us the following telegram from England

"Kindly correct one statement in Sanderland's generous article. I have always advocated Independence, not Dominion Status"

### Health and Wealth of a Bengal District

The January issue of the *Vita bhumi Quarterly*, which is very late in coming out contains much instructive and interesting reading, not merely of an academic character but also on matters vitally affecting the survival of our people in full vigour of mind and body

In his "Report on Medical Conditions in the Birbhum District," Dr Harry G Timbres writes:

During the last month I have visited a score of villages in the immediate vicinity of Santiniketan and Bolpur and several others at some distance. The economic and health conditions in these places are appallingly bad. The two conditions of Poverty and Disease go together. The peasants say that the disease came first and caused poverty but I cannot help but feel that each one follows the other in a vicious circle

The following is a general description of a village in Birbhum

In the village what first strikes one's attention is the overgrowth of vegetation (jungle) and the deserted houses. The latter remind me of nothing so clearly as the deserted villages I saw in Central Russia during the Great Famine in 1911-1912. The empty houses making up as much as half or two-thirds of the total number of houses in the village are for the most part in a state of disintegration. The roofs are gone the mud walls are broken down, and the wall surrounding the house and yard is also half destroyed. Jungle fills the yard. Whole streets may be made up of such houses. The exuberant jungle grows in between them and pushes out over the street. Tanks and

pools of stagnant water (*dobas*) are everywhere in evidence ideal breeding places for the malaria breeding mosquitos

Around the tanks and pools of water is a heavy growth of jungle. It even extends into the tanks adding to the density of the growth of the water plants already there. Only at the places from which water is customarily removed is there an absence of vegetation. Tanks which are regularly and extensively used are not usually very heavy sources of infection with malaria, since the disturbance of the surface of water is inimical to the mosquito larvae breeding there. It is the unused or the infrequently used tank that is the source of greatest danger. These are identical enough in any village many of whose inhabitants have died leaving their houses and tanks to fall into a state of disrepair. Very few villages are supplied with wells for drinking water. The family gets its drinking water from the same tank in which it bathes and does its laundry from which its fields of rice are irrigated and upon the sloping sides of which altogether too frequently its excremental material is deposited. A latrine is practically never seen

As for the general appearance of the villages Dr Timbres writes

So much for the physical aspects of the village. In the worst villages one often walks through one or two streets without seeing a single inhabitant. In other villages the inhabitants including dogs, pigs, children and chicken are often numerous manifest. The people however are not in good general physical condition. Their appearance of lack of energy is striking. The pot bellied child is the rule, the healthy looking child is the exception. I did a spleen examination on many children in every village I visited. I often performed this examination in the schools. An enlarged spleen is a sure indication of infection with malaria in an epidemic area. In the best villages the spleen rate was 30%, in the worst often every child examined had a large spleen. Sometimes the spleen was so large as almost to fill the entire abdominal cavity. Such a high spleen rate in the children is positive evidence of a similarly high rate of infection with malaria in every member of the village. In one village Kupur with a population of 350 families forty are said to have died of malaria during this season

He gives many details relating to the incidence of Malaria, Leprosy, etc., and the deplorable conditions under which child-birth takes place. He is careful to add

A cursory glance at the villages however might not reveal to a casual observer that they are veritable museums of nearly every disease known to mankind. He would see the jungle the desolation the disorderliness and the undernourishment but outside of these observations he might even think that the villagers were in a fairly good condition. When I first came to Santiniketan I was told by several people Indians and Europeans that they did not think a doctor would find much material for work as they regarded this part of Bengal as an especially healthy place. Santiniketan is healthy, but the surrounding district not. A little pro-

beneath the surface is needed to reveal the slow death that is creeping, over the countryside a death which if it be not checked may easily spread to other parts of Bengal and India. The Poet has seen this condition coming for many years and it is one of the greatest sadness of his life.

The writer has something to say about the former flourishing condition of Bengal and its Birbhum district.

There is ample evidence on every hand that is short a time as fifty years ago the district was quite prosperous. Historically it is recorded as having been very prosperous. Bernier travelling through Bengal in 1630 writes

The knowledge I have acquired of Bengal in two visits inclines me to believe that it is richer than Egypt. It exports in abundance cottons and silks, rice, sugar and butter. It produces amply for its own consumption wheat, vegetables, grains, fowls, ducks and geese. It has immense herds of pigs, flocks of sheep and goats. Fish of every kind it has in profusion. From Rumbal to the sea is an endless number of canals cut in 150000 acres from the Ganges by immense labour for navigation and irrigation while the Indira considers the Ganges as the best in the world.

When Mr. Champ commercial agent for the First India Company 1757-1824 flourished in this district it was probably the wealthiest in all Bengal. Home industries of all kinds such as spinning, weaving, dyeing, indigo culture, etc. prospered. The district was full of artisans of the highest skill from whose deft fingers ornaments and wearables, apparel went out to deck the rich and royal of the world.

He passes on to discuss the causes of the decay of the district and of Bengal generally. Then he strikes a hopeful note.

Whatever the causes, the fact remains that the conditions around Srimuketan are far unspeakably bad but not so bad that they cannot be remedied. Did I not believe this latter fact I should indeed be discouraged. The ultimate solution will have to come eventually from the country as a whole at least from the Bengal Government. Already half convinced of the value of Dr. Bentley's and Sir Wilcock's suggestions the Government is beginning to make a survey of the province for the purpose of improving the agriculture and drainage. But before that scheme comes to fruition all the inhabitants may die. In the district of Birbhum as in the rest of Bengal the Department of Public Health carries bravely on under extremely adverse conditions chief of which is the lack of an adequate staff and income. The Civil Surgeons of the district are also inadequately equipped and there are less than 7,000 hospital beds in the entire district.

He pays a well-deserved tribute to the work done by the Visva Bharati village workers and to the workers themselves.

The most encouraging work which I saw is that which is being done by the village workers at Srimuketan under the direction of the Visva Bharati. All of these workers are young men filled with ideals of serving their country in a practical manner. They work at great personal sacrifice on

very low salaries performing the fundamental tasks of organization of health work. This work is one important part of the general scheme of village uplift which has its centre at Srimuketan. Inspired by the Poet's ideals and aspirations for his country they work on the principle that if the level of village life can be raised through the co-operative efforts of villagers themselves the village would once more become an attractive and healthy place to live and the people would not desert it for the profitless soul-queening life of the city. So workers are trained in village industries night and day, schools for children are conducted, co-operative banks loaning money at low rate of interest are organized and health societies are formed.

The health work has been organized in eight of the surrounding villages. Already signal effects can be recognized. I proved by actual examination of the children that the incidence of malaria is lower in these villages than in surrounding ones. Also the general state of nourishment of the children is better. The health societies collect membership fees, do many kind and labour and apply these fees to clearing the jungle draining the roads, cleaning and kerosinizing the tanks regularly filling up the pools of stagnant water, regularly distributing quinine as a prophylactic measure during the worst of the malarial season and in instructing the villagers by lectures, posters, etc. in the elements of sanitation and hygiene. It is all a splendid work being done along proper lines without waste of effort, by men whose in spiration is of the highest and whose patience in doing the necessary little things is infinite. The difficulties obstructing their work must appear at times to be insurmountable. The lack of adequate funds is the main difficulty. Thoo the prejudice of the villagers must be overcome. This was at one time strong but is getting less now. When the malaria is very bad it seems as if their measures are having no effect but they keep bravely on in the face of no little danger to themselves from diseases with which they come daily into contact and to which their own state of mind and nourishment renders them more than usually liable. No matter their courage and patience are unflinching.

We have tried to give some idea of Dr. Timbres' article, but the whole of it deserves to be read.

### The Poet's University

The foregoing Note will not come as a surprise to those who know what Visva Bharati is trying to do but it may serve to correct the wrong impressions of those who cherish an *a priori* conclusion that being a Poet's University it is concerned mainly with things of the imagination and partly with things academic and intellectual. But as a matter of fact, the Poet's University has been trying to grapple with the hard realities of life as well.

The very name University calls up the

idea that it has to do with the Universal which includes the Local and the National. We are familiar with the cheap gibe that the Poet is concerned with *Lisa* the whole Universe, and has no thought to spare for his neighbours and his countrymen. Those who know him and his work know how untrue and unjust such insinuations are.

We do not know of any University in India which touches life at all points as Tagore's University has done. No doubt, with its united resources it cannot attempt to do all things nor are all its arrangements free from flaws and defects. But it does not lose sight of ignore or exclude any aspect and department of education. We were reminded afresh of this fact by the Annual Report of the institution published in the recently published January issue of the *Lisa Bharati Quarterly*. The mere mention of the various departments and sub-departments of the institution serves to show the wide range of its interests, ideals and endeavours.

The Vidyabharata (Research Institute) provided for lectures on Tibetan Buddhism, Buddhist philosophy, Sanskrit, Mathism, Yoga, Cult, Pancha, Comparative Philology, Old Persian, Avesta, Vedic Sanskrit, Greek, Arabic, Persian, French, Islamic culture and history, Chinese, German, English and Prakrit. There were students to attend these lectures. Research work done both by members of the staff members of the Santiniketan staff and students is described in the Report. The collation of the Mahabharata MS. was continued as usual in collaboration with the Bhandarkar Institute of Poona.

The Santiniketan College taught both its own courses and the courses of the Calcutta University. There were 37 men and 13 women students all in residence, separate accommodation being provided for them. The new Sree-bhavana (Girls and Women's Hostel) will accommodate 80 students.

The work of the College Department underwent a number of changes during the year under review. The College and the School were completely separated and conducted as distinct units for purposes of administration. Vahu Chandra Ganguly remained in charge of the College as Principal throughout the year. The remarkable progress shown by the College is entirely due to his enthusiasm and personal exertions.

Patha Bhavana (School Department) made all round progress.

The Founder-President took great pains to create among the members of the staff a real enthusiasm for his ideals and his system of education. He

directed the work in detail, daily devoting a considerable part of his valuable time and energy for this purpose.

Self government is a special feature in the training of students. In order to develop their sense of responsibility and to make them participate in the different activities of the Asrama, an Asrama Sammilani office was started through the activities of the students and has been run entirely by them. This has worked very satisfactorily. Manual training received special attention and good progress was made in Carpentry, Weaving and Gardening. A number of exhibitions of the work of the students were held and were greatly appreciated. Classes in music, vocal and instrumental were regularly held. Two teachers were engaged to teach the students, especially the girl. Many dances and the progress has been very satisfactory. Every effort was made to give the student first-hand experience of village problems through regular organized visits to Briniketan. The Institut of Rural Reconstruction. The senior students paid a number of visits to Ballapur, a centre of rural reconstruction work and got practical experience in rural economic survey and reconstruction.

Kalahbhavana (School of Art) was under the charge of Nanda Lal Bose. It has now got a new building specially constructed for the purpose.

The new building has been designed to serve the purpose of a museum. The art collection was removed there from the library building and all the paintings, archaeological specimens and examples of art-crafts have been carefully catalogued. The want of furniture, however, stood in the way of the proper display for purposes of study.

The students have been provided with three separate buildings to be used as studios. Of these one is available for the women students, the others for men. During the current year the need for accommodating the clay modelling section became so pressing that a new shed which was not provided for in the original plan had to be constructed.

The Founder-President wishes the whole group of the Kalahbhavana buildings to be known as 'Vandana'. The inauguration ceremony was held during the Pous Utsava.

Methods of Instruction.—In our method of instruction chief emphasis is laid on studio-work. Students are given individual attention by the teachers in tutorage. It is also our constant aim and effort to explore the possibilities of imparting to the students according to their abilities a knowledge of allied arts and crafts besides the usual instruction in painting and modelling.

Works from our school were exhibited in numerous parts of the country. Delhi, Allahabad, Calcutta, Nagpur, Mysore, Madras and Masulipattam. In Santiniketan several small exhibitions were organized from time to time in which displays of woodblock printings, clay modelling and embroidered works were shown. These exhibitions brought the visitors and the residents of the place into a closer contact with the activities of the Kalahbhavana. In June last we arranged for the first time a public exhibition in the Town Hall, Durgam which was very kindly opened by



Sir P. C. Mitter. The success of the Darjeeling exhibition has given us confidence and we hope to organize other public exhibitions in future.

Other activities.—One of the regular features of our activities is to help in the organization of the festivals of the Asrama such as the full moon the New moon the Dol Purima (The Spring festival) Varsha Mantra (The Festival of the Rains) Briksha Ropna (the Arbour Day) Sita Jayna (the Ploughing Day). This year the services of the Kula bhavana were also utilized in the production of the Tapati in Calcutta for four successive days in September. In this connection we acknowledge our debt of gratitude to Srmati Pratima Devi who rendered valuable help to us.

#### About the Library we learn that

The total number of books on the 31st October 1929 was 36,639 including General 37,341, V. Sastri's Library 9th Vahis Library 200 and Manuscripts 3,144. There was an increase of about 1,300 books only during the year under-report. Besides the above the number of books and periodicals, journals and pamphlets would come to about three thousand or more.

In December 1928 the Kalabhavana Museum and Studios were removed to the new building and the rooms in the upper storey of the Library Building became available for the Library. They have been arranged as seminar rooms in the following subjects for use by the research workers of the Vidya Bhavana: (1) Sanskrit, (2) Tibetan, (3) Mahabharata Collection work, (4) Buddhist and Jain, (5) Arabic and Persian, (6) Chinese and (7) Philosophy.

The Library at Santiniketan contains mainly books on Agriculture and Rural Economics. The Village Consulting Library at Santiniketan however does not form a part of this library but belongs to the Village Work Department there.

About Sreebhavana it is stated that the new building is a large two storied house with extensive grounds of its own and is equipped with all conveniences.

The number of boarders at the end of 1929 was 47 of whom 40 came from Bengal, 2 from Madras, 1 from U. P., 1 from Gujarat and 3 from Ceylon. The distribution according to departments was: School 28, College 12, Art Students 3, Miss Hemlata Sen was in charge as the Lady Superintendent practically throughout the year.

Then there are descriptions of the kitchen the hospital etc.

In the sports department the new feature is Jujitsu.

The former President during his recent visit to Japan was able to secure for a period of two years the services of Mr. Noburo Takagaki, a distinguished expert of Jujitsu known in Japan as Judo. Mr. Takagaki, formerly Japanese State Scholar at the University of British Columbia and before coming out to India held the post of the Jujitsu teacher at the Nippon University and at the House of Representatives (Japanese Parliament). He is a qualified medical practitioner in Jujitsu form and is a member of the Advisory Committee of the Kodokan which is the official

training centre in Japan. At present there are very few men with his qualifications even in Japan.

A new gymnasium was built and properly equipped for the Jujitsu classes. Mr. Takagaki joined the institution in November 1929 and immediately started his classes. The progress made during the short period has been most encouraging. An outstanding feature has been the interest and progress shown by girl students.

Arrangements have been made to hold special classes for the benefit of students coming from Calcutta and other places.

Santiniketan, which is the Department of Agriculture and Rural Reconstruction gives practical training in agriculture sericulture rural reconstruction and weaving tanning and various other arts and crafts.

The whole of the land comprising seven hundred acres which the Government of Bengal had acquired on behalf of the Visva Bharati finally came into our possession in February 1929. It was rather late in the season and arrangements were made very hurriedly to lay out the fields and cultivate as much as possible for growing a fodder crop. About 25 families of Santal labourers were given a plot of land to the east of Cheaps Kuthi for starting a Santal Settlement. These new settlers together with the Santal inhabitants of the 8 villages which came into our possession by the 1st Acquisition were allotted about 200 bighas of the Khor and low land for the cultivation of paddy. These paddy fields are expected to yield a good income after three years. A Fordson Tractor was purchased and with its help about 300 bighas of high land unfit for paddy cultivation were ploughed up and sown with fodder seed. A new road was constructed connecting Santiniketan with Cheaps Kuthi and giving access to most of our newly laid out fields. 15,700 approximately were sent for the above purposes.

A Crafts Section was opened last year. It includes Lacquer Work, artistic Book binding, Pottery, Leather embroidery etc. It has already made good progress. The Chemistry, Physics and Botany laboratories were equipped for holding practical classes for regular students as well as for light analytic work. The installation of the Power House and the laying out of Mechanical Workshops were also completed. A set of Meteorological instruments were purchased and regular observations have been started. The starting of the *Brutalika* Magazine devoted to scout work at the beginning of this year by the Village Work Department also marks an important advance.

Daily observations are being sent to the Alipore Observatory and we receive The Daily Weather Report of the Calcutta Meteorological office free of cost.

We have at present the following instruments in the observatory:—Mercurial Barometer (Goring Type), Dry Bulb Thermometer, Wet Bulb Thermometer, Maximum Thermometer, Minimum Thermometer (all these sent by the Calcutta Meteorological Office), Barograph, Wind Vane, Anemometer, Stevenson Screen and Rain Gauge.

Non instrumental observations are also recorded regularly.

The Visva Bharati is famous for its *uletras* or festivals.

In the village welfare section of the Report accounts are given of the Brati balak or boy scout the women's associations in villages teaching sewing cutting child welfare and maternity work, the eight night schools, the Sriniketan girls school village lectures training camps for studying and teaching scout organization cottage craft, first aid elementary agriculture co-operative and village organizations etc.

General talks were also given by Dr Bharendra Mohan Sen (The Child Mind and Mental Fatigue) and Mr Hiran Kumar Sanyal (Co-operative Work) and a lantern lecture by Mr Sahab K P Roy of the Bengal Govt. Health Department on Food in Rural Homes.

Sriniketan has a dispensary and arrangements to give medical relief to villagers in the neighbouring villages. The Rural Survey of Raipur was completed during the year and the report will be published at an early date. Rural surveys of Goulpara Bandhgora, Bhubandanga are also progressing. The Report gives a full account of village reconstruction work done during the year in several villages consisting of sanitation rendering medical help anti-malarial work vaccination maternity work treatment of snake bites and killing of snakes education boy scouts work and training adult education arbitration bank fields and garden tanks irrigation and fishery weaving school tanning poultry, women's association co-operation with the neighbouring village propaganda work, etc.

In the Agricultural Department there are farm poultry, dairy etc.

In the education section there are student apprentices and the Siksha sitra for giving free education to a number of pupils on practical lines. In the industrial section weaving tanning carpentry lacquer work tile making pottery book binding and tailoring are taught.

There are besides a publication department and the Santiniketan Press.

As regards the needs of the institution the Report states

Our most pressing need at the present moment is (1) an additional income of Rs. 1,50,000 a year for the institutions at Santiniketan.

Our immediate capital requirements consist of—  
(2) Rupees one lakh approximately to clear accumulated liabilities and restore the Life Members Fund.

(3) Rs. 5,00,000 for the construction of a new power plant and a modern system of water works.

## Dacca Disturbances Enquiry Committees

Two committees one official and the other non official appointed by the Congress have already taken much evidence on the origin and incidents of the Dacca disturbances. The dead cannot be revived by the conclusions of these committees properly looted and burnt cannot be restored though broken and wounded limbs may get cured without their help. If means can be found for the prevention of similar disgraceful deplorable and inhuman occurrence in the future the committees would not have sat in vain. But if that has to be done the origin of the disturbances and their unchecked continuance for more than a month up till now have to be explained and the instigators and perpetrators of the black deeds punished in a condign manner. The least that the committees can do is to publish in full all the written and oral evidence placed before them. The public will then be able to form their own conclusions. We have received copies of some of the written statements. They make very painful and amazing reading. We may deal with them hereafter if necessary.

## Dacca Then and Now

In his *Topography of Dacca* published in 1839 Dr Taylor wrote of Dacca

Religious quarrels between the Hindus and Mahomedans are of rare occurrence. These two classes live in perfect peace and concord and a majority of the individuals belonging to them have even overcome their prejudices so far as to smoke from the same hookah. Chap. ix p 25.

The condition of Dacca in 1930 need not be described.

## "Get Swaraj Go to the Congress"

Many witnesses before the official and non official committees of enquiry at Dacca are reported to have said that if Englishmen were applied to for help they replied "Go to your (andha) and get Swaraj." The telegram sent from Dacca by the Associated Press on June 24 states that in the course of Babu Radhikamohan Basak's evidence before the official committee he said "He went to the Police for help but got none. A Habilder asked him to go to the Congress for help." Six more witnesses of the locality whose shops were looted were also

examined. They said they received no police help while on the contrary they were asked to go to the Congress leader for help."

If these allegations be true, they must be considered additional grounds for making all possible efforts to get Swamy and what sane European and Indian officials are reported to have said must be treated not as sarcasm but as serious exhortations.

Again should the allegations made by these witnesses be true then the origin of the Dacca disturbances must in part at least be sought elsewhere than in mere communal feeling.

### Power of the Police to seize Weapons

Numerous statements have appeared in the Press that in many places at Dacca the police took away licensed guns from the Hindus who had used them for defensive purposes. If these allegations be true the police while not giving or unable to give protection to the Hindus, deprived them of the means of self defence. Have the police legal power to do so? If so the law ought to be changed. No one who possesses any weapon under a licence should be deprived of it before it has been proved in a law court that he has made an illegal use of it. If the police have no legal power to take away licensed guns of which illegal use has not been proved to have been made then the owners of such guns are not legally bound to give them up to the police. We do not know what the law is.

take the consequences. But we would by no means dissuade them from taking part in processions or meetings which are legitimate or lawful. They are to be the future citizens of the country. And so they must not remain quite ignorant of and out of touch with legitimate political movements.

The above mentioned circulars have directly to do with the boycott of foreign cloth and the picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops. The statement appended to ordinance No. V admits that temperance work is laudable and the promotion of Swadeshi industries is laudable. And with out any official statement telling school boys and College students that they are laudable these youngsters have known this fact all along. If now their instructors are *required* by any circular to order them not to do even certain perfectly moral and non-violent thing to promote total abstinence and Swadeshim these preceptors are placed in a rather invidious position which cannot but lose them the respect of their pupil. For, except the use of force and threats, it cannot be proved that every other means of preventing drinking or the use of foreign cloth is clearly immoral. And teachers ought not, from the point of view of moral education, to be obliged to tell their students not to do anything which is not immoral. Let the law take its course by all means. But teachers should not be made limbs of the law in any sense. They do not belong to the C. I. D. If teachers are to be dissociated from politics they should be dissociated from the politics of the Government also.

late Hakeem Sahib to help the committee by offering all available information and by lending him any letters and autographs they may happen to possess. Even the most unimportant details will be welcome.

To give our readers an idea of the lines on which the work is to be compiled the following passage is quoted from the memorandum which was laid before the Board:

"... No scheme of work will be suitable or complete which does not provide a thorough exposition of the current history of India with special reference to the life of the late Hakeem Sahib. Apart from the Urdu medical science and its allied subjects which owe much of their progress to the great efforts made by the late Ma. Sahib, there are so many departments of public life—politics, social reform, education and literature which must form an integral part of Hakeem Sahib's biography. The Urdu literature is sadly deficient in the art of biography and very few writers excepting perhaps Shaili and Hali have ever touched the subject in a scientific manner. Biography in Urdu stands on a very low level indeed. If the life-history of Masih-ul-Mulk is to be ever written it should be compiled in a way so as to merge contemporary history into the every day life of Hakeem Sahib making it possible to present a historical portrait on every page of the book interwoven from day to day with the progress of events. The object of such a pen picture should be to prepare a background of conditions and circumstances in which the late Hakeem Sahib's life evolved and required eminence. Such a continuation of history and biography must be something quite different from the cheap literature which we can always purchase at four annas a copy at any shop in the bazaar. Nothing will be more derogatory to the memory of Hakeem Sahib than such a cheap and commonplace production."

Hakim Jamil Khan (Sharif Manzil) Balli-maran Delhi appeals to all his friend and to those who at one time or another came in touch with him to help the Committee by giving notes on

(a) their personal relations with the late Hakeem Sahib (b) important incidents of his life with which they had personal connection or which they personally witnessed (c) his thoughts and views on public affairs and (d) on his personal and intimate friends who are likely to possess first hand information.

#### Political Prisoners' Food in Sabarmati Jail

Mr A V Thakkar of the Servants of India Society has clearly analysed all details of the food supplied to political prisoners and their price in an article in *The Bombay Chronicle*. He comes to the conclusion

All stores of heavy food allowances for political

are a myth. At no time did any A class prisoner receive more than Re 0-9-10 per day. It was subsequently reduced to Re 0-7-6 but which really at bazar rates meant Re 0-3-0 only per day or at the most Re 0-6-0. But at present for the last full month they live upon only Re 0-1-4 per day and have denied themselves anything from outside.

Thus any ordinary European criminal does receive specially prepared food worth Re 0-3-10 while Indian patriots of every type eat prison food worth Re 0-1-4 a day in Sabarmati Jail to-day.

#### How the Press Ordinance works

As illustrations of how the press ordinance is worked some of our contemporaries have cited the cases of the deposits demanded from *The People* and *Bande Mataram* of Lahore many days or perhaps weeks after they had voluntarily suspended publication. Such demand of deposit has been considered unreasonable and illogical. But it is not so. Dead men never come back to life. But defunct papers or papers in a state of suspended animation may resume their normal functions again. The Lahore officials concerned may have for that reason informed the conductors of those papers that if they want again to run a race with other journals they must start with a handicap.

#### A Brief Survey of the "Dharasana Raid"

The Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee Ahmedabad has published an illustrated booklet giving a brief survey of the Dharasana Raid. It reproduces many photographs of the wounded volunteers and contains a brief historical survey, civil disobedience programme, the salt campaign, meaning and power of Satyagraha, the Satyagrahis' duties in various situations, what the "raid" meant, the Dharasana raid, independent opinions on what the police did at Dharasana, what the Doctors say, etc. The price is six annas. It contains 107 pages. The pictures are separately printed.

#### Memorial Procession on Deshbandhu Anniversary

Srimati Urmila Devi (sister of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das), Srimati Bimal Pratibha Devi, Srimati Mohini Devi and Srimati Jyotirmayi Canguji have been sentenced to six months simple imprisonment each and Babu Padmaraj Jain and another gentleman to six months rigorous imprisonment each in connection with the procession taken on

### Our American contemporary continues

Gandhi was not molested at the beginning because there was no immediate prospect of success for his cause nor could the government be certain that his arrest might not fan the flames of revolt. But as his campaign won increasing support among the masses his imprisonment became increasingly imminent.



'HARD TO \*ANDLE—Ward Toxandale

The journal then comments on the Labour Government's standstillism in relation to the problem of Indian freedom.

It is easy enough to realize that the Labour Government is not in a position to give India complete independence and might justly hesitate to take such a step if it had the power to do so. But that does not explain why Britain has not made a single move which would give the Indian nationalists some reason to repose greater confidence in the Labour Government than its predecessors. It committed itself to the Simon Commission before its advent into power a mistake for which it must now pay dearly since its hands are tied by this commitment. It has pledged Dominion status to India but has refused to enlarge upon this offer in such a way as to quiet the suspicions of the Indians that this is simply a meaningless gesture the fulfilment of which might be indefinitely postponed as the American promise of independence to the Philippines has been postponed. It has failed to make any real concessions that might have been used by the moderates in India to dissuade the more revolutionary groups from immediate action.

In conclusion *The World Tomorrow* indicates how the British Labour party's unwillingness or failure to perceptibly advance the cause of Indian freedom will injure the cause of peaceful political progress everywhere else, too.

If the British Labour party continues to play the old imperial game with only such slight modifications that they are hardly perceptible, it will do the gravest injury to every political interest based upon the faith that modern society can

reorganize its life without resorting to violence and without subjecting a complex industrial world to social convulsions."

### Brahmachari Kuladananda

Srimat Kuladananda Brahmachari, a disciple of the late Bejoy Krishna Goswami, passed away on June 26, at the age of 63.

He came of a Kulin Brahman family of Bakrampur and in his student life came under the direct influence of the Goswami who was then the Acharya of the Dacca Brahma Samaj. Kuladananda led the life of a Brahmachari.

For about 15 years he was in company of Bejoy Krishna. The experiences of his religious life have been embodied in his diary published in five volumes under the name of "Sree Sree Satguru Sanga."

The teachings of Kuladananda contributed a great deal towards building up a regard for national tradition, culture and faith, which are essential for a spirit of nationalism.

### After Gandhi—Motilal Nehru

At the very last moment of our going to press comes the news of the arrest of Pandit Motilal Nehru at Allahabad.

We have not the time to comment upon this event at length, but what we would like to ask the Administration is whether it is by such measures that they wish to create a favourable atmosphere for the Round Table Conference.

As for the Pandit, we do not think he would have preferred anything else.

### India's Architecture

Japan's independence goes back to hoary antiquity. Yet, the West recognized her as a civilized country and began to praise her art only when she had beaten a great Western power in war. So, one should not expect typical Anglo-Indians to recognize that India has or had any styles of architecture of her own, until she has become independent and at least equal to Britain in political power—particularly as in their mother-country there is no style of architecture peculiarly British.

It is true that in her long history parts of India have been repeatedly conquered just as Britain was conquered, in her comparatively brief history, by Romans, Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Danes and Normans and England got her kings from Denmark, Normandy, Anjou, Scotland, Holland and

Hanover But if India as alleged by some Anglo Indians at the Rotary Club and in their papers, got all her architecture from foreign conquerors how is it that these conquerors were so altruistic as to keep their architectural genius for India and that they did not build such splendid edifices in their mother lands as are to be found in India? No one contends that all Indian style of architecture are free from foreign influence. Of no civilized country is this true.

### Mahes Chandra Ghosh

Babu Mahes Chandra Ghosh who had been living in Hazaribagh for many years as a teacher in the Government School there and also after his retirement from service died last month. He was sixty-two years of age at the time of his death. As he never enjoyed normal health it was not expected that he would live even so long, as he did.

In him the country loses one of its great scholars. He had a profound extensive and up-to-date knowledge of Western and Indian philosophy and theology. Hindu and Buddhist philosophy he had studied in the original Sanskrit and Pali. He knew Vedic Sanskrit also. He had a deeper and more extensive knowledge of Christian theology than the general run of Christian missionaries foreign and Indian in India. He had learnt Greek in order to study the New Testament in the original. We had once heard that he had acquired a working knowledge of Hebrew also but of this we are not sure. Had he lived longer he would have perhaps learnt Arabic also. But he partly made up for his ignorance of that language by studying the Quran in eight translations. This we came to know by asking him a certain question relating to the life of Muhammad. He had studied the Avesta also we believe in the original. In order to obtain help in understanding the Zoroastrian scriptures he learnt Gujarati in which we are told there are some commentaries on those sacred books.

His studies were not confined to philosophy, theology and the scriptures of different religions. He had read general literature including fiction not less than the average readers of books. We remember that in Bankura where he was a teacher for a good many years one of his nephews who is now a professor in Lucknow when a mere boy had read from his uncle's library all the classical works of fiction in English and some

translations of French novels also. As Babu Mahes Chandra was all his life a poor teacher it is obvious that he did not buy books as mere furniture. He read whatever he purchased. And to the last, he received by every mail from England the latest



Mahes Chandra Ghose

books on philosophy and theology. Of such literature alone his library contains not less than 4000 volumes worth not less than Rs 5000. This collection he has presented to the Adhvaran Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta of which he was a member and an ornament, with a sum of money for their proper care. Some of his other books he has presented to other public institutions and to his relatives.

He lived and died a bachelor. He was a teacher by profession. At Bankura the home of the editor of this journal he worked for years as a teacher. We knew him there intimately and often enjoyed the hospitality of his eldest sister and himself. He was a most attentive kind and genial host. As a

teacher he was well known for his success in teaching mathematics in which he was very proficient. To his students he set an example of a stainless life devoted to the pursuit of knowledge and good works. He had written a good text book on algebra but it remained unpublished as he made little effort to find a publisher having no desire for wealth or fame. For the same reason he has not left behind any work on philosophy which he was well qualified to write. Readers of Bengali know him best for his numerous papers on the Gita the Upanishads and Buddhism published in *Prabasi* and for his annotated editions and translations of the Chhandogya and Brihadaranyaka Upanishads published by Pandit Satyanath Tattvarishnan. To readers of English he is known mainly for his reviews of philosophical religious and theological works.

He led an abstemious pure and pious life of active beneficence. He was well versed in the homoeopathic system of medicine and gave medical advice and medicine free to all who sought his help. When at Banlura he also administered a Charity Fund collected by himself and his friends. Probably he continued such benevolent activity in Hazaribagh also. He was very methodical self reliant and hard working. He was minister of the Brahma Samaj in Bankura and Hazaribagh. He was a great *Sathai* and a man of unaffected humility. The fame of his piety had so spread in Hazaribagh that he was once asked how he could live without taking any food. Having abundant sense of humour he enjoyed the question. He laughed and said that he did take some food, but had great difficulty in convincing the questioner that he really did not live on air. The fact is he took a very small quantity of food.

Even when his income was sufficient only for his frugal life he gave his nephews and nieces a good education. He staid himself without their knowledge.

Cheerful in his life throughout, he was also cheerful during his protracted illness. Not a single murmur or groan expressive of suffering ever escaped his lips. Till even two hours before his death he was quite conscious and continued to take thought for others not for himself.

Having little knowledge of the Indian scriptures and of philosophy and theology we often sought his help by letter for the removal of doubts. Promptly did he always

reply throwing sufficient light on the questions asked. Regarding his scholarship it will suffice to say that once Dr P. K. Ray Professor of Philosophy at the Presidency College Principal of that College and later Inspector of colleges affiliated to the Calcutta University told the present writer years ago I have visited all colleges affiliated to the Calcutta University but nowhere have I seen so great a scholar as Mhes Babu.

### A Bengali Sculptor's Work

Mr Deviprasad Ray Chaudhuri the well known Bengali sculptor and painter is now



The statue of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee with the Sculptor standing by the side of his work

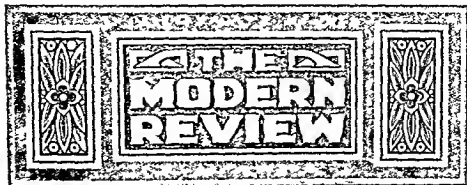
engaged on a statue of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee which when completed will be erected at the junction of the Chittaranjan Avenue and Chowringhee in Calcutta. The funds for this memorial statue as well as the site have been secured through the public spirited enterprise of Raja Sir Maymathnath Ray Chaudhuri of Santosh the President of the Legislative Council Bengal.



THE EVENING SONG  
By Manindra Bhusan Gupta

Prabasi Press Calcutta





VOL. XLVIII  
NO. 2

AUGUST, 1930

WHOLE NO.  
284

## The Christ and the Mahatma

By NAGENDRA NATH GUPTA

**A** comparison between Christ Jesus and Mahatma Gandhi or rather Mahatma Mahandas, to be accurate would not ordinarily occur to an Indian nor was such a comparison first made by an Indian. Indian Hindus are brought up in a spirit of reverence to the prophets of all creeds, but for purposes of comparison it is not necessary for them to go out of India. The designation Mahatma (great soul) is not rare in this country in former times; it was applied to several great men and some are called Mahatma even at the present day. The designation Christ which means the Anointed One Messiah has been applied to only one individual Jesus of Nazareth. No other man can be called by that appellation.

Mahatma Gandhi has been compared to Christ Jesus by Christians, clergymen and laymen. He has tasted of the cup of bitterness in two continents, but it has left him wholly unembittered, firm and steadfast in faith. The first slight suggestion of a comparison between Jesus and Gandhi will be found in a little book written by the Rev. Joseph J. Dole, Baptist Minister Johannesburg. The book is incomplete and does not contain the full history of the South African struggle which brought the name of Mr. Gandhi into prominence. Mr. Dole was a personal friend of Mr. Gandhi, much of the

material of his book was obtained first hand by questions put to Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Dole became a great admirer of the Indian leader. In a postscript dated October 16, 1905, Mr. Dole writes that on the previous day Mr. Gandhi was sentenced for the second time during the year to imprisonment for two months with hard labour. A few days later convict Gandhi (his number is not mentioned) was transferred from Volksrust gaol to the Fort at Johannesburg. When he reached Johannesburg dressed in convict clothes marked all over with the broad arrow, he was marched under guard through the streets, before sundown, carrying his bundles as any convict would.

Mr. Dole's reflections on this march are worth reproduction. His face was steadfastly set to go to Jerusalem and he saw nothing but that. I wonder what he saw in that long march. Not the immediate Jerusalem. I imagine—the place of crucifixion. I know of no vision more terrible than that. The Fort with its cells and its hateful associations. These long files of prisoners. The white-clad brutal native warders swaggering along with their naked assegais. The lash for the obdurate and the criminal taint for all. A city whose secrets may not be told, from whose dens children emerge criminals and criminals infinitely worse than they entered.

In the prison the criminal savage and the conscientious Indian were herded together without distinction. Mr. Dole writes that the experiences of Mr. Gandhi during the first night in Johannesburg Fort were extremely shocking. As a native prisoner of the criminal class he looked into a cell with native and Chinese convicts men more degraded than it is easy to imagine accustomed to vices which cannot be named. This refined Indian gentleman was obliged to keep himself awake all night to resist possible assaults upon himself such as he saw perpetrated around him. That night can never be forgotten.

In the 19th chapter of the first Book of Genesis it is written how two angels came to Sodom and spent the night in Lot's house. As the two angels had taken the shapes of men the men of Sodom both old and young compassed the house round and wanted to force their way in to assault the two guests of Lot. Whereupon the angels smote the assailants with blindness. On the night that Jesus was taken he was mocked and they spat in his face and buffeted him but it is not mentioned where they kept him till the morning when he was dragged before Pilate for trial. But in death he was undoubtedly associated with malefactors for at Golgotha he was crucified between two thieves—the one on his right hand and the other on his left. And the scripture was fulfilled which saith: And he was numbered with the transgressors. Law and order whether Roman or Hunic, of the Persians and Medes or any other have ever stood for righteousness and the Christ and the Gandhis are always among the transgressors. In the eyes of the Romans in Judea Jesus was merely a Jew and to the British in South Africa Gandhi was only a coolie.

Mr. Gandhi was a Barrister of the Inner Temple—a cultured gentleman in every sense of the term according to Mr. Dole. In England he had met with kindness everywhere. He went first to South Africa on a professional engagement, but found Natal somewhat different from London and even unlike Bombay. On the day after his arrival he was rudely ordered to take off his turban in court. In the railway train he was travelling first class with a first class ticket he was forcibly ejected and his luggage was thrown out. In the Transvaal then under President Kruger (Bom. Paul of beloved memory) the Dutch guard of a coach ordered

Mr. Gandhi to sit down at his feet. On Mr. Gandhi's refusal to do so he was struck a brutal blow in the face and a second knocked him down. The Dutchman threatened to do for him but the passengers intervened and asked the Boer to let the poor beggar alone. There was no room for him at any hotel. The sentry kicked him off the foot path in front of President Kruger's house. It was in this pleasant land of the Boer and the Uitlander that the first cross was laid upon the Mahatma's shoulders and he cheerfully resolved to bear it, though the Mount of Calvary was not in sight.

In the wilderness Jesus was tempted of the devil who first asked him to change stones into bread and next invited him to cast himself down from the pinnacle of a temple. Finally the devil took Jesus up into an exceeding high mountain and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them and the devil said unto Jesus: All these things I will give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me. Then said Jesus unto him: Get thee hence Satan for it is written: Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and him only shalt thou serve. As a young boy and a young man Gandhi passed through a religious crisis and for some time he was practically an atheist. But he never lost the habit of truthfulness. Mr. Dole writes—"It was then as it is now a part of himself. He could not lie. Other anchors were lost this held. Later Gandhi found his lost faith and now to him God is the Truth. As a lawyer he prospered but the time came when he renounced all property and gradually he stripped his body even of clothing until the loin cloth alone was left and it was thus that Mr. Slocombe a newspaper correspondent found him in the Yeravadi Central Jail near Poona in the Bombay Presidency. He was as the world knows him—bare except for a loin cloth brown and emaciated like an anchorite of the desert. Mr. Slocombe further declared that the imprisoned Mahatma now incarnates the very soul of India. Between the Gandhi who led the movement of passive resistance in South Africa and the Gandhi who leads Civil Disobedience in India from behind the prison bars there is no difference except that in the intervening years he has added several cubits to his moral and spiritual stature.

When a Pharisee invited Jesus to eat with him a woman came in weeping. She washed

the feet of Jesus with her tear wiped them with her hair and anointed them with ointment that she had brought in a box of alabaster. She was a sinner but Jesus said unto her 'Thy sins are forgiven'. At Durban Gandhi was assailed by a fusillade of stones fish and rotten eggs a burly European licked him till he became nearly unconscious. Then writes Mr. Doke "a beautiful and brave thing happened. Mrs. Alexander the wife of the Superintendent of Police recognized him and opening her sunshade to keep off the flying missiles courageously went to his assistance and when he attempted to go forward she walked at his side. Mrs. Alexander acted like a noble Christian woman."

Jesus Christ taught, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you." The law in Cape Colony was that Indians should be registered for a fee of £ 3 per head and they should give their thumb impressions. Mr. Bertillon's method was undoubtedly intended for criminals of Mr. Gandhi's type who repeatedly had to be sent to prison because they broke the law. But when the Second Boer War broke out in 1899 Mr. Gandhi organized the Indian Ambulance Corps. They were only stretcher bearers and were more than once under fire. General Buller described Mr. Gandhi as Assistant Superintendent. When the mistake was pointed out to him General Buller replied that he had meant it as a title of courtesy. In the plague epidemic of 1901 Mr. Gandhi and his devoted workers worked incessantly without any thought of personal danger. The prompt measures taken by them saved Johannesburg. The Zulu rebellion of 1906 saw Mr. Gandhi at the head of another Stretcher Bearer Corps and this time he was offered the rank of Sergeant Major. One of the features of this rebellion was that many Zulu prisoners were severely fished. Mr. Doke writes "Mr. Gandhi speaks with great reserve of this experience. What he saw he will never divulge. I imagine it was not always creditable to British humanity. This Ambulance Corps tenderly ministering to the wounded or cruelly fished Zulus—with the son of an Indian Prime Minister at their head—is worthy of an artist's brush."

Jesus was a child lover, not of the variety that writes pretty verses about children but

as very little to do with them but one who declared that children were the greatest in the kingdom of heaven and no one could enter the kingdom of God unless he was like a child. "And they brought young children to him that he should touch them and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased and said unto them, 'Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not for of such is the kingdom of God.' Again—"At the same time came the disciples unto Jesus saying, 'Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?' And Jesus called a little child unto him and set him in the midst of them. And said, 'Verily I say unto you except ye be converted and become as little children ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.' Mahatma Gandhi even in the midst of his bitter struggles has been a constant and consistent lover of children. Mr. Polak writes that in South Africa he repeatedly saw Mahatma walking up and down a room with a young child in his arms soothing it in the almost unconscious way a woman does and all the time discussing intricate questions with the utmost clearness. At the Sabarmati Ashram no amount of work prevented his playing with the children for some time every day and one of the first letters he was permitted to write after his latest incarceration in the Yarrowada prison without any charge having been formulated against him was addressed to some children at Sabarmati. It was a beautiful letter couched in the fairy language of children and addressed from Yarrowada Palace. Similarly when he and his people were filling the Transvaal gaols he wrote that they had been sent to partake of the hospitality of King Edward's Hotel. Whether in prison or out of it his cheerfulness never flags or falters.

Jesus Christ has rightly been called the Prince of Peace yet he said "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth. I came not to send peace but a sword. This is of course metaphorical language because Jesus set his face against violence and taught "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also. Mahatma Gandhi has never advocated the use of violence either in metaphor or parable. His cardinal creed is non violence."

The first time that Mahatma Gandhi was likened unto Jesus Christ was in the course

of a sermon delivered by the Rev Dr John Haynes Holmes to the congregation in the Community Church at Park Avenue New York. The entire sermon was devoted to an exposition of Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of non violence and it concluded with the following striking words — When I think of Gandhi I think of Jesus Christ. He lives his life he speaks his word he suffers stripes and will some day nobly die for His kingdom upon earth. In another sermon delivered quite recently Dr Holmes spoke with clearer conviction and greater emphasis. The theme of the sermon was Gandhi before Pilate. The opening words are of impressive solemnity. Why tell ye about God and the son of God and His resurrection on this earth when He is here? In symbolic answer to his own question the preacher placed upon his head a Gandhi cap made of Indian Khaddar cloth in pledge of recognition and devotion to the Indian leader who Dr Holmes believes is now taking Christ's place in this world. As he put on the cap he continued. This cap is a symbol of human devotion as sacred as the cross. As the early Christians lifted the cross in token of Christ's triumph over shame and death so the Indians are wearing this cap in token of Gandhi's triumph over tyranny and force. Why should not this cap go around the world as the cross has gone around the world? For there are millions of men in all countries today who see in the Mahatma the true redeemer of our modern world. More than any other man since Jesus Gandhi manifests that spirit of universal peace and brotherhood which alone can save us. The Gandhi cap is at present banned in certain places in India in other places it has been snatched off from the heads of the wearers who have been severely beaten for wearing it. Dr Holmes likened the Mahatma's recent march through India to the sea to break the salt laws to the march from Galilee to the sea two thousand years ago. In the measures taken to suppress Civil Disobedience in India Dr Holmes finds "the throne of Pilate is set up again before the nations. Then come the supreme question and the confident answer — Is there to be another crucifixion? Gandhi is doomed to failure defeat and possibly death tomorrow perhaps. But in the later tomorrow his victory will be supreme. Only once before has the world seen such a leader. Then it was Jesus. In his final determination to

ignore all violence and go right ahead Gandhi is relentless and terrible as only a meek man can be terrible. This is the sword of which Jesus Christ spoke.

Even earlier than this in 1913 Bishop Whitehead of Madras declared — I frankly confess though it deeply grieves me to say it, that I see in Mr Gandhi the patient sufferer for the cause of righteousness and mercy a truer representative of the Crucified Saviour than the men who have thrown him into prison and yet call themselves by the name of Christ. Is it not evident that Christ stands outside the chancelleries and the cabinets and there is no place for him in law and order? When nearly a hundred and fifty American clergymen cabled to Prime Minister MacDonald to compromise with Mahatma Gandhi no reply was sent. They appealed in the name of Christ and were calmly ignored. Governments understand the doctrine of force to them the power of faith is meaningless.

*The Christian Century* of Chicago compares Gandhi's utterances to the echoes of a Galilean hillside. A leading editorial article of the magazine calls attention to the fact that Mahatma Gandhi is now engaged in a battle for human freedom and that the battle is being fought on the basis of the New Testament. Towards the conclusion it is stated that the issue which Gandhi has raised transcends the fate of the British Commonwealth of nations. Stripped of all ephemeral aspects the issue here joined is the choice of the means whereby for the next hundred years or longer men will seek to control the affairs of nations.

Mr Brailsford is a publicist and not a padre. Writing about the Mahatma in *The New Leader* he says — "Since Tolstoy died there is no human being living today who commands as he does the veneration of mankind. Others are liked, respected and admired but he stands on a Mount of Transfiguration. The reference here is to the transfiguration of Jesus. And after six days Jesus taketh Peter James and John his brother and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart. And was transfigured before them and his face did shine as the sun and his raiment was white as the light. Further on Mr Brailsford writes — One glances in vain at the world's premiers and presidents for a personality worthy to stand beside him (Gandhi). Speaking about himself

Jesus said "Behold a greater than Solomon is here"

After Mahatma Gandhi's last arrest at Karachi in Gujarat he was taken to Borriah near Bombay by train and thence by motor car to Taravada prison. By special favour of the authorities two newspaper correspondents, Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, representing a London paper and Mr. Wesley Farson, the correspondent of an American paper, were present when Mahatma was taken down from the train. Describing the same Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, who is not a friend of India and does not favour Indian aspirations, writes—"There was something intensely dramatic in the atmosphere while we were waiting for the train for we all felt we were sole eye-witnesses of a scene which may become historical—this arrest of a prophet false or true. For false or true Gandhi is now regarded as a holy man and saint by millions of Indians. Who knows whether one hundred years from now he may be worshipped as a supreme being by 300,000,000 people. We could not shake off these thoughts and it seemed incongruous to be at a level crossing at dawn to take the prophet into custody. Mr. Ashmead Bartlett cannot be ignorant of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi is looked upon as a prophet in Europe and America and has been spoken of as the living Christ from the pulpits of churches, but he was apparently thinking of India alone."

The Rev. A. D. Belden in his sermon at a church in London referred to Mahatma Gandhi's movement of civil disobedience as "a phenomenon which should make the Christian churches in Great Britain stand and gaze and commend their awe and reverence. Gandhi is the greatest Christian at present on the earth."

It is doubtful whether Mr. Ashmead Bartlett was conscious of the parallels he was suggesting in his account of the arrest of the Mahatma. Writing of the gaily decorated car waiting to convey Mahatma Gandhi to prison this correspondent says: "It looked as if it was prepared for a happy bridal party for the body was entirely covered with bright pink and red curtains looking as if made to conceal the nervous young people from gaping crowds on their honeymoon. Recall the words of Jesus Christ—"

And Jesus said unto them: Can the children of the bridechamber mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them, but the days will

come when the bridegroom shall be taken from them and then shall they fast. Again Mr. Ashmead Bartlett says he was present when Mahatma Gandhi broke the salt laws at Dandi. Then he was surrounded by his faithful disciples and followed by a large multitude of enthusiastic satyagrahis (passive resisters). "This morning he looked indescribably deserted and lonely without a single friend or follower, a melancholy picture as he stepped forward to descend to earth. Still the writer has to admit that the old man departed himself with remarkable dignity. What else did this correspondent want to be aware that Mahatma Gandhi is to the bravest man that ever lived. And as to the loneliness of the Mahatma in custody and now in prison was the loneliness of Jesus Christ less tragic when he stood before the throne of Pontius Pilate? As to the word deserted it is wrongly used for thousands would have followed Mahatma Gandhi to prison as they are doing now if permitted to do so."

The arrest itself is best described in the beautiful words quickened by the deepest feeling of Mrs. B. (Miss Slade). She wrote in *Young India*—"At dead of night, like thieves they came to steal him away. For when they sought to lay hold on him they feared the multitudes because they took him for a prophet. In a footnote the following word of Jesus are quoted—"Are ye come out to seize me? I sat daily in the temple teaching and ye took me not. The District Magistrate came to arrest the Mahatma accompanied by policemen armed with rifles and police officers carrying revolvers. The Mahatma's disciples had no arms and they had been taught to bow their heads to the cudgel and bare their breasts to the bullet without resistance. When a torchlight was flashed into the Mahatma's face he woke up and the Magistrate asked: Are you Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi? The Magistrate was not expected to know by sight so insignificant a person and there was no thumb impression to identify the criminal. The parallel between the arrests of Jesus Christ and Mahatma Gandhi may be pushed a little further. When Jesus was about to be arrested Simon Peter having a sword drew it and smote the high priest's servant and cut off his right ear. Then said Jesus unto him,

Put up again thy sword into his place for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword" Mahatma Gandhi's disciples had no sword, but not one of them uttered even a word of protest when he was arrested. They had learned thoroughly the doctrine of non resistance whereas Simon Peter, who was one of the apostles, did not abide by the teaching of Jesus Christ.

The disciples of Jesus Christ were generally humble people, fisherfolk and the like. Matthew alone was a publican and a man of some means. He was sitting at the receipt of custom when Jesus called him and Matthew rose and followed the Master. But when Jesus asked a wealthy young man to sell all he had, give it to the poor and to follow him, the young man went away sorrowful for he had great possessions. Then said Jesus unto his disciples, Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. Among the disciples and followers of Mahatma Gandhi are the rich and the poor, men and women of high position and fame have laid aside all their possessions and readily gone to prison at his bidding. Lawyers at the head of the profession and with large incomes have abandoned their work and courted and suffered imprisonment. Millionaires have been sent to prison like common criminals. Gifted women in easy circumstances have gone smiling to prison. The disciples of Jesus had to undergo no suffering until some time after his crucifixion when the persecution of the early Christians commenced.

Not all the disciples of Jesus Christ or even the apostles were faithful. To the twelve apostles Jesus had said 'Ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.' Among them were Judas Iscariot, who betrayed his Master and Peter who, in order to save himself from arrest, three times denied Jesus, and cursed and swore vehemently, saying he knew not the man. Not one disciple or follower of the Mahatma has ever disowned him, of the few that have left him the chief person earnestly pleaded that Mahatma Gandhi should not be arrested.

Of the insults heaped upon Jesus Christ and Mahatma Gandhi only a particular kind need be distinguished. When Jesus was placed before Pilate he was asked whether he was the King of the Jews. Jesus inquired whether Pilate said so of his own knowledge or had heard it from others. Pilate contemptuously retorted, "Am I a Jew?" That was the supreme insult, the contempt of a Roman for a Jew. An orator in Natal denouncing Mr. Gandhi said—"Mr. Gandhi had returned to India and dragged us in the gutter, and painted us as black and filthy as his own skin." When Mr. Gandhi applied for admission to the Supreme Court of Natal, the application was strenuously opposed by the Natal Law Society on the specific ground of colour. 'It was never contemplated,' so they argued, 'that coloured barristers should be placed on the roll.' Quite recently, a member of Parliament took exception to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy of India using the form "Yours truly" in a curt reply to Mahatma Gandhi's historical letter to the Viceroy. This is the sovereign contempt of the White for the Brown. Romain Rolland, who reminds the Rev. Dr. Holmes of Tolstoy, has written a remarkable book on Mahatma Gandhi. There is no likelihood of my Prime Minister or Viceroy being similarly honoured. Romain Rolland writes—"This is the lesson of Gandhi. Only the Cross is wanting to him. The soul of the Eastern peoples has been stirred to its very depths and vibrations are heard all over the earth. One of two things will surely happen either the faith of Gandhi will be crowned with success, or it will repeat itself, just as centuries ago when Christ and Buddha were born, in the complete incarnation of a mortal deen-God, of a principle of life that will lead future humanity to a safer and more peaceful resting place."

The kings and the captains depart, the governors and the tetrarchs are forgotten, empires rise and fall, but the Christ and the Mahatma live for ever, enshrined in the hearts of men, revered generation after generation through all time.

# Downing Street and Ceylon 'Indians'

By Sri Nihal Singh

## I

THE predictions that I made in the course of my article "The Indian Crisis in Ceylon" in the May issue of the *Modern Review* have come true. The Indian legislature has been floated. The demand made by it at the Delhi session for the revival of the original recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission respecting franchise has been dismissed.

The representations made by the Government of India, which had accepted that resolution to the India Office and by the India Office to the Colonial Office and His Majesty's Government, have proved barren. Such modifications as Mr Ramsey MacDonald and his colleagues have agreed to are of a purely formal and verbal character. Their decision has been conveyed in terms so clear as to leave no room for any one in authority at Simla to claim that anything like substantial results have been achieved.

## II

There is evidently at least one expert in the art of representing defeat as victory at the summer headquarters of the Government of India, whose skill is equal even to this occasion. He sent out on June 10th a despatch couched in the pontifical phraseology in which correspondents in the confidence of men in power delight, that may be taken as a pattern by any journalist who aspires to specialize in this art.

As published in the newspapers all over India, this communication emanating from the Associated Press of India suggested that the Government of India had succeeded in securing virtually everything that it had set out to get. He went so far as to proclaim that at least in essential respects Downing Street had made substantial concessions to Indian opinion.

These concessions according to the Associated Press correspondent are

(1) that Indians in Ceylon will not be compelled to renounce protection by the Government of India as a price for voting in Ceylon and

(2) that Indians will not be asked to renounce the statutory rights privileges and exemptions they enjoy in Ceylon before they are declared eligible to vote in that Island.

To magnify the achievement of the Government of India and the India Office this Associated Press correspondent omitted to mention or slurred over two important facts.

The act of explicit renunciation upon which the Sinhalese politicians insisted was declared by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to be supererogative. No Indian with the necessary five years residence in Ceylon it was held would be entitled to claim the special protection in question. Insistence upon it therefore served no practical purpose. In that case its omission can be considered no particular gain.

(2) The Sinhalese politicians were not to be denied the second object desired by them but they were to secure it in a way different to the one suggested by them to the Governor of Ceylon and obligingly adopted by him.

The alternative provision sanctioned by Mr MacDonald and his colleague for this purpose is thus sketched out in the telegram despatched on June 10th to the Government of Ceylon by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

His Majesty's Government have adopted the alternative method of providing in the Order in Council (by which the new constitution is to be created and promulgated in Ceylon) that a holder of a Certificate of permanent residence whilst registered as a Voter shall not be entitled to claim any rights, privileges or exemptions which under the law of Ceylon are not common to all British subjects resident in the Island. This while equivalent in effect will remove the necessity for a formal act of renunciation by each individual applicant.

This extract is made from the text of the despatch as officially issued to the

\* This article may be reprinted or translated in India but must not be used in any form outside India without first securing the written consent of the author.

newspapers of Ceylon by the Ceylon Government. In view of this statement expressed in clear cut terms can any one maintain that any "substantial concessions" have been made "to Indian opinion"? A concession made with one hand and taken away with the other can certainly not be described as "substantial".

### III

Assuming that the Labour Government had made certain substantial concessions to Indian opinion is it at all likely that they would have left it to a semi official apologist in Simla to announce them? The delegation of that function could be explained either on the basis of their lacking the requisite literary equipment or of their innate modesty.

In view of the critical situation in India it may be taken for granted that had His Majesty's Government deemed it expedient to heed any Indian protest they would have lost no time in proclaiming that fact from the housetops. They would have regarded any other course as short sighted. So would their partisans and critics alike.

It is to be remembered that His Majesty's Government have not only refrained from telling India of the substantial concessions that according to the Associated Press correspondent they made to Indian opinion but they actually authorized a member of their Cabinet to state that they

would not feel justified in agreeing to any substantial modification of the proposals which formed an essential part of the scheme of constitutional reforms accepted by the Legislative Council of Ceylon.

They also permitted that member of their Government to add

With a view however to removing any avoidable cause of misunderstanding His Majesty's Government have thought it desirable to make certain modifications in the form in which the relevant provisions are to be expressed.

The italics in both cases are mine. I admit that the document from which I have quoted though authoritative and public was not necessarily meant for Indian eyes. No sane person would however suggest that one and the same decision made by His Majesty's Government would be officially reported in one way to the Ceylonese and in a materially different way semi officially to the people in India. Aside from any ethical considerations such a procedure would have

been unsafe. The distance between Ceylon and India is a mere nothing, and newspapers published in one country are exchanged with those published in the other. Even I had failed to detect the wide divergence between the two versions or having detected it had failed to apprise the Indian public that fact some hawk eyed editor or sub editor in India would have noticed the difference and called attention to it.

### IV

Now that His Majesty's Government have flatly refused to make any substantial modification in the proposals governing Indian franchise in Ceylon what will our people and our Government do about it? Two courses are open to us, namely:

(1) to take the decision of His Majesty's Government as final and leave nearly a million of our people in Ceylon to their fate.

(2) to deny the Ceylon Government the facilities for recruiting labour in India and ask them to remove their camp from Mandapam and Pattapera.

The line of least resistance is always the easiest to follow. Course number one therefore will appeal to persons who confuse cowardice with common sense. Some of the good people will no doubt say that India at the moment is engaged in the fight for Swamy and cannot trouble with so unimportant a issue as this and in any case when Swamy comes India will be in a better position to tackle the question. They therefore, would favour the policy of *laissez faire* for the time being.

A few individuals may even pretend that an impartial authority has gone into the matter and found that no injustice was being done to our people in Ceylon. They may point to the statements contained in the aforementioned telegraphic despatch that the Indian franchise proposals do not seem to His Majesty's Government to involve any racial discrimination against Indians. But for granted the accuracy of that dictum they would urge that India has not a leg to stand upon in this matter.

### V

If counsels of cowardice were to prevail in India at this juncture no one would more astounded than politicians in Ceylon who have engineered these anti Indian movements almost to their complete satisfaction.



They, in fact, all politically-minded people in the Island believe that the Indian Legislative Assembly will not meekly submit to being slapped in the face, that the Government of India will, at least for expediency's sake, stand four-square behind the legislators in this matter, and that grave action may follow.

In talking with me many a politician has said as much. A note of uneasiness has even crept into the editorial comments in the press. Four days after the publication of the despatch of the Secretary of State for the Colonies from which I have quoted for instance, the *Times of Ceylon* (Colombo) frankly confessed that

"We fear the Indian Legislative Assembly will obstinately refuse to be satisfied with the Secretary of State's decision on the Ceylon franchise proposals as affecting Indian residents."

The same note of apprehension runs through a letter that I received three days ago from a Sinhalese lawyer who proposes to contest a seat in a tea-planting district. He writes

"The last modification of the (Indian franchise) proposals I thought, came very near the ideal. But there is going to be further agitation. I am at a loss to understand what exactly is the grievance from which the coolie (labourer?) is labouring now. I have a number of friends who are South Indians and we had a very animated discussion last evening (June 27th). They requested me to write to you stating that you were the best source to be consulted in this matter."

"I am in touch with the low-country leaders who are reactionary in their views and also up-country planters (Europeans) who are very sympathetic towards the coolies (labourers?). It may just be possible that I might be able to influence the one and inform the other in respect to any reasonable views you may present in this connection."

"The Indian question will form the subject of serious contention."

The motives behind this (presumably young) lawyer politician's letter is not difficult to divine, but whether philanthropy or merely ambition inspires his political activity, it is clear that he—a low country Sinhalese—like the editorial writer of the *Times of Ceylon*—a Briton from Scotland is convinced that the Ceylon-Indian franchise question has by no means been settled by the fiat issued by Downing Street, and there is going to be 'further agitation' and even "serious contention."

VI

It is only natural that there should be all this apprehension in Ceylon. Even those

politicians and their partisans in the press who pretend that Indians are not being discriminated against in the matter of franchise do not speak or write from conviction. They, in fact, know that ever since the Donoughmore Commission came to Ceylon a certain section of Sinhalese politicians has been nagating openly and persistently to prevent Indians from being given political opportunities upon a basis of equality with other British subjects in Ceylon. Their plea prevailed upon the Commissioners up to a point. Emboldened by that success they sought to impose a triple handicap upon Indians. The Ceylon Legislative Council refused to listen to them, but they succeeded better with the Governor.

To begin with as I have stated in previous articles His Excellency Sir Herbert Stanley gained his administrative experience almost entirely in South Africa and Rhodesia. Considerations of political expediency, moreover, made it imperative for him to court the anti-Indian Sinhalese element in the Ceylon Legislative Council for without their support he could not put through a scheme of constitutional reforms of great advantage to British interests, upon which the Colonial Office was bent.

His Majesty's Government may be unable to detect "any racial discrimination against Indians" in the proposals sanctioned by them. They perhaps mean that since the word 'Indian' is nowhere explicitly mentioned in the proposals, the restrictions are to be taken as applying to every one and not merely to Indians. They cannot, however, get over two facts

(1) that all the disabilities are created intentionally and for the purpose of keeping the number of Indian voters low, and

(2) that in practice these disabilities will affect Indians and no other class of British subjects in Ceylon.

Both in respect of INTENTION and EFFECT, therefore the franchise proposals discriminate against Indians in Ceylon. His Majesty's Government may shut their eyes to the obvious fact, but that act upon their part does not remove discrimination.

As I have dealt with this point at considerable length in preceding articles, I do not wish to traverse the same ground here. Suffice it to say that the proposals as they now stand will make it possible for every adult Ceylonese or Ceylon Briton who has been six months in the Island to obtain the

vote, unless he or she happens to be a lunatic or an ex convict who has not served his time or received a free pardon, whereas the bulk of the Indians in the Island who are neither lunatics nor criminals will remain voteless. No one in Ceylon needs to be told this fact.

## VII

The Ceylonese and Ceylon Britons realize moreover that at least in normal times they cannot carry on their planting industries without Indian labour and that in normal as well as abnormal times they are dependent upon India for rice, curry stuffs and other food supplies. So apprehensive of trouble are they indeed, that even though the large employers of Indian labour in Ceylon are facing an unprecedented economic and financial crisis they continue to employ Indian labourers upon work which actually nets them a loss. If they took their courage in both hands and reduced their Indian establishments they no doubt would be able to effect much needed economies. In the

past they have not hesitated to resort to such measures. The fear that they may not be able to get Indian labourers so easily and so cheaply if the Indian Legislative Assembly were to take strong action in vindication of India's as well as its own honour, haunts them. They, therefore, dare not effect such economies and are putting forward all sorts of lame excuses in the effort to camouflage the facts.

The more intelligent among the planters know that, in matters affecting Indian emigration, the central Indian Legislative Assembly can initiate any policy that it pleases. I have taken care to place the relevant section of the Indian Emigration Act in the hands of persons who act as the brains of the planting organization.

In this circumstance if the Indian Legislative Assembly leaves nearly a million Indians in Ceylon at the mercy of the anti-Indian Sinhalese politicians, it will forfeit such respect as it enjoys today. Inaction will be taken in this Island as a proof of its weakness, and the position of the Indians in Ceylon will steadily deteriorate.

## The Glory of Mountains

By DR J T SUNDERLAND

O my Soul let us go unto our hills

We were native to them one day you and I  
We have stayed in this market place too long  
We have bartered with the birth right in our breast  
We have shamed us with buffoonery and jest  
Nor raised our eyes to where our hills were strong  
O my Soul let us go unto our hills

To their wonderful high silence and their might  
Where the old dreams still whisper us by night  
Till the sullen heart within us stirs and thrills  
And wakes to weep and wonder and delight  
O my Soul let us go unto our hills \*

IT is late May. Over us the sky is blue and around us nature is at its loveliest.

We have just left charming Lake Maggiore in Northern Italy to cross the Alps by the St. Gothard Pass into Central Switzerland. What will we see on our journey? If our minds are stored with the mythology and poetry of the old Greek and Roman classics and if we have sufficiently vivid imaginations we may expect to get glimpses of nymphs, fauns, satyrs

and perhaps the God Pan for we are to invade the haunts and sanctuaries of these ancient denizens of Europe's classic lands. Fuhog to discover these unless we are blind we shall at least see some of the most striking picturesque, wild sublime and withal charming mountain scenery of the world.

As we begin our long winding ascent, penetrating the nearer and lower mountains we pass on right and left rifts, defiles, openings some narrow and dark with rushing little streams at their bottom and steep rocky walls on either side and leading—one wonders where! And other openings narrow at the bottom but wide at the top and sloping at such angles as to allow all the way trees, shrubs, flowers and larger or smaller patches of grass.

Here and there the mountain walls, which everywhere more or less enclose us fall back far enough to reveal a valley a little wider stretching away for miles with a considerable stream singing through its

\* Theodosia Garrison

centre and occasional quaint little villages snuggling in nooks by the water, amid tiny but well kept gardens, vineyards and orchards. Farther away on the mountain sides, we see other villages, also numbers of isolated houses in all sorts of places often on cliffs so steep or on elevations so forbidding that they seem like eyries of eagles.

Yonder on a projecting promontory stands the ruin of an old castle. We speculate and wonder about its history. On another commanding elevation where the view is particularly fine, there is a modern summer hotel or sanitarium. We are to ourselves, what a place to see mountain sights, breathe mountain air, do mountain climbing to one's heart's content and drink in splendid vigour of body and mind.

By and by we find ourselves riding for miles by the side of a somewhat larger stream or small river (we wonder how it got here, at this elevation) which rushes, tumbles, lugs, lingers, winds, glides silently like a great silver snake and then rushes and tumbles again—occasionally condescending to pause long enough in its sinuous course to turn the wheels of the strange old fashioned mountain side.

Yonder a stream comes down from a high mountain peak to the precipitous edge of a lower mountain and leaps over. Striking the rocks far down it is broken to pieces then gathering itself up into a stream again, it rushes on to another leap so far and so wild that it separates into a score of shattered streamlets hanging in mid air then into absolute spray and is altogether lost to sight. Lower down it however striking projecting rocks it gathers itself together into a stream once more to go through the same process of leaping over another precipice so high and dizzy that again it breaks into spray, and thus once more becomes invisible before reaching its final goal at the foot of the mountain.

These white rills thus coming down the steep sides of lofty summits,—half rills and half waterfalls (or claims of waterfalls)—rushing tumbling foaming snow white and gleaming are among the most striking and altogether charming objects in the Alps. They seem like narrow wary white ribbons of satin of lace of silver of woven beads and diamonds, dropped over the shoulders of the mountains and falling down to their feet.

O the sweet green of the grass in these mountains in this May season! And the tender fresh green of the deciduous trees just coming into leaf contrasting with the more sombre green of the firs and pines! and the brightness of the cherry and apple blossoms in the valleys and the profusion of flowers wherever the sunshine falls and the wealth of lichens on the rocks!

Flow our railway track winds about,—to right and left, bending and doubling on itself under rocks and ridges, through tunnels some short, some long into the sunshine into the shadow, into midnight darkness between rock walls that shut out all prospect on lofty ridges where it seems as if the whole world is coming into sight, along precipices that make the head dizzy!

What a delight it is as we ride along to watch the domestic animals—cattle, sheep and goats—feeding peacefully and lazily in the rich lower valleys or with hardy daring on the steep slopes of the mountain sides, or far, far up so high on the rugged steepes that they look like red or white or black insects clinging to almost perpendicular walls! How childhood and old age join hands here—flow and now sweetest grass and rivers of the greenness and warmth of May with the death and chill of December! One wants to be a fish and live in these bright mountain streams or a chamois and climb with joy these daring heights or an eagle and soar over all or an artist and paint these matchless scenes, or best of all, just a Switzer and love and own these mountains and valleys as dear Fatherland—saying proudly 'My Alps! my snow peaks! my glaciers! my foaming streams and leaping cataracts! my Switzerland!'

It is man's glory that he can think. Because he can think, the whole world is his for instruction and enjoyment. Because he can think, he can go where he will by night or day.

He sends his messages by telegraph or ocean cable and wonders that they speed so fast. But his thought travels faster. His thought transports him in an instant to the ends of the earth. In an instant it brings any land or scene of earth to his door. By its aid whenever he will he can surround himself with all the glories of the hills or elect himself with God in the mighty fortresses of the mountains.

It is not always those who make physical journeys to the mountains that visit them.

most truly Writes one who has never even  
seen mountains except in thought

My heart has a home in the mountains  
And my spirit knoweth their air—  
But my eyes have never beheld them  
And my vision may never know  
The shafts of the strong Sierras  
Nor Shasta's peak of snow  
Mont Blanc may still be a stranger  
The Alps may never be mine  
I may know not Pyrenean passes  
Nor the far blue Apennine.

But my heart is at home in the mountains  
I feel the glorious stress  
Of their altitudes so lofty  
On my being steadily press  
The grandeur of their summits  
Sinks ever into my soul  
The solemn awe of the mountains  
Holds me in its control

They are all mine, the mountains  
I own and hold them in fee  
And many a friendly message  
Have they sent in their time to me  
From Ural and Balkan and Himalaya  
Come breaths of a life divine  
And though I may never behold them  
My spirit drinks their wine

In these lines we get a glimpse of what  
mountains may do to us all even while we  
remain at home doing our daily work. Here  
we get an intimation of how we may all  
visit them whenever we will to gaze on  
their beauty, to stand in awe in the presence  
of their grandeur, and to listen to lessons  
of wisdom which they ever stand ready to  
teach those who can hear.

Mountains fill a great place in the world  
and in many ways.

More largely than we are apt to think  
they minister to man's physical wants.  
Mountains are man's vast treasure houses.  
Out of them come our gold and our silver,  
more important still out of them come our  
iron and our coal. What would man do had  
not nature been busy in the limitless ages of  
the past before he arrived upon the scene  
in storing up in the mountains these priceless  
treasures for his use?

From the mountains come our rivers  
our streams, our springs which sustain so  
large a part of the animal and vegetable life  
of the world. We speak of mountains as  
barren. But often when seeming to be most  
barren themselves by the streams they send  
down they make whole lands to bud and  
blossom as the rose.

Mountains not only water but actually  
create many of the most fertile sections of

the earth. I suppose the soil of California's  
two greatest valleys—each as large as a vast  
state—has all been brought down from the  
Sierras and the Coast Range. The lower  
Mississippi valley is the gift to the world  
of the Rocky and Allegheny Churns. We  
say Egypt has been created by the Nile.  
We mean it has been created by the soil  
which the Nile has brought from the  
mountains of Central Africa. The vast  
Ganges Valley in India, the home of  
seventy or eighty millions of human beings,  
is a deposit from the Himalayas. From  
the Himalayas came the soil and from the  
Himalayas comes also the water that makes  
the soil productive.

Mountains are the natural home of forest.  
Nearly all the mountains of the world  
might be and ought to be forest covered.  
Yet comparatively few now are at least  
in the older lands. Their denudation not  
only impoverishes the world by limiting its  
timber supply but checks rainfall and  
renders barren vast sections of the earth  
which might be fertile. In the good time  
coming, when men get beyond the barbarian  
age of fighting and destroying one another  
and turn their attention in earnest to the  
task of making the world a good place to  
live in, the mountains will once more be  
planted with forests and thus the bald old  
earth will become young again.

In other ways less noticeable mountains  
benefit men. Since science arrived on the  
scene mountains have become our great  
historians such historians as nobody  
ever dreamed of until the past century.  
The historians we had before had confined  
themselves to the two or three last  
thousand years of the world's story. But  
the mountains come to us and open their  
stone books whose leaves are rock strata  
and show us records, there authentic not  
to be disputed, written by pen of earthquake  
and flood and fire that take us back and  
back in the earth's annals, ten thousand  
years, a hundred thousand, a million, a  
hundred millions, and we know not how  
much more.

these furrows which we call valleys and those ridges which we call mountain chains when volcanoes first broke forth into eruption and buried great areas beneath their burning scorra or their streams of fiery lava, when forests covered vast areas and formed the coal deposits which are now so necessary to man's life. Still more interesting these stone histories show us man appearing on the earth a cave-dweller, they show us earlier still the first mammals still earlier the first appearance of animal life further back the first beginnings of vegetable life oldest of all the world with no life.

I have seen men in England studying old cathedrals. This tower they said is renaissance therefore its date is the seventeenth century. This chancel is perpendicular gothic that means it was built somewhere between the fourteenth century and the sixteenth. This transept is the decorated style so it is a hundred years older. This nave is early English therefore it must go back quite another hundred years. Here are some window and door arches that are Norman. Then their date must be as early as the year 1000 or 1100. In one of the walls is some Anglo-Saxon rubble. That takes us back still further to as early a time as the ninth or the eighth century. In the crypt is a Roman Arch. That means something as old as the sixth century or the fifth or possibly the fourth. In wonder we exclaim how ancient! How very far back do these cathedrals carry us!

But turn now from man's work to God's. God's cathedrals are the mountains. As in the light of geological knowledge we study their mighty foundations, wall, column, arches and towers, how ephemeral seem man and all man's handiwork. Compared with them Westminster and Canterbury and York and Salisbury are the product of an hour ago. Nav compared with them the pyramids of Egypt are the children but of yesterday.

Man's alphabets, by means of which he writes his histories, are all new. God's alphabets are old. One of the alphabets which the Creator has employed from the beginning is recording the geologic history of the world in fossil, especially fossils from the sea. Fossil shells are often found on the tops of mountains. It used to be held that this fact conclusively proved a universal deluge. It is known now however that these fossils prove not that

the sea once rose above the mountains but that the mountains rose up out of the sea. Quite possibly it may have been a false reading of the story of these shells that gave rise to the Genesis story of the Flood.

Mountains are interesting because of the fact that in so small a space they epitomize so much of the world. High mountains in any of the warmer latitudes present to us, as we ascend them practically all the earth's zones and climates and all types of its vegetable and animal life. The tropics and the arctic regions of the earth are separated by many thousands of miles, and the traveller who would pass from one to the other must spend weeks of time in making the long journey. But in a high mountain he may have this distance and this time practically annihilated.

In California we see the climate of Italy and the climate of Norway brought within a few miles of each other. We have mountains whose peaks are covered with perpetual ice and snow but whose bases are fanned the year round with almost tropical airs and girdled with groves of orange and lemon trees. In the Southern Alps one sees much the same.

Still more striking is this concentration of altitude in the case of mountains nearer the equator like Kilimanjaro in Africa. These mountains stand with their feet amid the most burning heats, and yet their heads are crowned with eternal winter. As one ascends he passes through all zones, the tropical fades into the subtropical that into the temperate and that again into the frigid the vegetation and the animal life changing accordingly.

Some years ago it was my privilege to make a partial ascent of the Himalayas from the plains of Hindustan. I started amid coconut palm, banana trees, rice fields, and a tropical vegetation as rich as there is in the world. Gradually all this disappeared and I was surrounded by oaks and such trees as grow in central Europe. At 8000 feet I was among pines. I did not go any farther. But on the great peaks beyond I could see the vegetation becoming entirely arctic and then passing away, leaving on the highest altitudes nothing but rock and everlasting ice and snow. At the foot of the mountains were jungles in which were wild elephants and tigers. Further up were mountain bears. Beyond that mountain

gorge and a few other small animals while to the great peaks only eagles ventured. How wonderful it is that by thus simply climbing a mountain one may get an epitome of the world—may have all the climates and zones, all the flora and fauna of the earth brought under his view.

Modern men are developing quite a new interest in mountains. Love of mountains seems to be a new passion in the world. Up to a century and a half ago mountains occupied but a very small place in the thought of the people of Europe or in their art and literature. In England Addison saw little that interested him in mountains. Charles Lamb declared that he would not exchange the meanest valley in London for all the so-called glories of Skiddaw or Helvellyn. Even Goldsmith could see in the Alps nothing better than a great natural bulwark that protected the Swiss against the dangers of civilization. Few painters cared for mountain scenes. Nobody thought of going to the Alps for enjoyment. Literary Englishmen and Germans making journeys to Italy would hasten past or over these wonderful mountain regions oblivious of their beauty and grandeur and regarding them only as obstacles to travel.

But what a change has taken place in the past 150 years! Perhaps the leading force in effecting the change—in giving to Europeans and their kindred in America the wonderful world of the mountains for delight and spiritual quickening—was Rousseau in France followed by Goethe in Germany and Wordsworth in England. Today all cultured people in western lands admire and enjoy mountains. Mountain resorts are everywhere and are enjoyed by rich and poor. Throughout all the summer season the Alps are regarded as the most attractive part of Europe and are thronged with visitors as no other region is. The poet and painter have both felt deeply the spell of the mountains. Today the art and literature of both Europe and America are more full of nothing than of the aroma of mountain pines, the music of mountain waterfall and the sublimity of mountain peaks. All this shows a vast enlargement of man's higher intellectual life, since Rousseau wrote his "La Nouvelle Héloïse".

No other object of nature unless it may be the ocean or the night sky is calculated to stir in the human soul such emotions of wonder, sublimity and awe as the mountains.

To many a man his first extended sojourn in the midst of noble mountain scenery such as one finds in the Alps in Europe or the Rocky Mountains in America or the Himalayas in India forms a distinct epoch in his spiritual life, indeed often the mountain experiences of a single day produce impressions so vivid and so profound that they are carried through all one's years.

Let me sketch a single such experience in my own life. I have spoken of the Himalayas. The experience I have in mind is connected with that greatest of mountain chains. I was at Darjeeling, a mountain city built on the first or lower Himalayan range but in full sight of the second or main range where are most of the great peaks. One memorable day I spent on an elevation above the city where the finest views could be obtained. Around me stretched a vast ocean of mountain summits and mountain valleys as far as the eye could reach the like of which could be seen nowhere else. One hundred and twenty miles away arose the shining head of Mount Everest the loftiest mountain in the world. Nearer at distances of thirty, forty and fifty miles towered Mount Kinchinjunga and half a dozen other stupendous peaks hardly inferior to Everest himself.

Imagine mountains lifting themselves into the heavens to an elevation of five and a half miles. Think of the Matterhorn perched on the shoulders of Mont Blanc. Think of valleys so deep and vast that into them the whole range of the overland Alps might be dropped down and lost out of sight. Then you will get some idea of the altitudes and magnitudes of these Himalayan giants of the world. But even yet you do not grasp their full beauty and grandeur. For this you must crown their rugged and awful summits with ice and snow, drape their sky piercing shoulders with mantles of ever changing mists and clouds and throw over them the splendours and glooms of such lights and shadows as only lofty mountains know. If you have the Himalayas as I was permitted to see them on that great day from my eyrie above Darjeeling. Do you think the memory or the spiritual influence of such a day can ever be lost?

There is an interesting connection between mountains and human liberty. Mountain lands seem always to have been eminently the home of freedom. We know how true this is of ancient Greece. Grecian democracy

ad its birth in the mountains of Attica  
 brace and the Peloponnesus and it main-  
 ained its life longest there. Pass over to  
 the mountain land of Palestine and there we  
 find that almost every mountain and hill  
 has been reddened with bloodshed in behalf  
 of liberty.

In the modern world the strongholds of  
 freedom have also been in nearly all cases  
 mountainous countries like Switzerland  
 Scotland and New England. The one excep-  
 tion the one modern land in which liberty  
 has wrought some of its noblest achievement  
 and yet which has no mountain is Holland.  
 Here a battle for freedom as long and heroic  
 as the world ever saw was fought by a  
 people living in a land absolutely flat. But  
 even here the exception is hardly an excep-  
 tion. For in the case of Holland the mighty  
 ever-encroaching and ever-devouring waves  
 and tides of the sea were to her as moun-  
 tains calling out the same self-reliant and  
 heroic qualities in her people which are  
 nourished in other lands by mountain scenes  
 and mountain life.

The close connection between freedom  
 and mountains in Switzerland inspires us  
 of the finest passages in Schiller's drama of  
 William Tell, where Tell and his little boy  
 Walter thus converse:

Walter And are there countries with no  
 mountains?  
 Tell Yes if we travel downwards from  
 our heights  
 And keep descending in the river's  
 course.  
 We reach a wide and level country  
 where  
 Our mountain torrent brawl and foam  
 no more.  
 And fair large rivers glide so gently on  
 All quarters of the heaven may there  
 be scanned  
 Without impediment. The corn grows  
 there  
 In broad and lovely field and all the  
 land  
 Is fair as any garden to the view.  
 Walter Put father tell me wherefore hasten  
 we not  
 Away to this delightful land, instead  
 Of toiling here and struggling as we  
 do.  
 Tell The land is fair and bountiful as  
 heaven.  
 But they who till it never may enjoy  
 The fruits of what they sow.  
 Walter Live they not free  
 As you do on the land their fathers  
 left them?  
 Tell The field are all the bishop's or the  
 king's.

Walter But they may freely hunt among the  
 woods?  
 Tell The game is all the monarchs'—bird  
 and beast.  
 Walter But they at least may surely fish  
 the streams?  
 Tell Stream, lake, and sea all to the king  
 be long.  
 Walter Who is this king of whom they re-  
 so afraid?  
 Tell He is the man who fosters and pro-  
 tects them.  
 Walter Have they not courage to protect  
 themselves?  
 Tell The neighbour there dare not his  
 neighbour trust.  
 Walter I should want breathing room in  
 such a land.  
 I'd rather dwell beneath the ava-  
 lanches.  
 Tell 'Tis better held to have these  
 glacier peaks  
 Behind one's back than evil-minded  
 men.

The reason why liberty has so often  
 found her home in the mountains are not  
 far to seek. They seem to be two. The  
 first is when tyrants with great armies  
 sweep through lands, it is easy to subdue  
 the valleys for there armies can readily  
 make their way and there they can find  
 plenty of sustenance. But into the moun-  
 tains armies of conquest and tyranny find  
 it hard to penetrate and when they attempt  
 it they are easily beaten back.

The second reason is still more important.  
 The sturdy self-denying and independent  
 life of the mountains begets in the people  
 an independent daring spirit, which hates  
 tyrants, refuses to wear their yoke and  
 cannot rest until it secures for itself  
 political, intellectual and in the end religious  
 freedom.

And so for many centuries to come  
 until man shall cease to wait to tyrannize  
 over his brother we may think of mountains  
 as remaining God's sentinels and protectors  
 of human liberty.

Mountains have always had a close  
 connection with religion.

Turn to the Bible. We find mountains  
 woven into the Old Testament story at every  
 turn. This is partly because Palestine was  
 a mountain land and therefore Jewish  
 history could not avoid contact with  
 mountains. But it is also partly because  
 the Jewish people like all the other peoples  
 of the ancient world associated sanctity  
 with high places. At the subsidence of the  
 Flood we are told that the Ark landed on a  
 mountain where Noah at once built an

altar for the worship of God. When Abraham was commanded to offer up his beloved son Isaac as a sacrifice it was on a mountain. When the law was given from heaven to Moses amid the most solemn and awful surroundings it was on a mountain. We read that Moses died and God buried him on a mountain. The sacred place of the Samaritans was Mount Gerizim. King David built his capital on Mount Zion. King Solomon built the Temple on Mount Moriah.

Coming down to New Testament times we are told that Jesus was taken for his temptation to a mountain. He preached his most important sermon on a mountain. On a mountain he chose and ordained his twelve disciples. On a mountain he was transfigured. On a hill often spoken of as a mountain he was crucified. To the traveller in Palestine nearly all these mountains are pointed out. The whole Christian world thinks of them as sacred localities.

Turning to religions and sacred books outside of Christianity we find mountains occupying a place hardly less conspicuous. The religions of the Semitic peoples round about the Jews all had their high places where their Gods were believed to dwell. The Greeks located the home of their divinities on Mount Olympus. The religions of India have many sacred mountains especially in the vast Himalayan range believed to be the habitat of their deities.

Of course the idea that God dwells any more on mountains than in valleys is no longer held by intelligent men. Even in Jesus time it was beginning to pass away. As soon as men began to think of God as spirit, as the Power, the Life, the Intelligence that is everywhere—in the blossoming rose, the law of gravity, and the soul of man—of course they can no longer enthroned him on a mountain top and say: Here only is his home. It is seen that the whole earth is too small for his habitation and the heaven of heavens cannot contain him.

But although mountains have lost or are losing many of the old sanctities with which superstition in the past has clothed them they can never lose their interest to religious souls.

Have you ever had the experience of climbing a high mountain and there in the stillness spending an hour alone? The earth is at your feet. The horizon has retreated far far off. If there are clouds

they are all beneath you. You are in the heavens.

I stand on high  
Close to the sky  
Kissed by unsullied lips of light  
Fanned by soft airs  
That seem like prayers  
Floating to God through ether bright

The emerald lands  
With love-clasped hands  
In smiling peace below outspread  
Around me rise  
The amber skies—  
A dome of glory over my head.

Wind swept and bare  
The fields of air  
Give the winged eagles room for play  
On mightier wing  
My soul doth spring  
To unseen summits far away \*

Is there any other situation that so expands the soul as does standing on a mountain top? Is there any other that makes the earth seem so small or the heavens so illimitable? Is there any other that makes God and eternal things seem so real? If the mountain top be not a mount of vision, a place for a man to speak with God as Moses on Sinai, then surely the earth contains no such. We read that when Moses came down from the mount his face shone. Should not one's face shine who returns from an experience like this?

Mountains seem to me a natural place for joy. But the joy is always of a serious kind. I think the soul that can be trivial amid the grandeur of great mountain scenery must be a very small soul. The gladness of mountains is like the gladness of prayer. We read that Jesus often went into the mountains to pray. How could he help it? For where else is prayer so natural? Where else are there solitudes so perfect as in mountains? Mountains prayers need not be spoken. Oftenest they are not, as the soul's deepest experiences are apt to be silent. But surely he misses the best that mountains have to give who does not find himself moved again and again by their mysterious silences and their mighty grandeur to prayer to communion with that Invisible Spirit whose home is the mountains whose home is the stars, whose home is the soul of man—that Infinite and Eternal Spirit from whom come mountains and stars and soul of man.



Go to the mountains when you may But do not go to be your shallowest self Go to be your deeper self your more earnest self your true self Go to think go to feel go to get acquainted with your family or your friends as you can only get acquainted with any by quiet by thought by sincerity by letting the best and deepest that is in you find expression and by drawing out what is deepest and sincerest in them Go to get acquainted with your self—something which is necessary to do in the bustle and hurry of the crowded life which most of us live in these days

Go to get close to nature Go to fill in love with nature and like a true lover carry your love warm in your breast till the last day of your life Go to find rest but not rest of body merely, or mainly Your mind needs rest more than your body Not it is simply intellectual rest that you need It is rest of spirit Go to the mountains for peace Get so near to nature to yourself to God that the jars and discords shall go out of your life and the peace which passeth understanding shall enter your soul there to abide

In the world there are many kinds of mountains If there are mountains of earth and rocks—of material substances—no less are there mountains of the soul There are such things as mountain principles mountain ideas mountain thoughts—thoughts and principles I mean which are so great that they lift themselves up in grandeur above the ordinary thoughts of men as great peaks and serve as landmarks and beacons in the intellectual and moral history of the centuries Such are the great conceptions of human freedom religious toleration the right of all men to life liberty and the pursuit of happiness the equality of all men before the law government as deriving its just power from the consent of the governed the Golden Rule the Fatherhood of God the Brotherhood of man How these lofty conceptions these mountain thoughts of mankind have strengthened and ennobled and lifted up the whole race

There are mountain men—I mean men who tower above their fellows in genius insight wisdom intellectual and moral power As rivers come down from the mountains to water and fertilize the valleys so from these men flow down streams of influence that nourish the life of mankind The advance of the race is due to its lofty souls

Where would have been the world's political progress but for its Miltons its Cromwells its Washingtons? Where its intellectual progress but for its Aristotles its Gibbons its Darwins? Where its religious progress but for such tall souls as Buddha Asoka Jesus Plato Pythagoras Luther Wesley Channing Gandhi? God makes no other gift to the world that is of such value as its mountain men

There are mountain books I do not mean famous books merely but books of moral power books that lift the nations up to nobler life

We ought all to be mountain climbers We should all be content to dwell in the low valleys when the heights may be ours? By climbing we may reach sunlight and pure air and leave the fogs and mists behind By climbing we may attain to broader prospects and a larger world By climbing we may gain vigour and strength

I saw the mountains stand  
Sent wonderful and grand  
Looking out across the land  
When the golden light was falling  
On distant domes and spires  
And I heard a low voice calling  
Come up higher come up higher  
From the lowland and the mire  
From the mist of earth desire  
From the vain pursuit of power  
From the attitude of self  
Come up higher come up higher

The mountains which we are challenged to climb are the mountains of knowledge the mountains of self discipline the mountains of moral attainment the mountains of achievement in whatsoever tasks are given us of God

I like to think of all human life under the figure of a journey up a mountain and the end of life as the reaching of the mountain top I know this is not the common way of thinking The ordinary conception of life is that of an ascent until middle age or a little beyond and then a descent to old age and the grave. Of course this conception would be true if man were only a physical being—if his body were all But man is more than a body Why should there be a decline in his intellect? And especially why should there be a decline in his moral and spiritual nature—his hope his faith his love his reliance on God his vision of God those soul powers in him that relate him to the Divine and the Eternal?

individual, divine being, endowed with every perfection, forming the last resort of judgment in life. Its only aim was that of all the individuals put together. To make its way, to become the first scholar in the class of nations, to become "the biggest in the world." The different nations endeavored to be heard, one above the other, with "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles, über alles in der Welt," or "Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the Waves! Britons never shall be slaves."

The principle of life which has become the only one predominant in European philosophy of life and mental, among individuals as well as among nations, may be expressed by the words to become the first. No European has probably maintained

fortifications of an old inherited morality must at last fall, the ancient tables of negative taboo and prohibition, finally become broken. To begin with they fell between the nations, as they were weakest, least developed there. But already during the war as well as after it, they fell between individual beings as well. Through falsehoods, breaches of promise, immoralities, embezzlements, fallacies, and murder, were pursued attempts to rise to power, to become first one, each in his city and his country, *a tout prix*. The diseases of conflict followed in their track as epidemics: mental disorder, neurasthenia, lunacy and suicide. The post-war phenomenon known as the "revolt of youth" soon became a general one.

Such has also been the case in Sweden.

"To a superficial observer, a Swedish educationist tells us "Sweden will present a happy, smiling, and healthy appearance," is true. But one resident here will know but too well, that the cancerous symptoms spreading—more quickly indeed—in the warring states, appear here as well, slowly but surely. Along with a steadily rising curve indicating the average currency in industrial shares and the index of production there is a parallel curve denoting the number of prisoners in our prisons and mental homes. No one that is not living on the surface only, can help being



A corner of the Sitting Room—Siljan-garden

this doctrine more ruthlessly than Nietzsche, with regard to individual men. Even in love he asserted it to be the only one, as when saying "Dies sei Eure Ehre, immer mehr zu lieben, als ihr geliebt werden, und nie die zweiten zu sein!" It was surely never preached more undisguisedly with regard to collective conditions than just at and immediately after the breaking out of the War, by the jingo and war philosophers of all the various nations. "Der Übermensch"—the first among men—and "der Untertan"—a member of the first among all nations, these were two one-sided types, both equally the products of the old school, and lapsing into sheer absurdity as representatives of an ideal type.

Against the charge of such an absurd will to power" and will to great power, the

seized by a paralyzing anguish and cosmic sickness, when confronted with the unscrupulous blind, *parvenu* kind of life that will urge everything on to make a show and glitter on that fine but hollow and soulless exterior which is called organization. The fact of Sweden's having developed and monopolized, through the State the old European school ideal and system, perhaps more than any other country, has implied, too, the spreading and coercive monopolizing of its cardinal drawbacks, may be to a greater extent than in any other State. All private schools—as a rule nurseries of renovating vital pedagogical ideas—are systematically extirpated. This is brought about by means of withdrawal of state grants, or non-granting of examination licences, best conditions according to legally

valid pedagogical ideals be not complied with and further by means of general claims for training controlled by the state in order to obtain any posts at all in the community. Vital profoundly human and intellectual beings get stifled. The staff of teachers is transformed into an exceedingly clever staff of civil servant of intellectual waiters who have to feed the pupil coercively according to a minutely fixed bill of fare only. A smouldering opposition against this intellectual tyranny is held in check as we are obliged to carry out the curriculum. If we do not we cannot stand competition with abroad we cannot become the economic scientific and the spiritual great power that we wish to become.

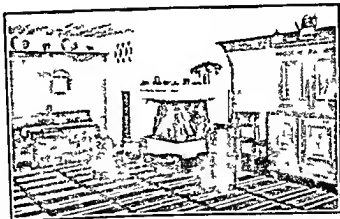
But even the master builder of the entire proud Swedish school organization Director General Bergquist recently retired did however on surveying his accomplished work evidently feel some anguish at its emptiness and lack of vitality. He exclaimed: For the organization we forget the children.

A new spirit in education is emerging in Europe. Its origin it is true springs from times already long before the war but it did not make any general progress until after that time. Against the State's endeavours to form underlings by suppression of personalities it wants to assert children's individual character and claims individual instruction. Instead of the ego-centric desire for development and will to be a superman it wishes to evoke social sympathy and the education for co-operation. Against the superman and the subject it vindicates the man. Instead of history of war it claims history of civilization and instead of war understanding and co-operation between the nations. For an education of nationalism it wishes to substitute an education of internationalism and solidarity of all men. This movement has developed to become the first pedagogic universal one of the world with demands for novel methods of education. A new education prophesying a new era.

The contrasts between supermen and

subject between men and women between the upper and lower classes between the old and the young between great powers and protectorates between eminent and mean races between the East and the West between man and nature get eliminated through a philosophy as expressed in these words of Fenelon's "I love my family much but still more my native country I love my fatherland much but still more humanity."

The Sijungsgården School was started in 1911 as a modest attempt within the movement of new education. It seemed and the founders an exceedingly difficult and risky enterprise to try to establish with very limited financial means a private complete school whose aims were so divergent with those prevalent in current



Another view of the sitting room—Sijungsgården

educational system. Too many obstacles through ignorance and distrust have had to be overcome in Sweden where the state educational system was just being introduced in a most rigorous form.

The school is situated about 300 km to the north west of Stockholm on the Lake Sijun in the centre of one of the most beautiful districts of Sweden (Mälaren) and in a country side with ancient cultural atmosphere. The houses are built of timber in old Dilecarlean style. They have thus a picturesque look and are in harmony with their surroundings. Great pains have been taken to render the interior artistically harmonious and inspiring in form and colour. The children are always in beautiful and harmonious surroundings in doors and out of doors.

We sometimes speak of death as passing through "a valley and a shadow." I like better to think of it as the culmination of the earthly life, as reaching life's summit—an illuminated mountain-top, from which to pass on to a life higher still.

## The "New Education" in Sweden

SILJANSGÅRDEN

Dr. D. M. SEN, M.A., Ph.D. (London)

IN Sweden, as in other European countries generally—with the possible exception perhaps of England—the chief aims of the school have been and are, to impart knowledge, erudition, to give to the children what we might call an intellectual outfit. This has on the whole been the case since the childhood of the European educational system.

Introduction of compulsory games, sport, and open-air training into the time-table of the school. Such has thus been the evolution in Sweden, where, in education as in other respects, the pre-war general course of cultural development has perhaps been pursued more persistently than in other states, right to its utmost consequences and climax.



The School grounds on the Lake Siljansgården

In the beginning of the 19th century only there arose a growing general tendency to bestow some care upon children's physical training as well, which was threatened with complete neglect on account of one-sided learning and school-work. Gymnastics were introduced into Swedish schools. This development has implied constantly increased grounds for medical and dental treatment, well as baths, in a word, physical hygiene for the pupils. It has recently resulted in the

So the school system of Sweden is regarded as one of the foremost of Europe. The magnificent school buildings and educational palaces impress the visitor. The sums spent annually by the state upon education are astounding. The staff of teachers are praised as being "matchless, enlightened, self-sacrificing and devoted to their duty." And school gymnastics and "sloyd" enjoy world-wide fame. Instruction is compulsory for all inhabitants between seven and fifteen years of age. Everybody is granted free instruction, and to a great extent, also free medical and dental treatment, baths with instruction in swimming, school material, clothes, and food. Within a short time no doubt, nobody in this country will be prevented on account of poverty from the possibility of attaining the highest grade of learning. The variety and thoroughness of knowledge are probably greater here than in any other European country. A uniform primary school system is prevailing in Sweden, and the entire educational organization is kept together by

to a people's health and prosperity this nation ought to be at pinnacle of perfect health and wealth. And were the human ideal expressed altogether by the motto *Mens sana in corpore sano* the Swedes ought, more than others, to be an incarnation of that ideal. Many utterances might, in fact, be quoted proving such opinion to be prevalent.



One of the buildings—Sjangsgården

In different quarters of Europe novel opinions have however appeared especially after the war. As always after a great catastrophe the question presented itself: Whose was the fault? It was easy and handy to accuse neighbours, fellow actors in the drama and fellow fighters. Reflection on the matter will not however be satisfied with such reasons as all the warring nations were on the same cultural level and all were more or less similar exponents of one and the same culture—the Western European. From this point of view that fact was a rather indifferent one—who really started the fight. The incommensurable thing was: How could any nation enter upon such a war? And the Swedes too were forced to ask themselves whether the germs of a universal war were not inherent in the European civilization itself. The whole matter was looked upon from a general European point of view. In the same way as modern psychology will ask with regard to a criminal what his childhood was this point was also raised: How is the education that such a thing could have taken place? The fundamental cause of the

received in various subjects or rank held in examinations passed. When physical training was introduced children were pressed on to physical strength and skill in the same way by marks for gymnastics and games and prizes for sporting competitions. To be the first in a class and on the sports ground that is what the old school prompted and still prompts children to be. He who was able to make his way so far was held forth as a model of *mens sana in corpore sano*. Duties with regard to school fellows and fellow creatures consisted mainly in certain negative considerations. One kind of positive education only was imparted: that for their native country one social moral only was impressed upon their mind: duty to the native country. That was the bond uniting this whole herd of individuals and egotists, that were hurrying along. To their own country all had to submit as to a superior

individual divine being endowed with every perfection forming the last act of judgment in life. Its only aim is that of all the individuals put together. To make its way to become the first scholar in the class of nations to become the biggest in the world. The different nations endeavoured to be hence one above the other with Deutschland Deutschland über Alles über alles in der Welt or Rile Britannia Britannia rule the W. Brit a never shall be slaves.

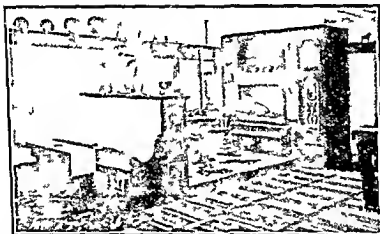
The principle of individualism become the only one predominant in European philosophy of life and mental among individuals as well as among nations may be expressed by the words to become the first. No European has probably maintained

fortifications of an old inherited morality must at last fall the ancient tables of negative taboo and prohibition finally become broken. To begin with they fell between the nations as they were weakest least developed there. But already during the war as well as after it they fell between individual beings as well. Through falsehood breaches of promise immoralities embezzlements fallacies and murder were pursued attempts to rise to power to become first one even in his city and his country as for 1918. The diseases of conflict followed in their trail as epidemics mental disorders, neurasthenia, lunacy and suicide. The post-war phenomenon known as the revolt of youth soon became a general one.

Such has also been the case in Sweden.

To a superficial observer a Swedish educationist tells us Sweden will present a happy smiling and healthy appearance is true. But one resident here will know but too well that the cancerous symptoms spreading—more quickly indeed—in the warring states appear here as well slowly but surely. Along with a steadily rising curve indicating the average currency in industrial shares and the index of production there is a parallel curve denoting the number of prisoners in our prisons and mental homes. No one that is not living on the surface only can help being

seized by a paralyzing anguish and cosmic sickness when confronted with the unscrupulous blind *patem* kind of life that will urge everything on to make a show and glitter on that fine but hollow and soulless exterior which is called organization. The fact of Sweden's having developed and monopolized through the State the old European school ideal and system perhaps more than any other country has implied too the spreading and coercive monopolizing of its cardinal drawbacks may be to a greater extent than in any other State. All private schools—as a rule nurseries of renovating vital pedagogical ideas—are systematically extirpated. This is brought about by means of withdrawal of state grants or non-granting of examination licences lest conditions according to legally



A corner of the Sitting Room—Süjan garden

this doctrine more ruthlessly than Nietzsche with regard to individual men. Even in love he asserted it to be the only one as when saying: *Dies sei Eure Ehre immer mehr zu leben als ihr geliebt werden und die die zweiten zu sein*. It was surely never preached more undogmatically with regard to collective conditions than just at and immediately after the breaking out of the War by the jingoists and war philosophers of all the various nations. *Der Übermensch*—the first among men—and *der Untertan*—a member of the first among all nations—these were two one-sided types both equally the products of the old school and lapsing into sheer absurdity as representatives of an ideal type.

Against the charge of such an absurd ill to power and will to great power the

valid pedagogical ideals be not complied with and further by means of general claims for training controlled by the state in order to obtain any posts at all in the community. Vital profoundly human and intellectual beings get stifled. The staff of teachers is transformed into an exceedingly clever staff of civil servant of intellectual waiters who have to feed the pupils coercively according to a minutely laid bill of fare only. A smouldering opposition against this intellectual tyranny is held in check as we are obliged to carry out the curriculum. If we do not we cannot stand competition with abroad we cannot become the economic, scientific, artistic and spiritual great power that we are about to become.

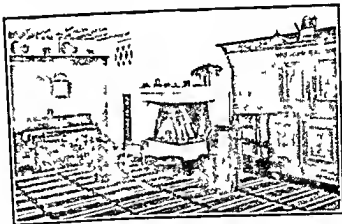
But even the master builder of the entire proud Swedish school organization Director General Bergquist recently retired, did, however on surveying his accomplished work evidently feel some anguish at its emptiness and lack of vitality. He exclaimed "For the organization we forget the children."

A new spirit in education is emerging in Europe. Its origin it is true sprang from times already long before the war but it did not make any general progress until after that time. Against the State's endeavours to form "nations" by suppression of personalities it wants to assert children's individual character and claims individual instruction. Instead of the ego-centric desire for development and will to be a superman it wishes to evoke social sympathy and education for co-operation. Against the superman and the subject it vindicates the man. Instead of history of war it claims history of civilization and instead of war understanding and co-operation between the nations for an education of nationalism it wishes to substitute an education of internationalism and solidarity of all men. This movement has developed to become the first pedagogic universal one of the world with demands for novel methods of education a "new education" prophesying a "new era".

The contrasts between supermen and

subjects between men and women, between the upper and lower classes between the old and the young between great powers and protectorates between eminent and mean races between the East and the West between man and nature get eliminated through a philosophy as expressed in these words of Fenelon's: "I love my family much but still more my native country I love my fatherland much but still more humanity."

The Siljansgarden School was started in 1921 as a modest attempt within the movement of new education. It seemed, and the founders an exceedingly diligent and risky enterprise to try to establish with very limited financial means a private complete school whose aims were so divergent with those inherent in current



Another view of the Sitting room—Siljansgarden

educational system. Too many obstacles through ignorance and distrust have had to be overcome in Sweden where the state educational system was just being introduced in a most rigorous form.

The school is situated about 300 km. to the north west of Stockholm on the Lake Siljan in the centre of one of the most beautiful districts of Sweden (Dalarna) and in a country side with ancient cultural atmosphere. The houses are built of timber in old Dalecarlean style. They have thus a picturesque look and are in harmony with their surroundings. Great pains have been taken to render the interior artistically harmonious and inspiring in form and colour. The children are always in beautiful and harmonious surroundings in doors and out of doors.

The influence of these circumstances will be evident to those that have grasped the implications of modern psychology of education. The inherent character of the school is that of a home where husband and wife

live and work for and together with a flock of children. Many a school have I seen in the south of England and in northern Europe but few excel the little Siljnsgrunden in picturesqueness within and without.

## Political Reorganization and Industrial Efficiency

By RAJANI KANYA DAS M. Sc. Ph.D.

**P**OLITICAL reorganization is still another condition for achieving industrial efficiency. The close connection between politics and economics is self-evident especially in modern times when the whole aspect of civilization has assumed an industrial character. Besides internal and external defence the modern State has undertaken many other responsibilities such as mass education, public health, development of natural resources, encouragement to national enterprise and protection against foreign competition. For the adequate discharge of these various duties the first thing India needs is the nationalization of her Government.

### 1. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

That a national government however imperfect is preferable to a foreign government is a mere truism. But whether India should aim at complete independence or be satisfied with Dominion Status is a question which is beyond the scope of this article. What is essential is that in order to achieve a full development of her industrial efficiency India must be mistress of her own self and must be free to control social, political and economic forces and to formulate her industrial policies. Such a condition is not incompatible with Dominion Status in its latest conception.\* The difference between the two countries

in geographical situation, industrial development and financial position as well as their historical connection of over a century and a half indicate that a close commercial and financial relation between India and Great Britain could be of great mutual benefit provided that such relationship is entered into on the basis of perfect equality and reciprocity.

The advantages of self-government in industrial development is too obvious to need any discussion. Ideals and aspirations which freedom inspires, spirit of toleration and mutual confidence which a democracy enjoins, judgment and forethought which the exercise of statesmanship inculcates and self-confidence and self-determination which general literacy, universal suffrage, equality of opportunity, freedom of conscience and freedom of association develop form the moral and spiritual background of modern social organization of which industrial efficiency is only the economic expression.

The truth of this statement becomes evident from the recent events within the country. Although only a beginning of national government has been made by the Government of India Act of 1919, there has already appeared a new spirit in the social, political and industrial life of the people. Active movements have been started for combating diseases, improving health, reforming society and controlling national industries. No doubt some of the movements had been in existence long before but not with the same national outlook and national spirit. What is more to the point is the rise of a class of self-conscious and aggressive industrialists who are directing their intelligent and concerted efforts

\* Since 1926 the Dominions have acquired almost all the qualities of a sovereign State except those connected with external relations. In this respect too the equality of the Dominions with the mother country has been conceded in theory.



for the organization and modernization of national industries. Their success in the federation of all the national chambers and industrial organizations of the country is a great step forward. Their active participation in all the industrial and financial controversies of national importance such as the exchange ratio, the reserve bank and coastal shipping has not only strengthened their own industrial position but also contributed to the growth of industrial and commercial consciousness among the people.

One of the most important effects of the establishment of *Swaraj* will be the liberation from the political movement of India's best genius, including almost the entire intelligentsia of the nation for social and industrial reconstruction. Love of liberty is an inborn impulse in man and self government is the birthright of every people. Nothing short of Dominion Status can satisfy the national demand for *Swaraj*. Self government is therefore an essential condition for turning the most virile and youthful energy of the country into creative forces for industrial development and thus solving the question of increasing unemployment and unrest.

The Indianization of the services both civil and military will have a far reaching effect upon the social and industrial progress of the country. The higher education of the Indians for the discharge of State functions will raise the general cultural level of the people. The provision within the country for the liberal and technical training of the prospective officials would add to the existing educational institutions. The administration by the Indians of the scientific departments including census statistics, research investigations and reports will no doubt increase the cultural facilities of the people, the scope of which is at present extremely limited in India. Moreover the knowledge and experience acquired by the indigenous people will become a great cultural asset to the nation. At present most of these higher intellectual services are in the hands of the British. Even while in India because of their social aloofness they confer scarcely any cultural benefit on the people except in their limited official function. But the fact that they leave the country at the age of fifty five or sixty when their knowledge and experience might be devoted to some cultural and social welfare work in the non official capacity and when their social

contact might be an inspiration to others is a great loss to the country. In fact nothing has so much impoverished India morally and intellectually as the control and the virtual monopoly of most of the higher functions of the State by the British who have an social interest in the people while in service and who leave India for good as soon as their services are over.

The discharge of the higher State duties and the administration of the higher State functions which form by far the largest organized activities in the country and which are mostly done by the British will develop self confidence and sense of responsibility not only among those who are actually so engaged but also among their fellow men. The shyness of Indian capital and the imperfect development of business administration are largely due to the fact that Indians have been until very recently deprived of the highest functions of the State which have been the training ground as well as inspiration of large-scale business enterprise among other nations. Moreover the Indianization of civil and military services will be a great saving in the national drain and will increase the funds for the inauguration by the Government of some of the most useful measures for social and industrial development.

While the nationalization of the Government or the achievement of *Swaraj* will lay a foundation for the real work of constructing industrial efficiency and developing national industries will depend largely upon its social and industrial policy. The most important elements in this policy will be constructive research, scientific education and national economy.

## 2. CONSTRUCTIVE RESEARCH

The greatest social achievement within the past two hundred years is the phenomenal progress in the sum total of human knowledge—especially in the natural or exact sciences. This is in fact the age of science and it is the scientific understanding of the environment and of the means of utilizing it for human purposes which has led to unprecedented social progress. The application of scientific principles to social needs and the finding of exact facts for formulating a new social policy and for directing social activities towards desired ends constitute what is called constructive research.

For centuries India has lost her former position as a great contributor to human knowledge especially to philosophy, theology, mathematics, philology, medicine. But what has retarded her social progress is not so much the lack of contribution to the world's culture as the inability to apply the accumulated knowledge of the world to her social development. The supreme need of India today is therefore to organize research so that modern science and art might be utilized for her social and industrial development. It is in fact the scientific organization of her national activities in relation to physical and social environment especially in relation to production and distribution upon which to a large extent depends her industrial efficiency.

The scope of research work is multifarious and widens every day with the progress of science and art on the one hand and of social needs on the other. Some of the most useful lines of research might however be conducted on the following subjects:

(1) Biological principles with reference to the improvement of the existing economic plants and animals and the introduction of new ones by selection, hybridization and acclimatization and the studies of bacteriology, mycology and entomology with reference to their relations to injurious or beneficial effects.

(2) Chemical laws including physiological principles for improving soil fertility, hygiene and nutrition and industrial arts.

(3) Physical laws for inventing instruments for harnessing mechanical power and economically utilizing animal and human labour in the forms of tools, implements, machinery and plants.

(4) Meteorological laws regarding winds, storms, rains, hails and fogs and their effect upon growing crops and national health.

(5) Geographical and geological surveys with reference to plants, animals, soils and minerals.

Both because of the heavy expenses involved and of the length of the time required, such researches can be best undertaken only by organized social efforts or the Government. Private philanthropic organizations and industrial establishments have also undertaken such activities with great success in Western countries. But the scope of such work is very much limited in India. The most important Government institutions

for research are agricultural experimental stations, engineering workshops, chemical laboratories and clinics.

Of all the civilized countries of the world India is the most backward in availing herself of the advantage of scientific discoveries for social betterment. All the daily activities of the people including household work and industrial processes are mostly unaided and controlled by time worn and obsolete traditions. It is clearly seen in the fewness of her modern research institutions. Although one or two institutions like the Institute of Science at Bangalore and the Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa were established earlier in the century, it was not until the recommendation of the Industrial Commission of 1916-18 that the significance of scientific research for industrial advancement was realized and proposals were made for the formation of all India services dealing with chemistry, botany, zoology, bacteriology and entomology. But except the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, the Technological Institute at Calcutta and the Bengal Engineering Institution at Calcutta and one or two others no other research institute of importance as recommended by the Commission came into existence. Most of these recommendations failed to materialize.

One of the greatest needs of India today is the establishment of research institutes in all the important centres of the country. Every province or geo-economic region must have an agricultural experiment station, an engineering workshop, a technological institute and an up-to-date clinic. These institutions may be profitably combined with universities and may all or some of them be concentrated in one or two places because of mutual relationship and interdependence. As far as the cost is concerned it must be regarded as a national investment, and no investment is likely to be more productive than one designed to equip men and women with better health, sounder minds and more up-to-date technique for carrying on their life processes.

Besides research in natural sciences there is being conducted in modern times a considerable amount of research in social sciences such as demography, anthropology, ethnology, sociology, politics and economics. While some of these are in the realm of pure science others are constructive researches including periodical inquiries, regional surveys and historical and statistical studies.

All over the world an increasing importance is being attached to these reserves as an aid to formulating social policies.

As in the case of natural sciences research in social sciences is also lagging behind in India. Except the decennial census and a few departmental reports by the Central and Provincial Governments and occasional regional surveys by one or two institutions like those of the Poona Agricultural College and the Bombay Labour Office information on the most vital problems of India, such as wealth and income is very much limited in scope and often faulty in accuracy. For the formulation of social policies there is a great need for social statistics and the Royal Commission of Agriculture has made a very laudable recommendation in advocating the establishment of provincial and central bureaus of statistics.

The most highly developed lines of social research in India today are those of the enquiries by commissions and committees both by the Central and Provincial Governments, such as the Industrial Commission of 1918-19, the Royal Commission on Agriculture of 1926-28, the present Royal Commission on Labour and various committees on unemployment by the Governments of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the Punjab and the Central Provinces. The most important effect of these investigations is that, in addition to being an aid to administrative work they focus public attention and help to create public opinion.

There is one fundamental defect in social research for administrative purposes inasmuch as the results of research projects are apt to become handmaidens of administrative policy rather than guides for the development of real social welfare. Government is likely to select members of such committees and commissions from limited intellectual groups who may support its views. In case they are selected from a wider range the terms of reference may be too limited to give them a chance for the expression of their view. Even in statistical research there is a possibility of a one-sided view and it is perhaps the realization of this fact that led the Royal Commission on Agriculture to recommend the appointment in the statistical organization of the Central Government of an advisory board of leading economists, scientists and business men without any formal connection with Government having

nevertheless access to and being thoroughly familiar with official statistical material of all kind so that there might develop in India a school of statistical interpretation.\*

Apart from the defect of the bureaucratic control of social affairs more or less common in all undemocratic countries there are other more serious defects in the case of India because of her political subjection. A ruling nation is scarcely willing to inaugurate these investigations which however urgently needed for social betterment, might disclose the weakness of its administration. The lack of adequate and exact data on the economic conditions of the people is in all probability the result of this policy. Moreover, the personnel of the research organization especially in the higher services are likely to be drawn from the governing country. It is a notorious fact that most of the officials in higher research services in India are British. Even a considerable number of the members of the commissions and committees for important investigations are recruited from the British. Six of the twelve members of the present Royal Commission on Labour for example are British. This has not only made research unnecessarily expensive for so where else in the world are the officials paid such high salaries as in India but has also limited the scope of scientific research for Indians†.

In inaugurating scientific research the national Government should therefore see to it that most of the scientists are recruited from among the Indians. Whenever they are not available promising young men after a thorough education in Indian universities should be sent abroad for scientific education and prominent scientists should also be invited from Europe and America for a certain period and with a clear understanding that their duty would be to prepare the Indians for work in their respective fields. Such a policy would not only increase the scope of scientific research for Indians

\* Cf. vol. p. 78.

† Both the Royal Commission on Superior Civil Service and the Royal Commission on Agriculture advocated the policy of keeping a permanent staff of Europeans in the higher services including research. The worst feature of such a recommendation is the implication that Indians are not capable of high grade scientific work. See *Report on Royal Commission on Agriculture* abridged edition p. 86.

but it would also help to popularize scientific research

### FUNCTIONAL EDUCATION

While research adds to human knowledge education assimilates this new knowledge into social traditions and translates it into social actions. By far the largest part of human capacity lies dormant and the function of education is to develop the potential faculties with reference to social traditions. But society is always in the process of growth. Both internal and external forces bring a community into a new social situation together with its peculiar social problems. Social progress depends upon the solution of its specific problems with reference to its inner organization and environmental condition. The development of the latent faculties into social attitudes and the adaptation of the individual into such social situation constitute what might be called functional education.

The run of the educational system in India has been to perpetuate the hoary and archaic past without any reference to the existing conditions of India or of the outside world. This system of education is one of the essential causes of her social stagnation and industrial degeneration. For social political and economic progress what India needs is the introduction of functional or scientific education with special reference to her existing conditions on the one hand and those of the world on the other. It cannot be doubted that the educational system should be based on national culture but its object should be to adapt Indian people to the international situation.

The first step in national education is universal and compulsory primary education the lack of which is one of the fundamental causes of India's downfall. "The one thing needful in India today is the introduction of mass education. Social regeneration, political reorganization and industrial reconstruction all depend upon mass education. The first claim a child has upon society or the State is that he is entitled to free elementary education so that when he grows up he can understand his rights, perform his duties, exercise his privileges and follow an industrial career. Every government calling itself civilized has recognized this primary obligation to children. The British who have failed to introduce it into India over which they have had absolute power for over a century

and a half introduced universal compulsory education into their own country over half a century ago. Even now the British Government in India has avoided the issue by transferring it to the mercy of local administrations by the Government of India Act of 1919. The result is that up to the year 1927 28 only 114 municipalities and 1527 rural areas out of a total of 500 088 towns and villages in the British provinces\* had introduced compulsory primary education.

What is essentially needed is the recognition by the State in the new constitution of the fact that primary education is its first duty towards its citizens and that provision be made by all provincial Governments so that every Indian child might have the opportunity of enjoying this fundamental right. If any Provincial Government should be unable to carry out its primary obligation for lack of finance the Federal or Central Government must take over responsibility. That primary education in order to be successful should be free, compulsory and universal in India as in other countries needs scarcely any discussion.

What would be the length of the period for primary education depends upon two conditions, namely national ideals and international conditions. Every man and woman must be a worthy and intelligent citizen in modern democratic society and the period of education must be sufficiently long to give him or her an opportunity for acquiring knowledge for active participation in the cultural progress of the country. Moreover modern nations are so interdependent, especially in international trade that no nation cannot remain behind another in education without impairing its competitive power. Like modern warfare industrial competition involves the full national strength including education and training of the masses and intelligent participation of all workers in national industrial activities.

The maximum age of compulsory primary education in India should not only be the same as in other advanced countries, but under the social and economic conditions of India it ought to be higher. In the first place institutional education in schools and colleges forms only a small part of our education. By far the larger part is imparted by social traditions which form not only

\* The figure for towns and villages refers to the Census of 1921.

the subconscious but even a large part of our conscious life and determine our character. Social traditions in India being unorganized, unscientific and inadequate, it behoves that Indian children should receive higher and longer institutional education to make up the balance. In the second place in these days of world economy and inter national trade the industrial success of a nation depends upon its purchasing power. The natural resources of India being comparatively limited in proportion to her vast population and as required by an international standard India must make up her deficiency in natural resources by higher efficiency in labour power which can be done only by higher and longer education including vocational training.

That primary education should be supplemented by elaborate courses in the secondary and college education of sufficiently long duration goes without saying. It will be the ideal of the Indian nation to set up one university for each district well equipped with all the branches of modern science and art, including the colleges of agriculture, engineering and medicine. University education should be supplemented by post graduate courses in the centre of higher learning and research offered in special institutions located at the Metropolis and other suitable places of the country.

In organizing higher education emphasis should however be laid upon natural or exact sciences. This is a scientific age and nowhere is the knowledge of exact sciences in greater need than in India, where the higher classes are imbued with metaphysics and theology and the masses with mythology and superstition. India needs, above all, a rational attitude towards life and a positive background for social and industrial reorganization. It is the solid national character upon which depends industrial efficiency and material progress.

All education in the primary and secondary schools and colleges should naturally be imparted in the vernacular. Nothing has caused so much wastage in the education

system of India as the use of a foreign language for the study of science and art. It is nothing but criminal to make a people think in a foreign language in order to carry on its life processes. Besides the vernacular, there must be a common language for all India and such a language must be one of the existing languages which has its root in the national culture and has affinity with other existing languages of India. Nothing could be better suited for this purpose than Hindi,\* which is understood by the largest number of people in the country. It is necessary that some knowledge of this common language should be imparted even in the last year or two in the primary schools. Organized industries are so scattered in different parts of the country and migratory labour is so important in modern times that a common language will be extremely useful to a large body of immigrant workers on Assam gardens and Bengal jute mills. The lack of a common language is not only detrimental to social assimilation but also to industrial success of most of the immigrant.

Education however does not end when one leaves school or college but continues throughout life. This is especially so in modern times when social traditions continuously change and readjust themselves with the progress of science and philosophy. A man leaving school at 15 will find himself out of place in the changing social conditions at fifty if he lacks the facilities for the continuous development of his mind. The realization of this fact has led modern nations to devise means of what is called adult education. Of the various methods of adult education the following might be mentioned as the chief, namely, short courses and lectures, demonstration and expositions, fairs and shows, dramas and concerts, libraries and reading clubs, plays and recreations, and political leagues and social clubs.

\* The two most important languages of India are Western Hindi which is spoken by 97 millions and Bengali which is spoken by 49 millions.

# The Malady of the Century

By NALINIKANTA GUPTA

I

**W**HAT is the malady of our age? It is that man has lost touch with his soul. There were ages no doubt in the past, dark periods, when man's soul retired into the background, was obscured or veiled, but only today there seems to have occurred a definite cleavage a clear sundering. Man no longer drags the lengthening chain that tied him, in spite of everything to his divine essence, he has cut it clean and let himself adrift.

The Eternal Enemy appeared and spread out before our enchanted eyes the panorama of earth's riches and glories not merely riches of comfort and pleasure and well-being, but glories of power and knowledge we could not resist this time we hurled ourselves headlong into the valley of temptation delivering, as the price of the bargain, our soul. Now we are masters of many fields, our knowledge and power extend over an immense variety of regions uncharted till now. Even like Vishnu, the Dwarf, our consciousness has covered with its three strides the entire creation, barring that part alone where soul resides.

Our mind, our life and our body have become today far more conscious and consciously powerful—each has found itself and is big with its own proper value. But what was familiarly known as the mind of the mind, the life of the life, the body of the body has vanished and all it meant. The path has been taken out, we are now playing with the empty stick, the secret thread on which the pearls of life-movements were strung has been removed and they lie about scattered and disjointed. We have enriched our possessions, we have made ourselves more complex and multiple in our becoming the telescope and the microscope, in the physical world, and a subtler sense in the mind also, have extended the expanse of our consciousness. But with all that and in our haste to be busy about too many things we have forgotten and left out of account the one thing needful.

We have sought to increase our consciousness, but away from the centre of consciousness, so what we have actually gained is not an increase, in the sense of a growth or elevation of consciousness but an accumulation of consciousnesses that is to say, many forms and external powers or applications of consciousness. A multiplicity of varied and independent movements of consciousness that jostle and hurt and limit one another, because they are not organized around a fundamental unity, forms the personality of the modern man, which is therefore tending to become on the whole more and more ill-balanced and neurasthenic and attitudinizing, in comparison with the simpler and less equivocal temperament that mankind had in the past. And a good part of the catholicity or liberalism or toleration that appears to be more in evidence in the present-day human consciousness is to be attributed not so much to the sense of unity or identity, that is the natural and inevitable outcome of a real growth in consciousness, but rather to the doubt and indecision and hesitation, to the agnosticism and dilettantism and cynicism of a pluralistic consciousness.

Cut away from the soul from the central fount of its being, the human consciousness has been, as it were, desiccated and pulverized, it has been thrown wholly upon its multifarious external movements and bears the appearance of a thirsty shifting expanse of desert sands.

II

Indeed a peculiar aridity has invaded the modern consciousness, the sap has dried that once made life fresh and green and glad. It is not that we are turned away from life, on the contrary we are attached to it more than ever,—but the attachment has come upon us like a morbid hunger. And so we have the lust for life, but know not the joy of life. We lay an inordinate stress upon the body, upon what is external and superficial, upon the matter of life and suffer from a simultaneous recoil and disgust for

it. Human nature has been rent in twain and life has lost its unity of rhythm.

The old world had no experience of this self-division. It had a frank and full joy in things of life even in their most material forms. And when it turned away from life it did so in the same spirit, of joy and frankness and wholeness. There was not this immixture this Hamletian "to be or not to be"—an unregenerate barbaric life-impulse—sickened over with the pale cast of thought that troubles the modern consciousness.

In old days, while we enjoyed life we were not without the taste for life. We were youthful and in full possession of the *dharma* of youth. And when we left the world and life we cherished no regret. We did it wholeheartedly.

We were young and our movements were whole and entire. It may be said that that was an age of unthinking innocence, but in the attempt to gain the arid richness of an old age consciousness we have lost the simplicity, the spontaneity and the integrity of our new age. Yes we have eaten of the fruit of knowledge and our youth is the price that we have paid. With our present nature we not merely enjoy but we want to know that we enjoy. We cannot enjoy a thing unless in the very act we weigh and dissect and scrutinize the object and our eyes too into the bargain.

This knowledge or rather this curiosity does not arise from any depth of our being. It is the product of the meddlesome superficial brain mind. We have become self-conscious, a vigilant self-consciousness is now the invariable coefficient of all our movements, but it is a self-consciousness that has deviated into mere mental introspection and intellectual analysis. It was the soul's consciousness although perhaps more often from behind the veil that once inspired and enlivened human nature in its youth and life was after all a thing of beauty and joy—for the soul is the one *Rasa* of existence. We have deposed the Divine King, an anarchy now reigns in human nature which has become the battleground of qualities and forces that are if not always more crude at least invariably crooked and perverse. We live and move in the cold and blighting and withal shallow glare of the brain mind.

### III

We of the modern age know many things—perhaps too many and we yearn and strive

to know yet more. We are never content with the knowledge that we have at the moment. Our mind is always restive to leave beyond its immediate ken thinking always that the secret of existence is to be found in what escapes its scrutiny in what lies just outside the limits of what we happen to know. We are never sure of our knowledge. We are rich in curiosity, subtle in guessing but always there lacks the sense of assurance and achievement. A certain unrest or *malaise* pursues our activities something that gives to our most perfect creation the impress of an experiment, of what is tentative transitional temporary.

The ancients on the contrary knew not many things—not so many as we know but what they knew they knew well. They were sure of their knowledge. Their creations were not perhaps on the whole as rich and varied and subtle—even in a certain sense as deep as those of modern humanity, but they were finished and completed things, net and clear and full of power. The simple unambiguous virile fine that we find in *Kalidasa* or in the *Ajanta* in *Homer* or in the *Parthenon* no longer comes out of the hands of a modern artist. Our delight is in the complexity and turpitude of the composition. We are not satisfied with richness only. We require a certain tortuousness and tangledness in the movement. We love the intermingling of many tints, the play of light dying away into haze and mist and obscurity of shades that blur the sharpness of the contour. Our preoccupation in Art, is how to create the impression of the many in its all round simultaneity of forms and movements. The ancients were more simple and modest. They were satisfied with expressing one thing at a time and that simply done.

The ancient *Rishis* were worshippers of the Sun and the Day. They were called *Finders of the Day*. Discoverers of the Solar World. They knew what they were about and they sought to make their meaning plain to others who cared to go to them. They were clear in their thought, direct in their perception, their feelings however deep were never obscure. We meet in their atmosphere and in their creative activity no circumambient chiaroscuro, nothing of the turbid magic that draws us today towards the uncertain the unexpected and the disconcerting. It is a world of certitude of solid reality—even if on the highest spiritual levels.

consciousness—presenting a bold and precise and clear outline. When we hear them speak we feel they are uttering self evident truths, there is no need to pause and question. At least so they were to their contemporaries, but the spokesman of our age must needs be a riddle even to ourselves.

To the moderns truth is merely relative, the absolute is an ever receding reality and has only a theoretical existence. The true reality, whatever it is we can never reach or possess. We may say that we are approaching it nearer and nearer but shall never come up to it—there is no end to our pursuit. An eternally progressive *rapprochement* between our knowledge or realization and the object of it is our destiny and also perhaps our privilege. It is this movement without end or finality that is life and all its zest and beauty. The ancients on the other hand aimed and worked at *siddhi* that is to say definite and final achievement. This did not mean however that there was a dead stop and they stagnated after *siddhi*. It means that the consciousness having undergone a change in character takes a different kind of movement altogether. It proceeds now from truth to truth from light to light from *siddhi* to *siddhi*. The modern consciousness moves on the other hand from uncertainty to uncertainty at best from the more obscure to the less obscure.

Ours is an age of hunger—hunger for knowledge for power for enjoyment. But we do not know, nor care to know, the conditions under which alone such hunger can really be appeased. First of all we think that to satisfy our hunger we have simply to go straight and pounce upon the object, we do not consider it at all necessary to look beforehand to our assimilative nature and capacity. Our hunger serves only to multiply the objects of hunger, and the objects of hunger again multiply our hunger, this is the vicious circle in which we are entrapped. We hungered for progress but what we have succeeded in getting is change and movement speed and restlessness, we yearned for light we have found only information, we looked for power, we have mastered a few tricks or clever manipulations we aspired for happiness we have stopped with stray pleasures and hence with dissatisfaction.

To relieve life of this mingled strain and tension to lift it out of this ambiguity and uncertainty to free it from this gravitational force that drives it towards what is superficial and external—to endow it with its real worth we must find and possess life at a higher level at its unspoiled source we must first draw back and re-establish this time consciously and integrally the lost connection with our soul the Divine in our being.

## Influence of Physical Features on Indian History

By N K BHATTASALI M A

IT is customary to hold the physical features of India responsible for many of the evils that befell her lot in invasions from without and defeat and disunion within. It has been sought to be made out that we happen to live in such a luckless country that natural forces are at work emasculating us and we are destined from age to age to bow down before each succeeding conqueror. As this theory is dinned into the ears of our young boys by the textbooks on history that they are given to read it has become customary to take this as an established truth beyond the reach of civil or question.

Let us take a few samples from the text book that are commonly used by our boys in Bengal. The following passage is from

Dr Muzumdar's *A Brief History of India* which is the text book most widely used by the Matriculation candidates in Bengal.

*Influence of physical features.* India contains not only fertile soils but also rich mineral deposits. Gold, iron, coal, manganese, jewels, pearls and various precious stones are also found in abundance in this country. Its sea-coast is studded with good harbours, fostering maritime trade. All these made India one of the richest countries in the whole world.

This was not however an unmixed blessing. The easy means of livelihood together with the wide and sublime beauty of nature gave a philosophic and poetic turn to the Indian mind and led to a remarkable progress in religion, philosophy, art and literature. But it made the people less hardy and active than the mountaineers.

\* See editorial note on this topic in the present issue.



of the colder regions of the north who were tempted by the wealth of India and often made an easy conquest of it.

Besides as there was no keen struggle with the elements of nature, no great progress was made in the study of positive sciences. Lastly, the vast area of the country, and its lofty hills and wide rivers made it difficult for the Indian people to combine together and form one united nation and very often the whole country was divided into a large number of independent states fighting with one another. In short, the history of the country and the temperament of its people were largely determined by its physical features.

Prof G B Bhattacharyya, in his *Bharat Bhāratarshar Nūtan Itihas* (Macmillan and Co.) merely repeats the statements of Dr Majumdar.

Ru Khagendranath Mitra Bahadur in his *Bangali Bharatārshar Itihas* has the following:

"(Transition) Though India is surrounded on three sides by the sea, the Indians never attained much skill in sailing. With one or two exceptions, the rivers of India in spite of their proximity to the sea never became skilful seamen. The main reason is that though the country has a long coast line, there is no good harbour & that can shelter large vessels. The people of the country lacked energy and initiative because the land was naturally fertile. The Indians have always been peaceful. It never occurred to them that it is necessary to cross the sea to accumulate riches by defeating the nations beyond.

Let us examine some points in these statements and attempt to find out the truth.

(1) Were the people of India less hardy than the average nations of the earth?

The hardness or otherwise of a people can only be ascertained with reference to concrete facts. No race of men on the world's surface can boast that it has never been conquered by some other nation. Take the case of England. The Britons had to bend before the Romans to begin with and then before swarms of Angles, Jutes and Saxons. They in their turn yielded before the Danes. All these people combined gave way before the Normans. No one thinks of ascribing these repeated humiliations of the inhabitants of the soil of England to some inherent defect in her physical features. The peoples of Europe and those descended from them residing elsewhere are at present

the dominant nations of the world. But there is no country in Europe which has not been conquered again and again.

Take now the case of India. Did the Aryans on their arrival find the Dravidian occupants of the soil very easy to conquer? The horses and the iron weapons of the Aryans gave them an effective superiority over the Dravidians who possessed no horses and used mostly copper weapons. Yet is not the Rig Veda full of the din of battles between the Aryans and the Dravidians? Did not the Dravidians hold their own in the southern half of India? Are they not still preponderant there?

Take the case of subsequent invaders of India. Darius was not a mountaineer but the civilized king of a civilized country. At the time of his invasion of India the Sasanians were ruling in Magadha. It is unlikely that the sway of the Sasanians extended up to the Panjab. Alexander two centuries later found the Panjab divided into a number of principalities. Conditions were probably the same two centuries earlier. And it does not speak much of the arms of the great Achaemenian Emperor Darius that he could do no more than subdue the petty princes of the Panjab. Alexander the Great two centuries later overran the Persian Empire and therefore also the Panjab which was one of the provinces of that empire. He met with a stubborn opposition and it speaks volumes of the bravery and initiative of the Indians that they recovered so soon from the effects of the Persian domination and could offer such determined opposition to one of the greatest warriors the world has ever seen, who was fresh from his conquests and had laid low the mighty Persian empire only a few months before.

The story of the contest between Alexander and Poru (Porus) shows clearly what stuff the Indians were made of and whether the much maligned physical features of India had wrought havoc on the Indian constitution. The conqueror of the world found himself opposed by a petty king who was master of a tract of country between the two rivers Jhelum and Chenab about 50 x 100 miles in area i.e. about the size of Midnapur district of Bengal and smaller than Mymensingh district. That such a petty king could summon up courage to stand against the world-conquering veterans of

\* See Sir Raychandra Nath Seal's and Professor Banoy Kumar Sarkar's books on the positive sciences of the Hindus.—E.L. M.R.

† This is true. Dr Majumdar's statement that the coast of India has good harbours, is inaccurate. It is not a numerous harbours. See editorial note E.L. M.R.

Alexander must be held as sufficient proof that the physical features of India had not yet succeeded in making the Indians cowards or do-nothings.

The story of the actual contest between the two markedly unequal combatants is recorded by the Greeks themselves. It will be read with pride by every patriotic Indian. For a fortnight, Alexander had to remain stationary on the other side of the river unable to cross in the face of the opposing Indian army. At last one stormy night amidst peals of thunder and heavy rain the indomitable Alexander marched out secretly with a chosen band. He marched along the river bank for sixteen miles and crossed the river under the cover of a wooded island in the river. Opposition from the side of Porus was hurried up but defeated. Then the two main forces were brought face to face. The rain of the previous night had been disastrous to the Indians. The chariots which were one of their principal fighting units could not move freely. The Indian archers whose bows were six feet long and who shot long shafts with terrible effect could do nothing. It was their habit to plant one end of the bow in earth bend it by pressing it with the left foot draw the string up to the ears and discharge the arrow. The muddy ground however gave them no foothold and with the ends of their bows buried in the mud they could but give a very feeble account of themselves while the mounted archers of Alexander throw the Indian army into confusion. After a stubborn fight, in which Porus though severely wounded remained in the battle field to the last, the Indians had to give way and Porus surrendered.\*

If the bravery of the Indians stands out in very favourable light in this unequal contest, in the subsequent trial of strength between Seleucus and Chandragupta Maurya who may be considered as combatants of equal strength the truth is brought into bolder relief. It is a matter of common knowledge that in this contest the Greek king found the Indian too strong for

him and had to cede large portions of territory conquered by the Greeks and conclude a humiliating treaty. This episode shows that the Indians when well led were a match for the best fighters of the then known world.

The history of India between the fall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Guptas is known only in the barest outline. It is known that some Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian kings succeeded in establishing kingdoms in North-western India but there is no means of knowing what resistance the Indians were able to put forth against the aggressor. The episode of Vikramaditya Sakari son of Gurdabhilla of Ujjain who is reputed to have driven the Sakas out of India and started the Vikrama Era brings the old truth forward again that Indians wanted a capable leader to guide them to victory. The cultural conversion of aggressors like Milinda (Menander) and Kanishka and even of Greek officials like Heliodorus of the Besnagar Pillar Inscription are well known facts of history.

The Scythians it must be admitted seized a great portion of western India. The empire of the Kushans extended practically over the whole of the Western half of India. The Indians had to bow before the storm. These race migrations are peculiar phenomena in world's history comparable only to storms. The Scythians succeeded not because they were hardy mountaineers but because the pressure of a mightier race-migration, that of the Yuehchi had driven them from their original home and it was a question of survival or annihilation to them to be able to find new territories in which they could stretch themselves. In that process they came like irresistible storms and they wiped out many Greek kingdoms in and around the mountain regions of Afghanistan before they came upon the plains of India. The storm succeeded in penetrating half of India and then it was a spent force.

The rise of the Gupta Empire in the beginning of the 4th century A.D. served as an effective check to foreign aggression for nearly two hundred years. Then the storm of the Hun migration famous in world's history began. All the established empires of the world began to shake to their very roots. Wave after wave of these barbarians went out from Central Asia and the impact was felt in Europe as early as 375 A.D. In Asia the Huns overran Persia and wiped out the Kushana kingdom of Kabul. The

\* But Alexander the world-conqueror understood what such a victory meant. Rev. J. T. Sunderland wrote in *The Modern Review* for July 1905 (page 17) that after fighting a great battle he (Alexander) decided that wisdom required him to retreat. Again the same writer wrote in the *Review* for June 1908 (page 647). It was in India an army under Indian military leaders that checked the conquering career of Alexander the Great.

heroic king Skanda Gupta beat back the first Huna invasion and it was thus in India alone that this storm of savage invasion first met with an effective check by about 480 A.D. As in the cases of the Indo-Greek and the Kushana invasions the Huna invasion also prevailed for a short period but only the north-western part of India was affected. The Indians gradually recovered from the effects of this savage storm. The Indian opposition began to gather strength and found competent leaders in the persons of Yasodharman and Baladitya. Mihirakula the Hun leader, was defeated and driven out of India. The physical features of India had not unmanned the Indians even in the 6th century A.D.

The meteoric rise of the Muslim military power is a wonderful phase of the world's history. Within the course of about a century the Muslim empire spread in all directions and neither the Greeks nor the Spaniards were a match for them. Considering the fact that the first impact was felt in India in 712 A.D., we should wonder not so much at the fact that the Muslims finally succeeded in conquering the greater part of India but at the fact that it took them five long centuries to accomplish the work. The fact that the Gurjara-Pratihara succeeded in keeping them at a distance, that the Shahi Brahmin kings of Gandhara could call forth so much unity against and offer so much opposition to a military genius like Sultan Mahmud, that Prithviraja could inflict a crushing defeat on the overconfident Muhammad Ghori are eloquent testimonies to the fact that the Indians had lost nothing of their manly vigour by residence in India for thirty centuries or more. But heroism and courage cannot alone for defective and thick-headed generalship. However heroic Prithviraja might have been as a leader of a charge in a battle he can hardly be called a good general for conducting a protracted war. He should have early recognized that he had to fight an enemy with a moral code different from his own and of uncompromising tenacity of purpose. After his first victory, he committed the most amazing indiscretion of thinking that the defeated Ghori had gone for ever. The indomitable Ghori returned within an year, a precious year which the Hindus had wasted away in senseless festivities. Then when Prithviraja was called upon to face his old foe again he should not have staked every

thing on a single battle. The same mistake five centuries and a half later brought about the fall of the mighty and magnificent Vijaynagar empire in the battle of Talikota.

The rise of the Maratha power showed later on that all Indians had not ceased to be brave and hardy. The still later resurgence of the Sikhs who rolled back for a time the tide of conquest proved the same thing.

(2) The second statement of the textbooks that requires examination is the following —

The vast area of the country and its lofty hills and wide rivers made it difficult for the Indian people to combine together and form one united nation, and very often the whole country was divided into a large number of independent states fighting with one another.

The small country of Britain without fifty hills and wide rivers was at one time divided into seven kingdoms known as the heptarchy.

India as is well known is equal in area to the whole of Europe minus Russia. In that part of Europe there are a number of independent countries such as Germany, France, Austria, Spain, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece etc., and even very small countries like Portugal, Denmark, Holland and Belgium. Many of these countries were united under one rule during the Roman domination. Long centuries after an extraordinary military genius like Napoleon succeeded for however short a period, in bringing some of these countries under his sway. These countries are of the same relation and are permeated by the same cultural traditions. Many of their languages have nearly the same relation to Greek and Latin as the provincial dialects of India have to Sanskrit. If there is nothing objectionable or unusual in the spectacle of these countries falling asunder and maintaining independent existences and even fighting with one another I wonder, why India should be considered different. Geniuses like Chandra Gupta Maurya or Samudra Gupta or even Harshavardhana are rare in history. That they succeeded in making the greater part of Northern India one vast empire only shows that they were very powerful personalities comparable to the great heroes of European history like Julius Caesar and Napoleon. We need not fall foul of the lofty mountains (there is none though in the great North Indian plain from Peshawar to

Chittagong) and wide rivers because this enforced union did not last long and India resolved herself into her natural divisions of provincial kingdoms. When the master of a petty kingdom on the frontier of the size of Midnapur district, could offer a resistance like the one that was offered by Poros to the world conqueror Alexander when Jaipal the Shiva Brahmin king of Ohind a kingdom neither reputed to be very extensive nor very powerful could summon together a confederacy of the princes of Northern India and attack Sabuktigin in his mountain fastnesses we need not deplore the fact that the empires carved by military and political giants did not last and kingdoms arose naturally in various parts of India on their fall.

(3) Rai Bahadur Mitra's contention is that the people of India lacked initiative and energy because the country was fertile and therefore they had enough to eat in their own land that they never became skilful seamen that it never occurred to the Indians to cross the sea to gather riches by defeating the nations beyond.

These statements coming from the pen of a veteran educationist and finding place in a textbook for our young hopefuls have taken our breath away. I am sure a man of balanced judgment like the Rai Bahadur will only require pointing out to see that this portion of his book requires rewriting. The potentiality of these statements for mischief is incalculable.

The conquest made by India in other lands has mostly been a cultural conquest. We are so accustomed to associate conquest with bloodshed rapine and murder that the nobleness patience and self sacrifice of those forgotten missionaries of the past who carried the peaceful message of India into distant lands are hardly sufficiently appreciated. Even when the Muhammadans were knocking at the gates of India Dipankara Sri in the sixtieth year of his age was trudging the snowy and perilous Himalayan passes to go to Tibet at the invitation of the king of Tibet, to reform Buddhism in his land. It was in this way mostly that India's cultural conquest of Asia was effected. But Indian kingdoms in Indonesia and the adjacent countries had to be established in the orthodox bloody fashion in which our Indian temperament refuses to feel pride.

That the Indians never became skilful

seamen and never crossed the sea to conquer distant countries is a statement demonstrably untenable. How were the countries of Singapore Sumatra Java Bali Siam Cambodia Champai etc colonized and conquered? The history of the conquest of these countries can mostly be traced to the early centuries of the Christian era or even earlier. The truth is exactly the opposite of what has been stated by Rai Bahadur Mitra. The Indians of the maritime tracts of India were found to have been good sailors from the earliest times and it is they who made the spread of Indian culture and conquest possible in the islands of the Indian archipelago and in contiguous countries.

The fact that the Muslims succeeded in conquering the country and holding it for five centuries (1200-1707 A.D.) and the fact that the English succeeded in smuggling themselves in taking advantage of the rotten political condition of the country led foreign writers of Indian history to seek for causes of her fall. Oblivious of all that India achieved in the past and of her potentiality for the future an eternal weak point was discovered in her geography and the guilt of causing her fall was conveniently attributed to that weak spot—her physical features.

The real weakness of India appears to me to lie elsewhere. The caste system relegated fighting for one's country to a particular body of men who became professional and hereditary fighters. This system as in other spheres of activity produced excellent fighters but limited their number to the castemen. This system did not help the rise of a national consciousness that fighting for or defending one's own country was every one's business and not of a particular class of people. The result was that in cases of foreign invasions when the fighting class perished or was defeated the whole country with its intellectuals and merchants and artisans was at the mercy of the aggressors and hardly any further resistance was offered or a national rising organized.

Nothing in this world lasts for ever. It is a fundamental fact of biology that all organic entities are subject to both growth and decay. The mightiest empires of the world collapsed and will collapse. All the same some people live longer than others. So with nations and national cultures. Many nations have perished—nations that held dominant positions in particular parts

of the earth's surface. Only one nation is still living on, both culturally and politically, viz., China. Signs are not wanting of her rejuvenation and promise of a fresh lease of life. The cultural life of India is not yet extinct. Contact with the western civilization has quickened fresh life into it. The mistakes of the past are

being taken note of and rectified. Fighting for India is no longer regarded as the duty of only a particular class of people. God willing, the day is not distant when India will show that she can be united and strong, active and energetic, in spite of her much-maligned physical features.

### Comment and Criticism

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccurate errors of fact clearly erroneous views misrepresentations etc in the original contributions and editorial published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors we are always hard pressed for space critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor The Modern Review.]

## An Explanation of Garba

In the January issue of the *Modern Review* there appeared an interesting account of garba of Gujarat. We are informed that it is danced and singing by women forming a circle that it forms a special feature of Navaratri, the nine days now ending with Durga Puja, that the songs sung are invocations to the goddess Durga, that the women, specially the mistress of the house performing the Puja carry each on her head a earthen pot called garbo which is painted white and pierced with holes and contains a lighted lamp within and that garba is an ancient tradition.

As Garba is a part of the Puja ceremony it must have a meaning and the poses of the dancers given in pen and ink sketch in the June 1, no. of the *Modern Review* must conform to it. The account suggests an explanation and indirectly throws some light on the festival of Durga Puja. Garba seems to be the same as रास (Ras) and the

recession for both is the same namely to celebrate the advent of the new year with rejoicing and the rule of

I do not know Gujarati and the rule of transformation of Sanskrit words into it. If these are no lar I would derive *garba* from Sanskrit. The *garba* is the womb, the child in the womb. The *garba* songs would thus be songs in expectation of the desired birth of a child and *garba* would represent the son child in the womb. Singing and dancing by women on the eve of the birth of a child in a family is common in many parts of our country. In many other parts as in Bengal there is no dancing, but there is music to publish the glad tidings. If this explanation be correct *garba* can be appropriate on the occasion of marriage and of the birth of a child and on no other domestic ceremony. It is also obvious men cannot have a part in *garba*.

That *rāsa* is a variety of *rāsa* is evident from the description. We know *rāsa* is a circular dance of women who sing in chorus round a central figure present or imaginary. The Purāṇas describe the *rāsa* of Gopis. I had stress on Kṛṣṇa's joining them. He was however at the time a young boy under 10 or 11 and did not introduce *rāsa* for the first time. Women used to spend the full moon night in the month of Kartika with dancing and singing in praise of autumn season and Kṛṣṇa happened to join a party. The night was the new year's eve and *rāsa* was the merry celebration of the important event. Every people observes the day with festivity of some sort and there was nothing unusual with Gopis to do the same. It is a well known fact that the full moon night in Kartika was for centuries taken as the end of the old year and beginning of the new and if I am not mistaken the new year in Gujarat still begins in Kartika, only a fortnight earlier the change having been due to a change in the old calendar. (The days and months in this note are all lunar) Page 20

Of course there is no *śrī hṛī* in *Durgā Pūjā*. But a careful study of the fifth part of the *Uṣṇiṣa Purāṇa* will show that the boy *hṛī-līṇa*, is an allegorical representation of the sun and that his exploits which were regarded as miracles by his people were really true of the sun. Of course *śrī hṛī hṛī* was not the sun but is the supreme soul. The sun was taken as a symbol. An explanation of the phenomena related in the *Purāṇa* would be too long for this note, but there is no doubt that the event which led to *rāsa* of *Kṛṣṇa* is at the bottom of *Durgā Pūjā* and *rāsa* has therefore been transferred to it.

The history of Durga Puja is rather complicated and some of the details have not yet been worked out. It was essentially a yearly sacrifice of the Vedic period but was simplified and re-modelled

by Tantrikas in later times. As the sacrifice marks the commencement of a new year, festivities usual on such an occasion have naturally come in its train. Durga Puja is a national festival in Bengal, the like of which is not seen elsewhere. In some parts of our country there is its place, Sarasvati Puja, and in other parts 'navratra' vow ending with the end of the puja on the ninth day. The tenth day is called 'vijaya' day, the victory day in Bengal. As the puja continues for ten days from the day of making resolve (Samkalpa) on the first day of Ashvina to the end on the tenth, it is known in Northern India as Dasa Ratra, shortened into Dusara and variously corrupted into Disera, Dussera, etc. The puja may be finished in one day on the ninth and people who cannot afford the expense do it on this day before an earthen pot of water to represent the Devi.

Who is She? She is the Prakriti of Sankhya and Mahamaya of Vedanta. She is Ambika the mother, the creator of the universe, Sakti the primal energy permeating and actuating every bit of nature. Kali, the Time-mother working changes in it perpetually. Bhadrakali the Time-mother of prosperity and so on.

But man makes God after his own image and the Devi has appeared to him in various aspects. One aspect is that She gives birth to a new sun every year. That some one is supposed to take birth will be evident from the requisites of the puja on the evening of the sixth day. It will not be possible to refer to them in this short note. At one time (in 1193 B.C.) the seventh day was the beginning of a remarkable cycle of years. The day was changed to the ninth and again to the tenth which has since 600 A.D. been the new

year's day corresponding to the first day of the solar month of Vaisakha.


The Devi is a virgin and virgins are honoured during the puja. I understand village maidens in the Central Provinces make a vow of austerity for fifteen days ending on the ninth. They dance and sing in the evening in praise of the Virgin Mother. This vow of fifteen days is older than that of nine days. In Bengal elderly ladies make the vow of three days and abstain from their usual diet. There is of course music, and singing is done by professional parties, the burden of their song being the glory of the Mother. In Gujarat there is no purdah and women have therefore been able to retain the privilege of dancing in joy and singing invocations to the Mother for a happy new year.

Let me conclude this note with 'gopha' which the writers of the article on garba have brought in. These have however no connection whatever. I have seen 'gopha' by young boys and girls all hailing from Andhra. It is not a dance but a mathematical exercise of jumping. A pole is fixed in the ground from the top of which are hung strings. The boys or the girls catch hold of the lower free ends of the strings and jump past one another in a pre-arranged order with the result that the strings are woven into a round braid. They sing as they jump and beat time by means of short wooden rods. The word 'gopha' is evidently a corruption of Sanskrit 'gumpha' stringing together. The pole is merely a support for the strings and has no resemblance with the May-pole of Europe. The Indian May pole is Indra-dhvaja the flag staff raised in honour of Indra, the god of rain.

J C RAY



# REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS



[Books in the following languages will be noticed Assamese Bengali English French German Gujarati Hindi Italian Kanarese Malayalam Marathi Nepali Oriya Portuguese Punjabi Sindhi Spanish Tamil Telugu and Urdu Newspapers periodicals school and college text books and their annotations pamphlets and leaflets reprints of magazine articles addresses etc will not be noticed The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed Books should be sent to our office addressed to the Assamese Reviewer the Hindi Reviewer the Bengali Reviewer etc. according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book reviews and notices will be published.—Editor M R.]

## ENGLISH

**LABOR POLICIES OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS** By A G Taylor Ph D Associate Professor of Economics College of William and Mary University of Illinois 1927 94 x 6 1p 184

Labour organizations command attention but employers' associations receive scanty notice. Dr Taylor is to be congratulated upon his success in tracing the origin and describing the methods of National Association of Manufacturers of the U S A Started in 1830 it did not develop any hostility towards organized labour till 1900. Since then there has been a rapid development. The member ship in September 1926 was 309 distributed over 37 States representing 27 industries. The present policies are neither consistent nor logical. They are given below for what they are worth.

(1) The abstract right of labour to organize but without resorting to either militant action or collective bargaining for enforcing that right. (2) "the maintenance of the open shop" this supposed neutrality in the matter of union membership leading to anti union activities in practice. (3) the protection of property rights, and the interpretation of the right of contract as a property right, resulting in encroachment on the rights of labour. (4) opposition to the restriction of output. (5) liberality in admitting immigrants but after due selection. (6) opposition to boycotts unfair lists black lists picketing strikes and lock-outs. (7) condemnation of class legislation lending in practice support to the agitation even against beneficial measures like the restriction of child labour. (8) the demand that organized labour be legally responsible for its acts thus curtailing all organized activity on the part of labour.

The methods are fivefold—

(1) Propaganda through the school the church and the press. (2) support and opposition to political candidates and parties. (3) legislative

activities. (4) humanitarianism as exemplified in workmen's insurance vocational education etc. (5) advocacy of certain systems of employee representation.

The author's estimate of the achievements of the Association is guarded and unbiased. The monograph will be found useful to all who are interested in the problems of industrial conflicts.

**FIELDS AND FARMERS IN OUDH** Edited by Radhakamal Mukerjee M A Ph D Professor of Economics and Sociology University of Lucknow (University of Lucknow Studies in Economics and Sociology) Messrs Longmans Green & Co Ltd. 1927 74 x 5 1/2 Pp XII + 302

The Lucknow University is to be congratulated upon the issue of the present volume of 'Studies' divided into three parts comprising surveys in the districts of Hardoi Lucknow and Unao respectively undertaken by three post graduate students of the University and offered as their theses for the M A degree. The first part is perhaps the most informing of all dealing with both social and economic aspects of the life of an Oudh village. But, as is to be naturally expected the work is not sufficiently critical. To give only one instance in the table on p. 67 the net profits of cultivation of six families are Rs. 9.55 Rs. 315 Rs. 288 Rs. 63 Rs. 199 and Re. 1-8 have been averaged as Rs. 398 1/4. Obviously there can be no average of a series of six such as the above. The table appearing on p. 4 is repeated on p. 9.

The interest of the second part is more agricultural and social than economic. Thus cattle diseases and their treatment cultivators' maxims panchayats and hypergamy among Brahmans have been described by the author whereas sufficient statistics have not been collected for describing such important aspects of village life as indebtedness, where the reader has to rest content merely with the author's *ipse dixit* or his narration of stray cases of loans carrying a high rate of interest.

or of money lenders acquiring property from their deltors.

The third part seeks to study agricultural labour of the entire district of Unao with the help of valuable statistics. Incidentally it appears that social ceremonies are not the causes of indebtedness to the extent generally supposed. Thus out of a total loan of Rs. 50,196 8 as advanced by the primary co-operative societies in the district of Unao during 1922-23 only Rs. 820 was incurred for marriages.

Dr Mukerjee contributes a learned introduction in which he pleads for a practical bias to economic teaching on the one hand and for a widening of the scope of economics on the other. The first will command universal acceptance. The founders of the science of economics like Adam Smith and Ricardo had a practical insight. As Cannan has rightly observed, 'Among all the delusions which prevail in the history of English Political Economy there is none greater than the belief that the economics of the Ricardian school and period were of an wholly abstract and unpractical character.' But the reviewer is unable to support the latter plea of Dr Mukerjee. It is true as he says that there is no field of human life and relations which is not touched by economics. But science can advance only by specialization. While there is need for the co-ordination of the results arrived at by different sciences such as zoology, agriculture and statistics for a systematic plan for village uplift as suggested by Prof. Mukerjee it should not be overlooked that our science can be most helpful by confining itself within its own proper limits. As Lionel Robbins has pointed out, 'If there is one field in which the man in the street is willing today to accept with deference the opinion of trained economists it is in matters of monetary theory. It is no accident I suggest that it is in just this field that economics is at once most precise, most technical and most unintelligible to the layman.'

THE NORTH WEST FUR TRADE (1763-1800). By W. F. Stevens. (B. I. M. Ph. D. 1926) University of Illinois 914 x 6" Pp. 204

Picture que accounts of the activities of American fur traders are not wanting. But it was left to Dr Stevens to give a fully documented and detailed account of the fur trade from the time of the fall of the French power in North America to the end of the century as carried on in the region of the Great Lakes and the Upper Mississippi Valley. Although the interest is local the careful reader will find in it the familiar story of relentless competition and for freedom from government interference or regulation and pressure for special privilege through politics and diplomacy. The author does not seem to be aware that some of the servants of the English East India Company took part in the fur trade. It appears from the manuscript records of the Company in the Imperial Record Office (Calcutta) that in 1766 Messrs. William Brown, Charles Cockerell, Jos. Barnard and Richard C. Smith representing a number of subscribers joined to and obtained from the Company the loan of naval stores and the services of a doctor for a voyage to North America. The ship in question was captured by Spaniards and the project failed. There might have been other

voyages with better success but the reviewer has not been able to make a careful and systematic search among the Records for tracing the participation of John Company's servants in the trade.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION. By Debendranath Banerjee M. A. Acting Head of the Department of Economics and Politics University of Dacca. Messrs. Longmans Green and Co. Ltd. 2nd Edition. 1930 8vo Pp. XX+644

The first edition of Mr Banerjee's 'Indian Constitution' is already well known as an authoritative text book on the subject. In the present considerably revised and enlarged edition the book has been brought up to date and much improved. The chief merits are careful documentation and meticulous accuracy. The reviewer has been unable to detect any erroneous statement either of law or of procedure. The author's opinions are unbiased and he is always able to make out a good case in support of his views. On the eve of impending changes in India's constitution the book will be found most useful by a wide class of readers.

H. SIKHA

THE POST CAITANYA SAHAJYA CULT OF BENGAL. By Manindra Mohan Bose M. A. Published by the University of Calcutta 1930 pp. XI+390

It is a matter of pleasure to find that Mr. Manindra Mohan Bose has published a second treatise on Sahajya, one of the much talked of but little known esoteric creeds of Bengal. A few years ago Mr. Bose published a monograph on the subject in the pages of the Calcutta University Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XVI. Though the book under review covers the identical grounds yet it contains much discussion on some of the topics.

As a pioneer contribution the subject of the book is excellent but we doubt very much whether it can be taken as a true exposition of the *real* Sahajya cult. We are afraid that the author has not been quite successful in separating the essentials of Sahajya from its variegated theories and practices which are so inextricably mixed up in the so-called Sahajya cult of modern times. Nor has he tried to show what might have been its earlier phases. The author also should not have illustrated his theses with such profuse quotations from works which certainly do not belong to the Sahajyas but to the Caitanya caritamrita, the Ujjvala-lankā (which is really a metrical rendering in Bengali of the Ujjvala-nishāma) the karmya of Govindadāsa, and the poems of Nāṭamādaśa etc. This has considerably dimmed the scientific value of the book.

The author finds the germ of Sahajya in the Vedas and Upanishads and he traces its existence down to the pre-vernacular literature. In this arduous search the word *sahajya* (and sometimes its synonyms etc.) has been. Mr. Bose only clue. The fact is that whenever and wherever Mr. Bose comes across the word *sahajya* (or any of its synonyms even) he is tempted to connect it with the cult in question. This weakness of the author has not infrequently led him to make absurd statements and to arrive at preposterous conclusions (pp. 141-145-150).



Mr Bose supposes that the mod in Sahajya cult originated from Caitanya Vaisnavism. But do not the titles and contents of the two earliest works of this cult—the *Agamasara* and the *Ananda bhairava*—point out unequivocally that its origin must be sought in Tantricism?

The author has appended a fairly long list of Sahajya MSS and printed works. This is no doubt a very useful feature of the book. But it appears that Mr Bose when he made the list, did not care to consult them all otherwise he could not have included in it a large number of genuine Vaisnava works (e.g. *Rasakalimba* of Kavirajabha, *Pasandalan* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Govindaratnamāyari of Ghnaśyamādaśa, a grandson of the poet Govindāśa Kaviraja Rāmanujācārya of Putambara dāsa Śrīnārāyaṇa of Rāmacandraśa, the elder brother of Govindāśa Kaviraja, etc.).

Though the author seems to have been very careful in transliteration yet a few mistakes have managed to creep in. There are also not a few misprints and wrong references.

In spite of these shortcomings the book bears ample evidence of the author's carefulness and capacity. The book is sure to be welcomed by the reading public, and it will also be helpful to those who may like to have some acquaintance with the outlines of the philosophy of Bengal Vaisnavism.

SECTAR SEN

THE QUEST FOR CERTAINTY. *A Study of the Division of Knowledge and Action by John Dewey, being the Gifford Lectures 1929* Pp. 312 George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 10s. 6d net.

A voluntarist like the present reviewer has particular reasons to be grateful to Prof. Dewey for an authoritative and forceful presentation of Instrumentalism with which his name is so intimately associated; and he makes no apology for this extended review of his present volume. It was quite in the fitness of things that the most distinguished American thinker after James and Royce should have the distinction of being invited to deliver the Gifford Lectures after them. Prof. Dewey is a man of broad culture and he has in the present work kept up his reputation for information as a logician, metaphysician and social philosopher who can see the bearings of scientific developments on man's thought and action. After preparing the grounds of his system in his *Essays in Experimental Logic* (incorporating his still earlier contributions to the corporate work on *Studies in Logical Theory*), *Reconstruction in Philosophy*, and *Influence of Darwin and other Essays* he made his first serious contribution to Philosophy in the *Laul Carus Foundation Lectures on Experience and Nature* keeping up his old psychological and ethical interests (for he has also written a book on Psychology and another on Ethics as a conjoint work) by writing *Human Nature and Conduct* and *The Public and its Problems* and *Character and Events*.

The main thesis of his present work is best expressed in his own words. Advocating a Copernican revolution in our attitude towards the world he draws a distinction between the old and the new methods of philosophy in the following words: "The old centre was mind, knowing by means of an equipment of powers complete within itself

and merely exercised upon an antecedent external material equally complete in itself. The new centre is indefinite interactions taking place within a course of nature which is not fixed or complete but which is capable of direction to new and different results through the mediation of intentional operations. Neither soul nor world is the centre. There is a moving whole of interacting parts a centre emerges wherever there is effort to change them in a particular direction. The idea that certainty is to be found in a cognition of an immutable substance whether that substance be the God of religion or the matter of science or the Essence of philosophy proceeds out of unfulfilled expectation of religion or the matter of science or the Essence of philosophy proceeds out of unfulfilled expectation and defeated purpose catastrophe of accident and a despair to create a better world by one's own effort. Dewey invites us to abandon the quest of absolute certainty by cognitive means in favour of search for security by practical means to give up the yearning of antecedently existing objects in favour of relations which govern the control of ends by means.

Once it is admitted that knowledge is obtained through deliberate institution of a definite and specified course of change the distinction between theory and practice melts and science higher and lower values disappears. Ideas are validated by their consequences and not by their identification with any chanceless extra mental reality. In the place of sensationistic empiricism and rationalism in the nineteenth century substituted experimental empiricism according to which the actual experience of men is one of doing acts performing operations cutting marking off dividing up extending piecing together joining assembling and mixing hoarding and dealing out in general selecting and adjusting things as a means for achieving consequences. Even the ideas of mathematics and logic have concrete reference their abstractness or formal character only enabling us to escape submergence in existence (which manifests itself to us in the three ascending forms of sense-data, objects of everyday experience and objects of physical science) and using symbols with far reaching but non specific implications of action. All knowledge is really a mode of experiencing things which facilitates control of objects for purposes of non-cognitive experiences which render the world one of delight admiration and esteem i.e., of aesthetic, religious and moral significance.

Dewey differs however from extreme voluntarists in two important points. Although he holds that knowledge divorced from action is meaningless, he still maintains that the essence of pragmatic instrumentalism is to conceive of both knowledge and practice as making goods secure in experienced existence. If knowledge means not an acceptance of fixed properties of antecedent Being (for even man-made objects like works of art are also real and conversely the sense-qualities are not given but taken or selected from a total original subject matter which gives the impetus to knowing) but only a respect for the canons of fairness impartiality internal consistency and external evidence then it is of supreme importance in all experimental enquiry where undirected changes are converted into changes directed towards an intended conclusion and where fixed order and connection, discovered by an external reason are discarded in the interests of unique and individual existence novelty genuine change and growth (as Bergson had pointed out before Dewey) characterized by

the use of human intelligence which is nature itself realizing its own potentialities in behalf of a fuller and richer issue of events. Every type of qualitative experience practical aesthetic and moral is however as real as reflective knowledge for our emotional volitional and intellectual responses are all distinctive modes of response to the uncertain.

Secondly although he discards the rationalistic view of eternal and immutable good he does not admit either that mere desire or liking or enjoyment can make an object valuable. Without the intervention of thought enjoyments are not values but problematic goods becoming values when they re-issue in a changed form from intelligent behaviour. Values may be connected inherently with liking and yet not with every liking but only with those that judgment has approved after examination of the relation upon which the object liked depends. The reviewer is unable to accept this position of Dewey in its totality especially when he tells us that it is possible to construct enjoyable objects directed by knowledge of consequences for this brings back in a way an objective relation between objects and their mental effects which is difficult to distinguish from the rationalistic faith in antecedent existence. Values are rather created by needs physiological instinctual and conscious and this explains the extremely relative character of all values for unless needs can be standardized values cannot be permanently fixed. A possibility of satisfaction like a possibility of sensation is an abstraction of the human mind.

As is usual with all pragmatic writers Prof Dewey is more successful with the hammer than with the trowel and his criticisms are of greater value than his constructive philosophy. It is doubtful whether Piaget's description of Pragmatism as the 'corridor' of philosophy will ever be disproved as James and Dewey are both more solicitous about the true method than about the true ontology. Still there are more pointed hints in a system in Dewey's present work than in James's writings. An anxiety to preserve a realistic attitude and to do justice to intellectualism characterizes the present work and it never abandons the clarity which common sense under stands and appreciates.

It cannot be said however that the work does enough justice to the treatment of religion which is the main purpose of the Gifford Lectures. Dewey cannot be entirely blamed for this freedom for before him Driesch and Thomson had similarly dealt more with their own special subjects than with religion and established a tradition of secularism of which Dewey has only taken advantage. Dewey reiterates the view that particular moral and religious ideas and creeds need to be tested and revised by the best knowledge at command but the reader searches in vain for a definite statement of his views on the nature of God and His relation to the world and man. That nature is understandable and pliable by human intelligence shows that there is affinity of some sort between the two and that nature leaves room for human effort and initiative development and improvement. According to him an idealism of action that is devoted to creation of a future instead

of staking itself upon propositions about the past is invincible. He admits however that it is not possible to set forth with any accuracy or completeness just what form religion would take if it were wedded to an idealism of this sort.

There is a running commentary on important rationalistic and empirical writers from the instrumentalistic standpoint which is well worth perusal. The book is in every way worthy of the great writer whose name it bears and should provoke critical thought. Two or three misprints were noticed the one likely to arrest comprehension occurring in l 11 on p 225.

H D BHATTACHARYA

Malabar and its Folk By T. K. Gopal  
Panikkar Third Edition Published by G. I.  
Natesan & Co Madras Price Rs 2

In this small volume Mr Panikkar has tried to give a general idea of the social and religious life of Malabar specially of the southern part. The facts given by him are not new, nor can his treatment be said to be exhaustive. Nevertheless as the three editions of the book amply indicate he has succeeded in a considerable manner in giving a faithful picture of the salient features of life in Malabar. The institution of Marumakkattam which forms the basis of the Malayalee Society has been clearly explained and to all who cannot have access to the works of Hancock and others no more reliable book can be recommended.

History of Pre-Historic India Vol. I  
By P. Rameswari Aiyangar, M.A.  
Professor of Indian History Presidency College  
Madras Price Rs 5 1929

The present book forms the first of a series of nine volumes of Prof Rameswari's ambitious work on Indian History before the Muhammadan conquest in which he has confined himself to the archaeological and anthropological material before the beginning of Aryan civilization.

The author has read a great deal and borrowed liberally from Mr Panchanan Mitra's *Pre-historic India*. He has a nice lucid style and has been able to present his subject in an attractive manner. Nevertheless he cannot be said to have used his materials critically and discriminated always between the scientific and the purely traditional and amateur writings. For instance the investigations of Dr Pilgrim receive the same warm approval as the writings of Mr P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar who is responsible for the theory that man must have originated immediately south of Dandakaranya and among the items of his scientific information he possesses the unique one that all the four types of anthropoid apes have been found in Southern India.

The author cannot either be said to be very accurate in his quotations. He does me the honour of borrowing extensively from my paper published in the *Modern Review* (November 1926). But when for instance he writes—Mr B. Guha points out that the statuette of the bearded man exhumed at Mohenjo-daro portray a distinctive brachycephalic type while the Dravidians like the Aryans have been distinctly dolicocephalic.

\* Vide the symposium on Values in the Proceedings of the Third Indian Philosophical Congress Calcutta University

(p 191) I confess I find myself completely at a loss. It is true that some of the statuettes found at Mohenjo-daro do show a brachycephalic type of head and as far as the first portion is concerned it agrees with my view, though the language is not my own to justify the quotation marks but I am sure I cannot be responsible for the latter portion. To a student of racial somatology the use of such expressions as 'Dravidian' and 'Aryan' to denote racial types are repugnant in spite of the unwarranted use made by philologists. Within each of the two linguistic divisions several distinct physical groups are included and our existing knowledge is not sufficient to warrant us to equate any with either Aryan or more particularly 'Dravidian'. All these facts have been fully discussed in my Presidential Address before the Anthropological section of the Indian Science Congress held in Calcutta in 1925 and published in the *Modern Review* of August of that year.

B S GUHA

*THE DRIFT OF CIVILISATION* By the Contributors to the Fiftieth Anniversary number of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*. Messrs George Allen and Unwin Ltd Museum Street London pages 254 price 7s 6d net 1930

The editor of the *St. Louis Dispatch* Joseph Pulitzer, a journalist of international reputation was well advised in his scheme of securing the views of men of different nationalities on the all-absorbing topic of the drift of our civilization. Indeed the question in the minds of every thoughtful man to-day is: Whither bound? Where is our present civilization leading us to? It is easy enough to challenge the existing standards in morality literature and art. It is harder to substitute in their place any binding code. The modern mind is in search of such binding codes. The appeal to the best intellect of the world was precisely meant to satisfy this demand. Their contributions in book form will be welcomed not only by Americans but by a wider circle of readers.

The contributions are of unequal value. One of the most challenging is the one by Dean Inge. His predictions of the future of religion should be weighed by all specially so by the Indian religious mind. Maxin Gorky in his study of Man is extremely suggestive.

The essays will repay reading. But we are afraid the price will frighten not a few. For a book of this kind, the price should be such as to be within the powers of the average pocket.

P G B

*NEW ENGLAND ESSAYS* By Edward H Packard published by the New England Publishing Co P O Box 51 Harvard Station Cambridge Mass U S A pp 191 with 116 illustrations Price 5 dollars

These essays should be labelled 'For Americans only' and for a certain type of American at that. The binding of the book is grotesque reminding one that 'from the sublime to the ridiculous is but a step' and the same might be said of many of the illustrations. As for the subject matter of the book, a large number of subjects are touched upon with the dogmatism of a supposed omniscience. It is

difficult to imagine the book finding any sale in India, since beside the subject matter, phraseology, and thought being "a hundred per cent American," the price is ridiculously exorbitant. The subjects which seem to interest the writer are vivisection, modern women films and American religion all these he condemns with the vehemence of a crank. Interspersed are short accounts of prominent citizens whom America ought to admire. Significantly enough they are rich and believe in the 'good old days' when the young people and the poor people respected the successful man. The following quotations are typical of the rest of the book and though one may for a time be amused by the self-sufficiency of the writer after a while it grows tiresome. On page 83 one is told: 'If we (the American people) are out of step with the rest of the world it is because the progressive square deal democratic prosperous American people and the sooner these various European and Asiatic hot bloods slanderers and tricksters adopt the United States way of co-ordination co-operation and compatibility that much sooner will they be in step with advancing civilization and these United States.' But yet on page 109 one is informed that morally stagnated corrupted and beaten as American civilization is to-day there may yet arise evangelists, essayists, reformers and radical spokesmen for the truth, the truth in this case being American fundamentalism. Would it be too unkind to say that it is possible that this book will have a big sale in certain parts of America.

C A

*ON THE FIRST FLOOR (terse)* by B R—Arthur H Stockwell Ltd London

These poems seem to us but commonplace effusion without any noticeable pathos that can appeal to our heart.

And this heart is not my own  
Within my breast  
All this nearest  
I must endure alone  
With pain  
Until you come again  
My own

Nor can we at all panegyricize the style. The concave of the word upwell to rhyme with 'dwell' is unfortunate even as a poetical licence. 'To well up' is the expression. We can only break it up as 'up it well'. The Oxford Dictionary does not show such a possibility as 'upwell'—a single word. To gladly answer passions call is bad grammar because the infinitive to answer is one sense and practically one word like answering and gladly must not split it up. 'Could not we together form a star' (p 18) is hardly a defensible metrical inversion and we must write either 'could we not' or the compound form 'couldn't we'. 'As if that is the heaven' (p 73) and as if a veil is lifted (p 44) are bad style. The ellipses are — (it seems) as (it would have seemed) if a veil was lifted. The language therefore requires was and not is which is a common blunder of those who write without caring to know that certain laws govern the language and underlie it.

CRITIC

CHRISTIANITY AND INDIAN RELIGION OF GRACE  
*By Rudolf Otto with a preface by Dr V Macneil*  
 Published by the Christian Literature Society for  
 India 1929 pp 59 Price 8 annas

It is a good sign of the times that even Christian scholars condescend to compare other religions with Christianity instead of as formerly consigning the former to the dust bin as untrue. And when resemblances with Christianity are undeniable but stand only at our very doors they are pleased to think the Evil one himself must have invaded for the purpose of bringing scorn on the true faith (p 8) Of course there is no doubt about the result of the comparison. The author seems to be quite unaware of an early comparison made by Dr Bryendranath Seal and the result delivered to the Orientalists Congress at Rome in 1899 in which the filiation of Christianity with Vaishnavism was clearly shown. The object was not to show the superiority of the one over the other as is the case with Prof Otto. In the book under review in answer to the question "Has Christianity any rivals?" the reply is given in the negative. I give the last sentence of the book— "The fundamental difference that exists between Christianity and Bhakti religion [of course of India] cannot, either theologically or historically be expressed more strikingly than in the words of the old hymn

Christ has come to mulo atonement for us  
 Indu knows of a saviour but not of an atoner  
 From Indu's *pranic* myths it will not be difficult to match the Christian myth of atonement that is God offering himself to suffer for man. Yet *puranas* are the third best scriptural authority of the Hindus and the gospel as Rammohan Roy retorted to the missionaries are the *Veda* of the Christians. Historically the theory of atonement is only a refined edition of the pre-Christian religions of Attis, Adonis, Osiris, Mithra and Dionysos. The Nissenian hymn of the pre-Christian Gnostic sect puts to ridicule any Christian claim of originality in this respect. It is a myth in this place of another.

The author has committed a fatal blunder in taking the *Bhagavat Gita* as the most holy in the whole of India, because the *Gita* is *smriti*, *prasthanam* only second best in authority the *sruti* being the first. His most fundamental mistake lies in his considering this book to be "full of the most glowing Bhakti" (p 19). But the author has not thus falsely glorified the *Gita* without a definite purpose. By comparing the *Gita* as *Bhakti Sutra* with the New Testament the superiority of Christianity has been established. We of course do not agree with the author in his estimate in this respect even. But his worst mistake is found in his valuation of the *Gita* as the embodiment of the highest thought development of the Indian Bhakti movement. As a specifically Bhakti *Sutra*, *Bhagavat Gita* gives only the start. Without it considering *Bhagavat Samhita*, *Sutra*, *Narayana-charitra*, *Narayana sutra* and *Chaitanya Chaitanya* and other books of Bhakti Vaishnav school to pronounce on the Indian Bhakti faith seems to us to be irrational quackery. It is for this egregious blunder that the author has been encouraged to say "The idea of kingdom of God without which Christianity ceases to be Christianity marks the first essential distinction between Christianity and Indian salvation religion" (p 53).

The author forgets that the Vaishnavic idea of earthly Brindaban is an idea of the kingdom of God on Earth. And it is for this reason Dr Seal has categorically put it thus. Vaishnavism must possess a deep practical significance as it is fitted to contribute very valuable elements to the European Renaissance of the coming century (i.e. 20th) which is being ushered in by the dawning vision of Universal Humanity. The Christian's love of God is summed up in sonship occasionally varied by the attitude of a servant or a friend. Compared with this the range and depth of the Vaishnava sentiment must be confessed to be a new revelation of the divine possibilities of human love. The Vaishnava *Sahitya* and *Madhurya* and the species of Bhakti taught by Narada must come as a new gospel of love to every devout Christian soul and the Vaishnavic conception of Life everlasting in this earthly life, and of God manifesting himself in the various relations of man and man will be acceptable to him.

But the Christian idea of the kingdom of God is a commodity that is sold at variable prices at various markets. Of that idea and of many other half truths, falsehoods and foibles given out in the name of Christianity in this book we have spoken much in *The Search of Jesus Christ*. So we do not take them up here for fear of repetition.

DHIRENDRANATH CHOWDHURI

MYSTICISM IN BHAGAVAT GITA *By Mohanrao Nath Sircar M.A. Ph.D. Professor of Philosophy Sanskrit College Calcutta Longmans Green & Co Ltd. Crown 8vo pp 219*

In this book the author has drawn attention to the mystic element in the *Bhagavat Gita*. Mysticism is described as an approach to truth and reality arising not from an intellectual demand of consistent thinking but from life and spirit. An excellent synopsis of the concept of mysticism in literature has been given in the preface. The author believes that if one has no animating touch of inspiration and quickening of mystic apprehension one has no chance of realizing the full meaning of the *Gita*. The *Gita* is thus more a philosophy of life than an intellectual system bound up in categories. He draws pointed attention to the interesting fact that when intellectual appeal fails to remove Arjun's doubts the Master vouchsafes unto the disciple the mystic illumination and it is only then that Arjun's hesitation disappears. In spite of the wide popularity the *Gita* enjoys in India it must be confessed that it has failed to stir up the same amount of enthusiasm amongst Western scholars. This is no doubt partly due to the fact that the current translations of the *Gita* are not always up to the mark, a more important reason seems to be that the *Gita* discourses problems in a way which is absolutely unfamiliar to the Western thinker. It requires a good deal of insight into the Hindu ways of thinking before one can appreciate the sublime teachings of the *Gita*. The author has done a great service to form who will be readily understanding by the Western reader. The book although not free from grammatical inaccuracies is generally written in an interesting and easy style. There are however,

certain passages which do not seem to be very clear. The chapter on Cosmology and Psychology of the Gita, for instance, is difficult to understand. One does not clearly follow the line of argument in the chapter on the control of Prana or the vital energy. The author has a bit on modern Sex Psychology which, according to him, suffers from the limitation of thinking that suppressed sex energy is the immediate cause of delinquency. Sahasrabhus can refrain the crude impulse but this refinement cannot change the character of sex consciousness. Later on, he contradicts himself by saying that "transformation becomes possible because of the grafting of fine forces upon gross being". The author's statement that I go may trace minor contradictions in the Gita is sure to be opposed by many. In discussing the chapter on Mystic Ideal it has been asserted that the poet has a red-hot feeling of expansion when the mystic experiences dawn on him. The mystic vision which Arjun feels when he has the mystic vision is the according to the author, to the sudden change from realistic conception to a dazzling spiritual vision. The Upanishads, however, provide a different explanation for this phenomenon. The cosmic vision leads to the development of a overwhelming glow when there is an imperfect realization of the Godhead. The book is a creditable production and should be read by all interested in the philosophy of the Gita.

to say that it contains a good deal of irrelevant matter

BRJ MOHAN VARMA

# MARATHI

## हिन्दुध्यानमोक्षमार्ग इतिहास—

(AN HISTORICAL HISTORY OF INDIA) By Mr R. V. Otterkar M. A. &c Professor Nank College Published by अनाथ विद्यापीठ (Orphan's Boarding House) Poona price Rs 2

This book is especially meant for native students and is such the attempt seems to have been somewhat successful. Twenty-two years ago Indian students had to depend upon the textbooks of Indian history written by European scholars only but now this practice has come to an end as the school master is abroad and hence the market is flooded with textbooks. The book under review is a proof of this statement. The author begins with the Vedic period and he has drawn an outline of Indian history of fifteen thousand years in five hundred pages. For the sake of convenience he has divided this vast period into four parts, e.g. (1) ancient, (2) old, (3) medieval and (4) modern. The author has dealt with each period skillfully but it is evident that the book has been written rather negligently and printed shabbily as it contains a number of slips. For instance the year of Buddha's birth is given as 254 B.C. though the authorship of Buddhism is said to have been ascribed to Panini (page 72) and Anhil Wala Pattan is mentioned as a metropolis of Kalyanwad (page 60). The account of Shivaji's period is mistaken. It is obvious that Ramdas though the patron saint of Maharashtra, had no direct hand in seventeenth century politics but the author has adopted Mr Rajwade's premature views on this point. I should like to request the author to annex an errata and addenda to the book before it goes to the market.

मित्र संस्थानका सातवाड भाषि रत्नोक्त सरावध  
(REVISED ASSESSMENT OF MINDAL STAFF AND SATYAGRAH OF THE SUBJECT) By सहाय (Plain speaker), price Pe 1 with Mr O. R. Bhyankar's foreword

The book is dedicated to Sardar Vallabhbhai Bhai. By this assessment burden on the soil was increased from 60 to 70 per cent. The people complained and wrote upon the ruler who in the beginning promised to hold the inquiry but within ten days' time went back on his promise. After this some 4000 agriculturists assembled outside the palace. For four days they sat day and night in heat and cold in the open space. The ruler was obdurate and did not give them any hearing. On the fifth day he issued notices to the leaders and asked the assembled people to disperse. This is the substance of this book of 250 pages. Naturally it is of local interest. But it appears that in conducting the campaign of resistance its promoters steadily kept in view two essential principles viz goodwill and non violence. Any sane person would advise the State not to

# HINDI

MAY KA-HAMATA (A NOVEL) Translated by Chhabranath Pandey—Published by Sahitya Akademi, Karyalaya of Benares Paper bound 11 6+2+ 86 Price Rs 2/6

This is a Hindi translation of MOTHER a novel by the renowned Russian novelist Maxim Gorki. The story is one of the finest predictions of Gorki and depicts the current of thoughts running through the minds of Russian laborers and peasants which ultimately led to the upheaval of the Russian Revolution. On the whole the translation is good and entertaining though not free from grammatical defects.

आप देव By Easish Dhar M. A. Published by Shishu Karyalaya Allahabad Price Rs 9

Smriti Sita Devi has written a book 'Aub-Dek' in Bengali for the benefit of children. The present Hindi volume is the Hindi translation of the same.

हिन्दी भाषा By Easish Dhar M. A. Published by Shishu Karyalaya Allahabad Price Rs 6

It is another book meant for the little ones. It is the Hindi translation of the original Bengali book of the same name written by Smriti Shanti Devi.

RAJA GOKULDAAS-HAJIVY CHARI By J. G. Mukherjee M. A. I.L.B. with a Foreword from Sir M. J. Joshi Price Rs 5

Raja Gokuldas the grandfather of the Hon Seth Govind Das was a merchant prince of Jalalpur. He had done much good to his city and province by his philanthropic activities. The present volume is his biography of the late Raja. It also contains the English version of the Hindi life. The book is well bound and profusely illustrated. It is a creditable production and should be read by all interested in the history of the Gita.

fight out this particular case to the bitter end and gild the pill immediately

V S WAKASKAR

## GUJARATI

VARTAO NAN PUSTAKA NO PAPICHAYA Part I  
Published by Shri Pustakalaya Shriyal Sahakar  
Mandal Ltd Baroda Paper Cover pp 123 Price  
Re 0-8 0 1930

There are about two thousand or even more novels published in Gujarati on social historical detective religious and humorous subjects. As a branch of this kind of literature short stories also are abounding. The publishers inaugurated a scheme under which they requested a number of readers to send them their opinions on a large number of the books submitted to them for perusal as to their fitness for being read by the general public. As a rule two independent opinions were invited on one book while for books of well known authors no opinions were invited. In this way the publishers have been able to recommend 32 books in this part they hope to bring out another part shortly. As a guide to the reading public the importance of such work cannot be overrated and we welcome this useful departure on the part of the publishers.

SINDHRO B J Jhaver Chand Meghani Printed  
at the Saurashtra Printing Press Ranpur Paper  
Cover 1p 30 Price 0-8 0 1930

Jhaver Chand Meghani is in jail as a Satyagrahi. While being sentenced he asked permission to sing a song of prayer and it was given and he selected one out of the collection published in this book and sang it in his loud and sonorous voice which produced good effect all round. There are about fifteen songs in this collection and they give a very good picture of the present stirring times they are all couched in Mr Meghani's virile language.

K M I

## BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

- WHAT IS ART? By Leo Tolstoy  
THE AWAKENING OF ASIA By Ruchi Ram Sahni  
MAHATMA GANDHI (G A Natesan and Co. Madras)  
PAPER BOATS By K S Venkataramani  
THE MAGIC OF THE STARS By Maurice Velerink  
POEMS By N Nekrassov  
CHILDHOOD BOYHOOD AND YOUTH By Leo Tolstoy  
ENGLISH VERSE Vol III—Oxford University Press  
BENGAL IRRIGATION By Nalini Ranjan Sarkar  
COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE MOGULS By D Pant  
THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF WOMAN'S EDUCATION By G M Chitambar  
MAHARAJAHATMAN  
THE SEX FACTOR IN MARRIAGE By Helen Wright  
A MODERN HINDU VIEW OF LIFE By Chhini Mukerji  
POINTS OF VIEW (Geo Allen and Unwin Ld.)  
ETHICAL PRINCIPLES IN THEORY AND PRACTICE By Hans Driesch  
LIFE AND LABOUR IN A SOUTH GUJARATI VILLAGE (Longmans Green & Co Ld.)  
PAUL HERALD AND WIVES By A C Clayton  
GANDHI'S SATYAGRAH OR NON VIOLENT RESISTANCE By Richard B Gregg  
A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF INDIA'S PAST AS THE FOUNDATION FOR INDIA'S FUTURE, By Dr Annie Besant  
CALENDAR OF PERSIAN CORRESPONDENCE Vol 1 (176-80)  
LOGA PHILOSOPHY By S N Das Gupta M A Phil D  
INTERMEDIATE TEXT BOOK OF ENGLISH LITERATURE By A J Wyatt & A S Collins  
ORIENTAL TIPS IN ENGINEERING By V O Singarengar  
PRINCIPLES OF ADMIN By R S Ramaswamy Iyer  
PRESS & TRUTH COMBINATION CIPHER CODE By V Peres

## Youth's Own School

By MARTHA GRUFNING

WICKERSDORF lies at the very top of the world or so it seems to a new comer, at the highest point of the Thuringian forest in Germany. To reach it Robert and his mother left Saalfeld in the chill October dawn and rode with the post automobile six kilometres up into the hills. After that there were still six kilometres to walk. At first they followed a windy ridge. The sun rose out of seas of mist revealing on every side dark, pine-clad slopes and tiny, scattered farm hamlets. Then their path led them through a still dense, pine-scented pine forest out of a German fairy tale

from which they finally emerged into the little foresters village of Wickersdorf with the school buildings and pond gleaming in the distance and the high pine-bordered athletic field sweeping to the horizon. The loveliest place in the world for a school was what Robert's mother thought about it and would still think if she hadn't since seen others as heart-breakingly lovely. Odenwald backed up against the wood of the same name at the head of the enchanted Hambach valley, and Haubinda and Ilseburg in the Harz mountains and Clarisegg on Lake Constance—and all of them.

Wherever they went Robert and his

mother generally walked. This was almost a necessity in Germany at that time especially if one was visiting these schools, this fact reveals the intention of their founders. They are, as the name *Landerziehungsheim* implies, land schools and land homes in a sense that few of our schools are, even when situated in the country, and they represent among other things not only a 'back-to-nature' movement in education, but also what might be called a 'back-to-youth' movement.

There is a certain kinship between European schools of this type, wherever they may be found. It is found in such schools as Abbotsholme, Bedales and St. Christopher's in England the *Écoles Nouvelles* of France and Belgium and the *Landerziehungsheime* and *Schul Gemeinden* of Germany and Switzerland but it is in Germany, it seems to Robert's mother that what is distinctive and valuable in them has come to its fullest flowering. Perhaps this is because Germany has had its—however abortive,—social revolution. Whatever the reason is she saw them in operation these school democracies did not seem so incongruous against a German background as they did in other settings nor did they seem as hampered as in other countries by the strength of an opposing tradition.

The *Landerziehungsheim* (now commonly designated in Germany by its familiar abbreviation *LEH*) really owes its existence in large measure like so many experiments, to the first of the new English schools—Abbotsholme, but while the English prototype was and remains a school for "gentlemen's sons" tinged and even tainted in the eyes of a radical by class and caste and national prejudice, the German schools as developed first by the pedagogue Lietz and further inspired by the Youth and *Wander-Vogel* (Wandering Birds) movements, are, in intention and very largely in fulfilment, the schools of youth,—all youth regardless of class, race or nationality.

To establish the kingdom of youth,—this, in the words of its founder, Gustav Wyneken, was the idea of Wickersdorf, the first of these schools to develop the idea of the *Gemeinde*,—that is of the self governing school community. It is an idea of which libertarian educators have dreamed the world over, and if they have succeeded in realizing it in Germany

in larger measure than elsewhere it is due not only to the fact that they had a genuine respect and sympathy for youth, but to the fact that they had for their guide the definite and highly articulate revolt embodied in the German youth movement, a movement whose influence on German education it is still too recent to estimate.

It is on the physical side, perhaps, that this influence of the Youth and *Wander-Vogel* movements is most immediately apparent. Never in any school or anywhere else for that matter had Robert's mother seen a higher standard of health, of physical fitness of hardihood and alertness of actual physical beauty than obtained in these schools and this notwithstanding that the months she spent there were the difficult autumn and winter months that Germany has yet known. Hardening in the physical sense, the cultivation of physical fitness have been from the first a feature of life in the *Heime*. Cold shower baths or plunges in lake and stream early morning runs in the woods, air baths—that is exercise taken naked out of door in winter and summer,—in all these things as in the introduction of football and cricket they kept pretty close to their English model. As they developed individually, however—and here one chiefly feels the influence of the *Wander-Vogel*—the accent in physical culture was rather on the personal aesthetic, and adventurous, on walking cycling climbing, skiing and the like rather than on competitive games, regimental drilling or even the highly-esteemed old fashioned German *Turnen*. In all these schools she found a joyous and idealistic cult of the body which expressed itself not so much by a preponderance of athletics in the curriculum as by an essentially healthy, simple, and vigorous manner of living. The free, unhampered, youthful style of dress popularized by the *Wander-Vogel* was worn here on principle, and during the greater part of the year even this was reduced to a minimum, bare arms and legs, bare heads and throats were the rule rather than the exception, and under certain circumstances even nudity was not uncommon or surprising.

But the supreme contribution of the *Wander-Vogel* was of course the *Wanderung*, the loveliest and most distinctive feature of the new German school life. A *Wanderung* as understood in these schools was not merely a "hike," or a school excursion an

experience in camping or woodcraft such as many American institutions offer although it embodied some elements of all of these. It embodied also something else something of glamour of adventure of wonder and poetry which American education and indeed most education still fails too largely to offer youth. Such a *Wanderung* may be anything from a day's tramp in the woods to weeks and even months of travel. Before the war such wandering had been done from all these schools to Switzerland Italy France England Norway—even in one instance to the Northern coast of Africa. In the most difficult period of Germany's life—during the inflation years—it meant usually the simplest kind of gypsying a week floating down a river on a raft or walking along a wooded ridge from one ancient burg to another sleeping in tents or in the frequent *Wander Vogel* huts but more often under the stars bathing in streams cooking over campfires or living for very brief intervals with peasants woodmen and fishermen.

By good fortune he was assigned to the group of *Herr B*—the popular young science teacher whose group almost never had a vacancy. Jan a Belgian boy in the same group who had spent two years at an English school was appointed as his guiding comrade to show him the ropes. From him Robert learned that if the group appealed to him he might elect to be a permanent member of it or if it did not, he could choose another. Of course Jan thought *Herr B's* group the best, but there were others nearly as good and in any group one had fun. When Robert had chosen his group he would in turn have to be accepted by all the other members but there would probably be no difficulty about that. The next night Robert attended the weekly reunion of the group for games stories and music, and the following Sunday the whole group under *Herr B's* leadership departed on an all day *Wanderung*.

Robert was quite sure by this time that he would elect to remain in *Herr B's* group. Meanwhile he had been put to work in the Outlander's class to learn German for as at most of the *Heime* from twenty to thirty per cent of the students were foreigners. In this class only the direct method and German conversation were in order, but outside he was free to speak English if he chose and he was sought after for this purpose by many English learning students. When he had acquired sufficient familiarity with German he would be free to elect his other courses this being the procedure for all the students after a certain minimum of required work had been completed. In the afternoon he did shop work he had a choice of carpentry book binding, and iron moulding as well as of drawing and modelling. He also had two priceless hours of freedom in the early afternoon before *Vesper* one of the five or six daily meals to which he became accustomed with astonishing ease. Perhaps



games occurred much more frequently. On Robert's first whole holiday which he supposed to be a belated Halloween but which turned out to be known as *All Saints Day* in Germany, he played basketball for the first time in his life on a mixed team against another such team and was chagrined when his side lost because of the brilliant goals made by the other side's star player a thirteen year old girl.

The girls here are regular Amazons he wrote home on this occasion. After his first astonishment it came to seem quite natural to him to have the Amazons take part in sports with the boys' football being the only game they played separately. His favourite game soon came to be the universal favourite *Kriegspiel* (War Game) which despite its name seems to be no more militaristic than Prisoner's Base. It was a matter of opposing camps, deep strategy and capture trophies and could be played by the school and all over the Odenwald. Sometimes most excitingly it was played on moonlit nights adding greatly thereby to its sense of mystery and danger. To Robert it seemed that in the high points of such a game he touched the very peaks of existence.

He had been at school less than a week when under Jan's guidance he went to his first meeting of the school *Gemeinde* the assembly of the whole school which served at once as forum, parliament, and on rare occasions as a court of justice. As the proceedings were in German he understood much less of them than his mother did but she could only be admitted to the meeting by a vote of the assembly while Robert as a prospective member of this democracy was there by right. The leader of the assembly at this time was one of the older girls. Hers was the highest honour any student could achieve. Presently the now familiar words *Neuer Kamerad* (new comrade) and his own name fell on Robert's ears and Jan pinched his sleeve. "Paulus (the principal) is introducing you. Get up and bow. This was an ordeal—the only one of his German school year—but he got up and performed something that he hoped was a bow and subsided with flaring scarlet ears into his seat. He felt extremely and agonizingly ridiculous but it seemed no one was laughing at him or even paying any special attention to him so he revived. Soon he wished ardently that he could understand what was going on for though Jan had explained much

of the procedure to him beforehand and translated conscientiously whenever he remembered Robert's existence he was soon too much absorbed to remember it very frequently. Robert who all his life had suffered agonizingly from shyness was amazed to see children younger than himself rise to speak not only with absolute ease but with eagerness and conviction and even apparently with humour. Even the littlest kindergarten children came to the meetings and voted on questions that interested them but they were allowed considerable latitude in the matter of restlessness or fatigue and might slip out at any time if overcome by either. The basis of membership in the assembly was entirely democratic, and every member had one equal vote. Questions of general interest were discussed and questions of school interest and all the rules concerning students were framed in these meetings. Such rules could only be passed by a two thirds vote of the membership. Sometimes Jan informed the awe-struck Robert a rule was passed in this way which Paulus himself had voted against but though this occurred rarely there would be no doubt that such a rule would stand and be enforced like any other. Infractions of rules to which all members were held to have tacitly agreed were brought before the assembly and by its vote all school honours and responsibilities were bestowed.

Another type of meeting with which Robert soon became familiar was the *Andacht*—the fairly frequent but irregularly held school meeting—the nearest approach in the school life to any form of chapel. At the *Andacht* someone spoke or read or played quite simply as it seemed on the inspiration of the moment. Usually it was Paulus or one of the teachers but any student was also at liberty to call an *Andacht* if the spirit moved him. Attendance at such meetings was not compulsory but curiosity in regard to them was easily aroused. It was through such attendance that Robert first encountered Plato's *Symposium*, Goethe's *Italian Journey*, the epic poetry of Spitteler and the *Legends* of Selma Lagerlöf.

Most important of all in the scholastic life were the monthly school meetings at the end of every so called "Course month" at which one member was elected from every course to report on the work just completed and if necessary to illustrate the report with demonstrations and concrete exhibitions.

The one making such a report enjoyed entire freedom of speech and it might include and frequently did include suggestions and criticism of the subject matter and method of a course or of the conduct of any of its member. Such a report could also be answered, corrected or amplified by the teacher giving the course or by any of the other members. At one of the first meetings Robert attended, a spirited debate developed when a twelve year old boy reporting on the work of a highly popular history course accused the teacher an earnest and rather humourless newcomer of unfairness and impatience toward certain foreign members of the course which he said had intensified their difficulties with the subject. The teacher who had not had the benefit of a *Gemeinde* education defended himself indignantly and finally called on every student in the course to support him. Without exception however the boys and girls supported the boy making the report and they did so apparently with entire candour objectively and without malice. Robert who had had his own troubles with *Herr K*—listened with fearful joy and a secret sense that the end of the world was near. The *Gemeinde* as a whole however listened with interest and tolerance and registered no decision although it seemed to be generally felt that the students had the best of the argument. Later he learned that *Herr K*—came to an entirely amicable understanding with them. The experience did not seem to damage him in anyone's opinion for in spite of his inexperience he had qualities that commanded respect and all his students re-elected the course. If Robert had been of an analytical turn of mind it might have occurred to him that though one heard little at Odenwald of those two favourite abstractions—democracy and sportmanship—one saw many instances of their concrete realization.

School athletics were among the things that Robert missed at first—that is athletics in the more conventional sense—constant training and mass drill team play competitive games and rivalry. In time however his obsession for these forms of sport together with certain other obsessions notably those for the baseball score the cinema and the weekly newspaper comics seemed to pass from his mind. Sport in the European sense of course he had and also it seemed to his mother far more of individual out-

door life and more of fellowship in it than the usual standardized hard and fast recreational activity provides. He developed interests too also suspected he would have been ashamed to develop except under exceptional circumstances in America or England. He became accustomed for one thing to music for though the school did not have a single radio much less a phonograph or player piano it took music in school life as much for granted as it did daily bread. He discovered music with actual pleasure and dancing which is rated high among the pleasures of Odenwald and drama and all three came to be associated in his mind with festivity. With drama he was to some extent already familiar but his chief interest along that line had been in the cinemas. He had been in Odenwald only a week when he witnessed his first Greek tragedy—an outdoor performance beautifully done of the beautiful Hoelderlin translation of the *Antigone* of Sophocles. This school performance of it was the first ever given in Germany. Within the next few months he witnessed and took part in many plays—carefully rehearsed and planned or got up at a moment's notice plays in French, English and German (it is one of the distinctions of Odenwald that its French and English courses were given without interruption throughout the war) and finally at Christmas the climax of the school year the old Swabian mystery play of the Nativity to which the neighbouring peasants of Ober Hambrich are always invited and the cast of which is chosen by the vote of its schoolmates. In his first year Robert did not take a part in the play but he went with the others to serenade the peasants and deliver the invitations.

It seemed to him used to Christmas festivity as he was that he had never seen such festivity as that of this German Christmas. It started weeks before Christmas of course the celebration of Advent Sundays with pine wreaths and candles and carols and special *Andachts* and music and also—it must be admitted of prime importance to German school children—very extra special spreads. Then there was the visit of Knecht Rupprecht on December 6 a ceremonial somewhat similar to the visit of St. Nicholas in Holland with jokes and remembrances the traditional rewards for good children and theoretically also with the traditional

switch for the less good—only in sentimental German holiday making it seemed, the less good could not be found. But all this was the merest foreshadowing of what was to come,—the school tree the loveliest and tallest pin—the Odenswald afforded and the dining room could hold the Christmas feast, the individual trees for each group also brought in from the wood for the groups separate celebration the presents mysteriously made in shop and studio by the members of the group for each other and for special friends in other groups, the presents proudly exhibited to be taken home to parents and friends the outdoor tree candle-trimmed only and possible only in clear and windless night, best-loved if any of the Christmas rites. Only the Christmas tree committee knew the location of the tree, but at dusk of the last evening the whole school hunted through the wood for the first shine of its candles when it was found and all were assembled Paulus by the light of the candles read the story of the Nativity,—this is the only Bible reading in the course of the school year—and they sang around those tenderest of Christmas songs *Heilige Nacht* (Holy Night) and *O du Froliche* (Oh you Joyous). Then one by one the smallest children first, each took a candle from the tree and led the way home through the silent snowy wood. From then on joy was unconfined until some horrifyingly late hour when the last lingering group celebrations broke up and their leaders awake once more to ordinary responsibilities, bundled their sleepy but excited charges off to bed. Then the more adventurous older students fared forth

knapsack laden to walk the long, lonely, snowy miles to the station for the earliest and most impossible of vacation trains.

About once in three months Robert's mother received a report which differed from any report she had ever received of him before. It dealt only incidentally with his standing in particular subjects but dwelt at length on his health and growth his tastes and aptitudes his development and personal qualities his social usefulness and his adaptability to the school life. These reports were written by the head of the school, but preceding the writing the school career of the particular child would be discussed at a meeting of the Teachers Conference and the report would be a sort of composite of the views of his course teachers his group leader the school nurse and the head of the school himself. On receiving them and also Robert's growingly articulate letters his mother frequently felt she was coming to know more of her son than she had at home. It came to her too and with increasing conviction that this German school offered something to his young spirit which schools in other countries did not as yet generally offer that these educators had indeed come near to establishing the Realm of Youth. Whether such a realm could be established in America for instance, under its different conditions and she came from that country—whether the European, especially the German experiments offer anything other countries could take over and adapt she does not know but she for one would be glad to see the experiment tried. Meanwhile, she is glad that Robert will return some day, with a personal experience of an authentic democracy that has worked.

## Making Swaraj Safe—For The Givers

By Sr Nihal Singh

I

**P**OLITICAL India almost to a man spurned the Lords and Commoners to whom Parliament had delegated the task of enquiring into the Indian constitutional problem. Even many of the Indians who had taken a more or less prominent part in breaking up the non co operation movement of 1921 joined in the boycott directed against them.

Born in a Baptist preacher's home Sir John Simon—the Chairman of the Commis-

sion—must have been admonished from his infancy to turn the right cheek to any one who smote him on the left. Some of his colleagues too must have received the same teaching.

The Mosaic law of an eye for an eye a tooth for a tooth has not however fallen into desuetude even in Christendom. The blood of Moses in fact, flows in the veins of many men who dominate public life in Britain as in other countries in Europe.

So far as I can see, nothing appears in

the pages of the Report issued by the Simon Commission that would give the impression that they harbour any ill will towards their Indian boycotters. Expressions of a benevolent nature—the desire to help the Indian intelligentsia to get over the constitutional handicaps under which they now labour—are on the contrary strewn through that document. Judged by these indications the Commissioners have rewarded insult with kindness.

If however the recommendations made by the Simon Seven are to be the criterion an entirely different impression is obtained. Examined individually or collectively they are undoubtedly aimed at destroying such influence as Indians are at present able to exert upon the formulation and administration of Indian policy.

The Commission have pronounced the death sentence upon the Indian Legislative Assembly which though elected upon the narrow franchise enforced from Whitehall and hedged in with severe constitutional limitations has contested the right of the Executive to have things their own way. The creature that is to replace it is so designed by them that it will never be able to develop a backbone.

A series of recommendations would fasten the blight of bureaucracy even more tightly than to day upon the nascent Indian democracy. Created according to their specifications the Governor General and the Provincial Governors would be more completely out of legislative reach than the holders of those offices are under the present dispensation. If the recommendations they have made be adopted Indians would at no date be able to acquire the competence to protect their frontiers or even to order economic affairs to suit the national exigencies. As the inevitable result of certain proposals made by them the existing sectional differences would become intensified and cleavage would occur along new lines. The Simon scheme of *semi-saraj* if imposed upon India would indeed give permanence to her tutelage.

## II

Would a scheme less prejudicial to the cause of Indian constitutional development have emanated from the Simon Commission if political India had not been so openly contemptuous of it and so flagrantly hostile to it?

A clear and definite answer to this question is furnished by the march of events in Ceylon during a parallel period. In 1927 a similar Commission was sent out to the Island. Like the Simon Commission it consisted entirely of Britons—two Conservatives, one Labourite and one Anglo Jew who I believe subscribed to the Liberal doctrines and had extensive colonial experience. At the time of their appointment some opposition was manufactured by certain Sinhalese politicians but when the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues arrived they were received without any manifestation of ill will. Their urbanity of manner soon smothered any smouldering spark of suspicion. Every section of political opinion every racial and economic element readily came forward to co-operate with them. Every witness who expressed the desire to give evidence before them no matter how callow was received by the Commission and his views formally recorded. The Commissioners participated freely in the social life of the capital and the other towns that they visited. The source that they gave just prior to their departure for Britain on February 4 1928 was a brilliant affair and great cordiality prevailed between the guests and the hosts.

A few months later when the Report of the Donoughmore Commission was published there was consternation in Ceylon. The members of the Ceylon Legislative Council were represented as bectoring and bullying the high officials—mostly British. A series of recommendations were made whereby legislators would in future have no real power in any matter affecting the pay and allowances pensions prospects and conditions of service of public officers (P 131 Donoughmore Commission Report). Other proposals abridged equally important legislative proposals.

The general trend of the Donoughmore recommendations was to take Ceylon off the road leading to Dominionhood on which her feet were set. Instead of making the Executive responsible to the legislature as is the case in Britain and the British Dominions the legislature was placed completely at the mercy of the Governor sent out from Britain and owing no responsibility to any authority in the Island.

Since I have dealt with these proposals at some length in previous contributions to the *Modern Review* no object would be served by examining them again. Nor is it

necessary for me to relate here the means used originally by the Donoughmore Commission and subsequently by the Governor of Ceylon (Sir Herbert Stanley) to induce the Ceylonese legislators to surrender important powers and privileges. I have already exposed in the pages of this *Review* the subterfuges they employed for that purpose.

The cordiality shown by the Ceylonese politicians to the constitutional commission sent out from Downing Street did not save them from the barbed shafts of the Commissioners. The co-operation that the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues received from all sections of Ceylonese did not influence them to recommend to the Colonial Office a measure that would make the British lose their hold upon Ceylonese affairs. The scheme that they adumbrated was indeed calculated to increase the obstacles that stood in the way of Ceylon becoming a Dominion.

I for one am of the opinion that the Simon Commission recommendations would have been no less prejudicial to the development of a self-governing India if there had been no boycott of the Commission by our people. In my view the result would have been substantially if not exactly the same even if Indians had co-operated with the "Simon Seven" as the Ceylonese had co-operated with the Donoughmore Commission or if Downing Street had found a way by which Indians could have been placed upon the Commission itself.

## III

The Simon Commission scheme is being regarded in India as an isolated manifestation of British Imperialism. This tendency is only natural. The struggle to win *swaraj* has for years been so all-absorbing that it has left little time and less inclination to study similar movements abroad even in other parts of the British Empire. The pontifical presence with which Sir John Simon and his colleagues have indulged in platitudes moreover serves to give the impression that their production is *suu generis*—a thing apart.

Rightly regarded the Simon scheme is only one manifestation of the determination upon the part of the governing classes in Britain to tighten their grip upon the British Orient. For years Britons who were as brainy as they were reactionary have been hard at work manufacturing a special brand of democracy. They have put such ingenuity

into brewing it that they can guarantee it to foam and froth and taste like the genuine article, but it can be consumed *ad lib* without going to the head.

The four Britons who composed the Donoughmore Commission drew a quantity of this brew from the common vat. They added to it such ingredients and colouring matter as in their judgment, were needed to make it attractive to Ceylonese eyes and pleasant to the Ceylonese taste.

The seven Britons who composed the Simon Commission filled their measures from the same vat. They were much too shrewd to ignore the special brand of democracy that the Donoughmore Commission had concocted though the community for which it has been prepared was small. Nor did they ignore the mixtures that have been privately manufactured by Imperialist reactionaries. Drawing their supplies from various sources they added to their own flavoured and colouring matter to the reluctant julep and served it to our people.

Sir John Simon and his colleagues knew that they have not succeeded in making their product attractive to Indians. They are not the men to despair however. They saw how the Ceylonese who objected to the British brew eventually were persuaded with the help of the reblish provided by the Labour Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lord Passfield) at the suggestion of the Governor of Ceylon (Sir Herbert Stanley) to swallow the draught at one gulp and kept it down. The Simon Seven expect that history will repeat itself in India.

## IV

The manufacture of this brown brand of democracy was begun in Lord Morley's time—towards the end of the first decade of the present century. He took the view, it may be recalled that parliamentary government—or "Dominion status" as we would now put it—was not suited to our genius. It would be as useful to us as a Canadian fur coat would be upon the Indian plains.

Agitation had however, become clamant. Even the "Moderates" were striking a strident note.

Since government could not be carried on in India without the adhesion of at

least a section of the modern politicians, it was imperative that action be taken that would at least appear to be a departure from the existing system. Calcutta (then India's winter capital) and Downing Street co-operated in hammering out a scheme that won the approbation of Gopal Krishna Gokhale and other Indian leaders of like mind.

The Indian element in the Central and Provincial Councils was to be strengthened. The officials were to continue to possess a clear and definite (though reduced) majority but the non-officials were to be in a majority in each of the provincial legislatures. Other concessions of considerable importance (as they were advertised at the time) were also to be made.

A number of safe-guards introduced into the scheme to preserve to the Civil Servants (then even more preponderantly British than they are to day) their monopoly of power. Lord Morley to begin with, consented to franchise qualifications calculated to keep the liberal element weak in the central and provincial legislatures and to overload those bodies with landlords and members of other capitalistic classes both Indian and British. He also conceded representation to Muslims upon a basis that would deflect them from the general national current and accentuate the separatist tendencies that a group of them had shown since the early days of the Indian National Congress. Nominations of officials were, moreover, to sit in all the legislatures side by side with elected representatives of the people and to take part in the deliberations and exercise the voting privilege. The various interests in the provincial legislatures were so cleverly balanced one against the other that the non-official majority conceded in principle would be almost impossible of achievement in actual practice.

people the equal of any in the world burned fiercely. It had exactly the same effect upon Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya Bhrupendra Nath Basu and other leaders elected to the various legislatures. It put the "Moderates" upon their mettle. They went into the legislature determined to utilize every opportunity, however small that the constitution gave them to make legislation as well as administration conform to the Indian will as much as possible. Even some of the Muslims who were expected to hold themselves aloof from the Hindus felt the call of the Motherland. Muzhurni Haque and others unhesitatingly and unreservedly supported their Hindu colleagues in the effort to prevent the Executive from restricting (if not extinguishing) freedom of press and speech. Even some of the men who owed their seats in the legislature to official benevolence found themselves irresistibly drawn into the movement for the vindication of popular rights.

These signs of the time were not lost upon the ruling caste ever on the watch for straws that showed the direction in which the wind blew. Alarmed lest the legislative movement may sooner or later prejudicially affect its monopoly of power, it took action to entrench itself and if possible, to increase its power, privileges, opportunities and emoluments.

The Indian Public Services Commission presided over by Lord Islington made a series of recommendations that tightened the British hold upon the services. They enunciated for the first time the theory that the "I.C.S." and the "I.P." were services of special importance, and emphasized the need of the British element in them.

Lord Islington and his colleagues did not perhaps possess the genius for flamboyant phraseology, or such phraseology may have been regarded as tactless. It was left for Mr. David Lloyd George and others to talk of those two devices as the "security services", "safety services", "key services" and the like. They, however, invented nothing but the wording. The basic ideas had been incorporated in the Islington Report.

Among the men who manufactured the theory was the present Prime Minister. Mr. Ramsey MacDonald represented British Labour on the Islington Commission. Some years ago Lord Islington pointedly drew my attention to the fact that that Labour leader

who had served with him on the Commission had not entered any caveat against the enunciation of this doctrine—appended no note of dissent to it in the Report

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Legislative power continued however to grow particularly in the provinces despite the difficulties created by the Morley Minto Constitution and despite all the official manoeuvres. Before the Great War had ended, the non official majority had become an actuality in more than one province and the Executive had no alternative but to obey the mandate of the people's representative

Bengal, which Lord Curzon had tried in vain to cleave in twain took the lead in this matter. The non official  *bloc*  in the provincial legislature had acquired such remarkable solidarity that the Executive could not count upon being able to push through the Council any piece of legislation which roused Indian opposition

The Government of Bengal desirous of arming themselves with a measure to restrict freedom of action and movement after the signing of the Armistice even more stringently than they had been able to do while the war was raging were in consequence driven to adopt an entirely different course. Through the good offices of the Central Government an enquiry that purported to be of a general character was set on foot and a Judge of the British High Court (Mr Justice Rowlatt) was brought out to preside over it. A Bill based upon the recommendations of the Rowlatt Commission was subsequently introduced in the Central legislature and encountered uncompromising opposition from Indians of all races and creeds. Even the Government nominees openly glibbed themselves with the elected members.

The facts that I have related are beyond dispute. Even Mr Lionel Curtis of the Pound Table group admitted them to me shortly after the events occurred. He did not deem it politic to publish his opinions on this subject at the time but some time after the scheme of constitutional reform that he had wet nursed had been passed by Parliament, he issued a book in which he frankly embodied them.

Even greater admissions were made by Sir James (now the Baron) Meston when he as Finance Member of the Government of India appeared before the Joint Select

Committee on the Government of India Bill in 1919. In his evidence he stated with remarkable directness that the officials were prepared to support a modified scheme of diarchy inasmuch as it would enable them to deal with certain difficulties that had arisen in the legislature.

VI

With the passage of the Government of India Act on the eve of the break up of Parliament for the Christmas recess in 1919 the governing class in India had secured for themselves a position of vantage incomparably superior to any that they had held before. They had managed to evade completely and so far as they could see for ever the fate assigned to public servants in any part of the legislature as the supreme authority and the subordination of the Services to that authority just as was the case in Britain.

That had not been the original intention of the author of diarchy. He had provided in the scheme as he had shaped it, for the subjection of the public servants to legislative control.

The bureaucracy headed by Sir James Meston (as he then was) would have nothing to do with such a proposal. They had been supreme under the old system in spite of talk about control exercised by Parliament from London. They meant to remain supreme. They therefore seized the opportunity presented by the constitutional reform upon which Edwin Samuel Montagu had embarked to deal the legislative system a staggering blow.

As the result of this victory three main results were achieved.

(1) the power that the legislative councils were acquiring over the services was broken.

(2) the Budget in the provinces was bifurcated and the major portion was placed outside legislative control and

(3) the Governor General was empowered to issue without legislative assent and even in the face of legislative opposition ordinances having the effect of law for a limited period.

In all these respects the hands of the clock of progress were set back. The Montagu Chelmsford Act was nevertheless hailed by most of our leaders as a great step in advance. Rightly interpreted how

ever it took India off the road leading towards Dominionhood—made her fly off at a tangent.

The Lee Commission followed. They enhanced the emoluments of permanent officials and created a scheme whereby the British element could receive Overseas allowances. What was even more important, they extinguished such control as despite all precautions that had been taken the legislatures were able to exercise over the officials.

## VII

The Donoughmore Commission found Ceylon in 1927 in much the same condition legislatively speaking as that in which India had been on the eve of the Great War. The unofficials in the Legislative Council had a clear and decisive majority over the officials. They were divided by race religion and caste. Their economic interests were not the same. Despite these diversities however they had acted with such vigour that the officials had become nervous as to their ability to retain their monopoly of power unimpured.

It would have been easy enough for the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues to apply the Indian diarchic experience to Ceylon. Directly and lawfully got a bad name long before they landed in Colombo. Discretion therefore counselled them to borrow from the Montagu-Chelmsford Act and the Lee Commission Report without acknowledging the source of their inspiration and to give a unitary complexion to the diarchic devices that they had appropriated.

The men composing the Donoughmore Commission were moreover ambitious. They were anxious to go further in the way of securing the services against legislative interference and annoyance than had been possible in India. They were also desirous of safe-guarding Imperial interests and the financial and economic interests of their countrymen in Ceylon in a manner that had not yet been attempted across the narrow Palk Strait. In their effort to attain these objects they therefore, made a series of recommendations that are of special interest to us at this juncture because they appear to have caught the fancy of the Simon Seven who have incorporated them in somewhat modified form in the Indian Constitutional Commission Report.

In addition to ending every vestige of legislative control over the permanent officials the Donoughmore Commission recommended that those officials be given the right to retire on proportionate pension with compensation for loss of career. This right, they declared

should be secured by the new Constitution and we recommend for its application three principles should be laid down

(1) that it should be unqualified  
(2) that it should extend to all officers whether European or Ceylonese, who are now in the service of the Ceylon Government or who may have been deputed for such service before the publication of the Commission's Report and whose appointments are subject to the approval of the Secretary of State (for the Colonies)

(3) that it should be a continuous option lasting not for a specific period but throughout the period of each officer's service under the Ceylon Government (I 199 Donoughmore Commission Report)

What could be more natural than the wish upon the part of Sir John Simon and his fellow parliamentarians to place the permanent officials upon as advantageous a basis as those in Ceylon? Hence the recommendation that the opportunity of retirement on proportionate pension should remain open without limit of time to any officer who might under the present rules have so retired upon the coming into force of the constitutional change proposed. It is further recommended that any official who may be compelled to surrender the Ministerial portfolio placed in his charge should be paid a pension at an enhanced rate. In this connection I may also call attention to the proposal that special additions to the standard pensions should be given to officers who have borne the heavy strain of Governorship. The Donoughmore Commission did not show similar tenderness towards the member of the Colonial Service occupying the office of Governor or the official Ministers in his Cabinet.

To ensure that no authority in Ceylon—legislative or executive—would have the power prejudicially to affect the interests of the services, the Donoughmore Commission recommended that the Royal Instructions issued to each Governor should contain a specific injunction forbidding him to assent in the name of His Majesty to any Bill whereby the public servants may be prejudiced (P 74 Donoughmore Commission Report)

Financial and economic interests were safe-guarded in a similar manner. The Royal



Instructions issued to the Governor will require him to refuse assent to

any Bill whereby the financial stability of the Island is endangered and any Bill relating to or affecting trade outside the Island or docks harbours shipping

The comprehensive character of these provisions is apparent upon the surface. It needs to be pointed out however that the British preponderate in finance trade and industry (mostly agricultural) in the Island.

Sir John Simon and his colleagues have made recommendations equally comprehensive to safe-guard similar British interests in the Indian provinces. The list of reservations compiled by them bears a strong resemblance to that inserted in the Donoughmore Commission Report.

A three-fold check is in fact to be imposed in India.

First, the Governor of an Indian province is to have reserve powers in certain spheres including minority interests discrimination religious financial legislation and matters pertaining to the services.

Secondly provincial legislation cannot take effect without the prior assent of the Governor General and

Thirdly, provincial legislation (as all central legislation) is to be subject to His Majesty's veto.

## VIII

The devices patented by the Donoughmore Commission for establishing the supremacy of the Governor over legislation and administration in normal times as well as on occasions of emergency have not been lost upon the Simon Seven. I regret I do not have the space to refer to these devices in detail and must therefore content myself with calling attention to the general principles enunciated in this respect. This is the apology that the Donoughmore Commission offered for greatly enhancing the powers of the Governor instead of reducing them in consonance with the practice elsewhere in the Empire.

"Our central aim in devising a new constitution has been the devotion of the inhabitants of certain of the responsibilities of managing their own internal affairs subject only to certain safeguards in the background. It follows that the executive responsibility of the Governor must be *pro tanto* diminished. But here we are faced with a paradox. For with every transfer of responsibility to representative organs the Governor must be given such additional reserve powers as will enable him to see that this

responsibility is not wrongly exercised (P 2 Donoughmore Commission Report)

The meaning is plain. Oriental subjects of the British Crown are not fit to be trusted with anything like decisive power over their affairs and hence processes that led to the elevation of British subjects of European stock to be undivided masters of their destiny must be reversed.

The Simon Commission appear to be of the same opinion. No wonder that they deemed it prudent to eschew reference to

Dominion Status or that their recommendations are designed to make Indians even more helpless in respect of defence and civil administration than they are today. As a newspaper controlled by Lord Rothermere (who for some reason or other has placed himself in the vanguard of British enemies of India) openly stated under the caption Death blow to Dominion Status

the Simon Commission which this is tantamount to saying has in its recommendations its favour. One of the strongest is that it will virtually eliminate the claims of the British Government of Dominion Status (Daily Mail 1st Jan 1930)

## IX

The concern that the Simon Seven show for India is all a sham. They have concern only for the British interests that have become intermingled with Indian affairs. These interests may broadly be classified under three general heads namely

(1) the public service—more especially the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police

(2) the British Garrison and the British element in the Indian Army and

(3) the British financial and economic interests

The means recommended to conserve these ends are neither original nor subtle but they are practical and comprehensive. They would successfully prevent Indians for all time from tampering with these interests. If all the powers that they have recommended Parliament to devolve upon Indians were actually conceded the present rulers of India would continue to dominate Indian policy and administration, and the hold of the British civil and military caste over Indian affairs would be anything but tighter than it is to-day.

The Simon Seven have in other words made Swaraj safe—for the givers.



### The Fetish of Race Genius

No anthropological term has been more misused than the word race. Its convenient ambiguity has given shelter to a whole host of prejudices national, cultural and religious and it required the labour of two generations of anthropologists to relegate the word to its proper scientific connotation. But while the phrase is no longer to be heard in competent thinking circles the thing still survives under another name and in another form and people still speak of the genius of a particular people for a particular thing and about his incompetence for other vocations. Against this notion, Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar utters a vigorous protest in *The Indian Review*. He says

On the eve of a new constitutional agitation the political workers and economic statesmen of India are facing once more the commonplace philosophy which says that certain races are incapable of some of the desirable qualities of human beings. In one form or another this platitudinous is the stock in trade not only of the thinkers in Europe and America but of a very large number of Indian intellectuals as well. While the foreigners claim that India is not capable of constitutional and economic advance along the standard lines as embodied in Western history a section of our own thinkers is prepared to meet them half way by admitting that it is not desirable for India to move along the same lines. The grounds advanced by both these groups of thinkers are identical and may be taken to be fundamentally as follows. The spirit, tradition or culture of India is we are assured on both sides different from that of the West.

This attitude in regard to India is not the West is not, however an isolated phenomenon in modern thought. It is part of an all-embracing cultural philosophy which was born perhaps with Hegel about a century ago and has never ceased to find expression throughout the last three

centuries. Anthropology as well as modern and contemporary history furnish us with what may be described as equations or identities and at any rate similarities in the ideals as well as attainments of the historic nations of the world.

### Economic Tendencies in India

In a lecture delivered at the Calcutta Rotary Club and published in *The Calcutta Review* Mr R W Brock gives an account of the economic tendencies in India. The conclusions at which he arrives in his survey are as follows

(1) That industrial development is not proceeding at a pace involving, or likely in the near future to involve any appreciable withdrawal of labour from agriculture

(2) That the activities of the Agricultural Departments although essential and beneficial have been too limited to effect any substantial improvement in agricultural production or in the cultivators' standard of living

(3) That the extension of the co-operative movement, as far as can be calculated is at best only acting as a brake on the increase of rural indebtedness

As a means of reducing the percentage of the population dependent on agriculture the development of urban industries in India cannot be regarded very hopefully and for two reasons

(1) as already noted the negligible purchasing power of the average cultivator (2) the effect of the methods of mass production and rationalisation in reducing the number of industrial workers required to produce a given output. The figures concerning cloth production and consumption in India afford a good illustration. In 1921-22 the production of India's 500 cotton mills totalled 2,340 million yards against 19.3 million yards imported. That is to say in that year the Indian mills met well over half the total Indian demand for mill-made goods. In order to achieve this output the Indian mills employed well under 100,000 workers. In regard to mechanical equipment cotton mills in India cannot afford to be less efficient and up-to-date than competing mills abroad and that near that, sooner or later Indian mills will be forced to instal automatic looms which according to reliable testimony are more efficient and economical than the present looms and involve the employment of only half as much labour. Allowing for the relative inefficiency of the Indian mill worker it does not appear risky to assume that Indian mills equipped with automatic looms could with the aid of 50,000 workers (only 10,000 more than are already employed) manufacture all the cloth India now consumes. This is for many reasons not an

immediate possibility and the figures quoted are intended only to illustrate the trend of events in Japan where there are already 15,000 automatic looms in operation economy and efficiency are further subserved by the concentration of 40 per cent of the cotton trade in the hands of only four firms.

In India mass consumption on the scale rendered necessary by modern methods of mass production can be created only by a concurrent modernisation of agricultural processes enabling larger and better crops to be produced and also enabling the cultivator to retain a larger share of the profits of production so long as Indian agriculture remains on its present primitive basis, urban industries employing modern machinery occupy a position comparable only to a motor car "paved" by a bullock-cart.

To sum up the three Rs of economic development in India are rural reconstruction, rationalisation of urban industries and Rationing of the country's limited investment surplus in order to secure the maximum development and profit within the minimum period.

### How to Meet the Demand for Swadeshi Cloth

Referring to the shortage of cloth production in India Mirra writes in *Young India*

Even if all the production of the mills in India were available for consumption as Swadeshi cloth we should have a shortage of some 200 crores of yards. But as a matter of fact some 90 per cent of the mill spindles and looms in India are owned and managed by foreigners and the production of these cannot be counted as Swadeshi cloth. This increases the shortage by some 50 crores of yards, bringing up the total shortage with which we have got to deal to some 250 crores of yards.

What, then is to be done?

The mills can work day and night and increase their production to some extent in various ways. But the great increase of output and the setting of our masses on a sound economic basis for Swaraj must be looked for in Khadi.

But even Khadi will require a little time to make up the shortage. The whole country has got to take to spinning and the yarn has got to be woven into cloth at a time when nearly all our experienced organisers are in jail. Some special scheme must, therefore be practised as an emergency measure. And this must be self rationing.

Pandit Matilal and others have already told us of this necessity. Let us therefore take up the matter in real earnest, and see what we can do.

The maximum number of sets (sets etc or dhols etc) that a person should now think of using is four and the minimum may be counted as two. For the last four years I have found three sets per year to be ample for my requirements, and I am sure none of us need complain of a patriotic war-time men are which requires us not to use more than four sets of clothes in the year.

In this way the rush on Khadi which is leading to a dangerous situation as mentioned elsewhere in this issue, and the breathing space required for increasing Khadi organisation and setting up home production can be achieved.

This little sacrifice is not much when we think of the great object in view.

### The Message of Dr Muthulakshmi Reddi

On June 20 a conference of Indian women met in London, of which Mrs Graham the wife of the President of the Board of Trade in the present British Cabinet, was the Vice-President. To her Dr Muthulakshmi Reddi, Ex Deputy President Madras Legislative Council sent the following message on the Indian situation.

Gandhiji is the very soul of India. He is the only Indian in whom India has confidence because he is not only a politician of a very high order but also an earnest and sincere social reformer and social worker and a friend of the poor and the depressed. Being the very embodiment of truth, love and justice he is considered infallible by many and his spirit of service and of sacrifice in all good causes has won the hearts of millions in India. It is an honest and incontrovertible fact that the majority of Indians share his political views and opinions on the British administration in India. He is the apostle of *Ahimsa* and non-violence. He is rightly convinced that if India is to live and if India's millions are to be saved from the appalling ill health, poverty, ignorance, suffering, starvation and death and above all if they are to become honest and honourable citizens of the world their country must be granted immediate Dominion Status. That a subject race can never grow to its full mental, moral, spiritual and even physical height is a well known maxim. India has too long been a subject country. All our social evils, caste and communal differences and our social backwardness are the natural outcome of a slave mentality. Therefore when Lord Irwin did not give a satisfactory reply to the famous eleven demands of Gandhiji he started the civil disobedience campaign. Thousands of men and women who readily followed his example are in jail, the flower of the nation, the best men and women of India are sharing the prison with him. From almost all the Indian Provinces security has been demanded. While some have refused others continue after having deposited the required amount. India's greatest woman poetess and genius, the world known Mrs Sarojini Naidu has been arrested and many other women leaders, my friends and co-workers, are in prison. A small body of the Mohammedan population protests against the civil disobedience while the advanced among them condemn the Government action. Martial Law has been proclaimed in Solapur, a district in the Bombay Presidency. As the prisons are full of political prisoners the Government of India has ordered the police to use violence on the satyagrahis to invalidate them and thus render

to be an actual or potential disappearance of what is to us of the highest order."

### British Commercial Interests and Government Propaganda

The unskilful piece of propaganda against Swadeshi launched by the Bombay Government, has had its well deserved ironing in the Legislative Assembly. The same activities come in for vigorous condemnation in an editorial note of *The Indian Insurance*.

There was always a lurking suspicion in the minds of the Indian public that the John Company spirit was really ruling this country, but that this spirit is the power that is ruling this country is now confirmed by the propaganda which the Government is now carrying on openly for the sake of British commercial interests in this country. It is evident, however, that the campaign is either entrusted to inexperienced hands, or that the Swadeshi movement has upset the British Government to such an extent that clear thinking is not at any rate visible in the pamphlet that has just been published by the Government. Nobody can question British commercial interests in carrying on a campaign on behalf of British goods and on a campaign on behalf of British institutions. That is perfectly legitimate and will be viewed as part of business methods. But why should the Government of our country actively take sides with British commercial interests under our very nose, particularly at a time when the Swadeshi movement is growing stronger and stronger? Apart from this the statements made in the pamphlet itself are lacking even in the ordinary commercial information. Probably the Government seem to think that any stick is good enough to beat the present Indian movement and so uncomplimentary statements have been made against Indian industries and Indian institutions. Indian banks have been characterised as less stable and Indian insurance companies as too few in number and they are also accused that taking advantage of all the business being placed with them they will put up rates for insurance etc. What was the need at all for a comparison between British and Indian banks and insurance companies if the fact remains that the strength gained by the Swadeshi movement in this country at the present moment has begun to upset even the strongest of British interests. Fortunately for the country it knows its interests too well at the present moment and without the aid of Government propaganda the country's industries can be made to prosper by the entire aid of the people. Somebody was remarking the other day that though the present Swadeshi movement is stronger than it ever was on previous occasions, it remains to be seen how far the present enthusiasm will last. That only shows that there are even to-day sceptics in our own country who do not believe that the present spirit will continue for ever. Our own feeling is that the present movement for everything Indian has come to stay and there is no going back, and we would remind the Indian public of their duty to Indian insurance companies.

### Labour and Civil Disobedience

It has often been asserted that the Congress represents only a minority of the Indian intelligentsia. No view could be more mischievously incorrect. As a matter of fact however, the Congress commands a greater influence over all the various classes and sections of the Indian people than any single organization has ever done in the whole course of Indian history. Mr Earoest Kirk the editor of *The Indian Labour Review* is no admirer of the policy of the Congress. Even he is inclined to admit as great a solidarity between the Congress and Indian labour as any Congress man could claim. In the editorial notes of his paper he writes

But I must resist the temptation to comment further on this absorbing topic. I should like to have reviewed the attitude of labour to this movement but have already over-run the space allotted for this. Suffice it to say that organized labour in general which during the last few years has been sedulously wooed and courted by prominent members of the Indian National Congress, including the President himself is broadly speaking on the side of the Congress. In this respect the workers follow their leaders and quite naturally are ready to support any scheme for Swaraj that has a national backing without stopping to bother their heads about the pros and cons of that scheme. My knowledge of the Indian worker also leads me to the conclusion that this applies also to the majority of Government servants though of course the latter are not going to risk their jobs unnecessarily by openly identifying themselves with the Satyagrahis, and a fair proportion of them would prefer to see India reach her goal by other methods. But if the worst comes to the worst and a scheme for Dominion Status with the necessary safeguards is rejected by the British Parliament and India drifts into the dark and bloody backwaters of Sinn Feinism organised labour which has suffered terribly in the bitter school of experience and which is already beginning to realise its strength will not be with the Government. And it must never for moment be forgotten that some Unions are under the influence of Communists, who in the case of an out and out revolution would as they did in China, make a bold bid for power. Meanwhile whatever individual Trade Unionists may do Trade Unions as such should refrain from committing themselves to a campaign of lawlessness.

### A British M P on British Rule in India

Mr Peter Freeman is the Chairman of the newly established Commonwealth of India League. He writes in *The Hindustan Review*

Britain is pledged to rule India for India's benefit. Have we done so? I have the above facts to tell their own tale. The Indians have

demand the right to rule themselves to manage their own affairs. Our record hardly savours of unselfish or good government. We are some times told that the Indian masses would suffer if India was given Home Rule. The condition could hardly be worse than they are to-day after Britain's attempts and experiments for over a century. The legislatures that we have created in India do not represent the masses they are based on high property qualifications. Nor have we done much more than place the heaviest burden of taxation on the poorest classes.

These things must be changed. Great Britain cannot do it. We can however help India to do it herself. This is the wise course. No nation is good enough to rule another. Unfortunately we have delayed matters so long as to make ourselves distrusted in India and to-day large section of the people are unwilling to confer and negotiate with us. Still all is not yet lost. The earlier we can establish Self Government in India with her consent and co-operation the better for us all.

The Labour Party is pledged to the hilt. Conferences and Conferences have year after year passed resolutions urging Self Government and self determination for India. The Prime Minister (the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald) said in 1929 that he hoped India would become a Dominion in months rather than years.

No one could deny it is a great problem. It is one of the greatest the world has ever had to face. A press of vast influence vested interests of tremendous power reactionary forces of all kinds are being rallied against India with all their subtlety and guile. The task is beset with difficulties. Negotiations and adjustments are undoubtedly necessary. Difficult and delicate questions have to be threshed out. There are matters for statesmen on either side. Vision, courage and commonsense above all are wanted for their solution.

We are here however concerned with principles. No time and no effort must be lost in making it abundantly clear to our Government and the Opposition Parties in the House of Commons that we mean to suffer no degradation of our principles or our principles. The voice of India must be heard. Her legitimate claim is for a free and full partnership in the British Commonwealth. In honour and duty bound we can offer her nothing less than a partnership based on the equality of Dominion Status. To do anything less would be to lead for disaster and to belie our own traditions and to imperil our future. It is a task which has come as a challenge to our generation. Let us prove ourselves equal to the opportunity.

in scathing language so far as judicial propriety and decorum permitted by eminent judges like Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Sir Abdur Rahim. In the famous case of the forfeiture of Mr. Mahomed Ali's pamphlet, which the Advocate-General of the Calcutta High Court had admitted was not seditious and did not offend against any provision of the criminal law of the land, the very weighty observations of Sir Lawrence Jenkins deserve to be quoted in this connection. He said — But he (the Advocate General) has contended and rightly in my opinion that the provisions of the Press Act extend far beyond the criminal law and he has argued that the burden of proof is cast on the applicant so that however meritorious the pamphlet may be still if the applicant cannot establish the negative the Act requires his application must fail. And what is this negative? It is not enough for an applicant to show that the words of the pamphlet are not likely to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of his Majesty's subjects in British India, or that they have not a tendency in fact to bring about that result. But he must go further and show that it is impossible for them to have that tendency either directly or indirectly and whether by way of inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor or implication. Nor is that all for we find the Legislature has added to this the all embracing phrase or otherwise. It is difficult to see to what length the operation of this Section (Sec 4) might not be plausibly extended by an ingenious mind. They would certainly extend to writings that may even command approval. Similarly Sir Abdur Rahim as Acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court declared in the *New India* security case that the provisions of the Act of 1910 were so sweeping so comprehensive and dangerous as to make the profession of printing and newspaper enterprises a most hazardous and risky occupation. Sir Lawrence Jenkins on this particular question also declared that the terms of Sec. 4 invest the local Government with discretion so large and unfettered that the keepings of printing presses and the publication of newspapers is becoming and extremely hazardous undertaking in this country. Surely after these emphatic judicial declarations in condemnation of the Act of 1910—a milder measure than the latest press ordinance—it would be waste of time and energy to attempt any condemnation of the viceregal fiat. It were more useful however to judge of the likelihood of the success of the present measure in the light of the past experience gained of the working of the repealed Press Act.

### Training in Trade Unionism

Though Trade Unionism in inevitably spreading over India its progress is not as steady as it might have been expected owing to the lack of the education among workers and their inexperience of Trade Union methods and principles. From this point of view no better service could be rendered to Indian labour than the establishment of schools for giving training in Trade Unionism to the workers of this country. *The F. B. R. Labour Review* writes on this subject

In our January issue of the current year we discussed about the possibility of starting Trade Union schools on the lines of those that are being periodically organised by the Trade Unions in far-off lands. The Trade Unions Congress in Great Britain held their summer school in July 1929 with considerable success. The International Federation of Trade Unions are now organising another such teaching session in Berlin. We draw the attention of our Trade Unions Congress to the following that appeared in the "Educational notes of the Railway Service Journal". It is hoped that the Executive to the Trade Unions Congress here will yet take a leaf out of what is practised in other lands to bring out as many well-disciplined and well-organised Trade Unionists, as could be possible to get to serve the "Labouring Millions for who benefit they have taken a vow to dedicate their lives. A well trained and disciplined Trade Unionist is many a time superior to a hundred ignorant and undisciplined workers. This is a necessity at the present time when the country is pulsating with a new life and the Trade Unions Congress will be distinctly prohibited by this method of organisation. It is possible. The Railway Service Journal writes —

The International Federation of Unions is organising a Summer School for Trade Unions 24th to 31st August 1930 for Trade Union Officers paid or unpaid. The British Trade Unions Congress have applied for four places at the School and are prepared to grant four scholarships to members of affiliated Unions who hold some official position. The General Council of the Trade Unions Congress is also offering six scholarships open to male and female members of its affiliated Unions tenable at Ruskin College Oxford for the College year 1930-31. The awards will be made by the General Council as a result of an examination, plus evidence of attendance at evening classes and of activity in local trade union affairs.

### Communism and Religion

The missionary zeal for propagating their doctrines shown by the Communists of Russia is difficult of explanation if we assume Communism to be nothing more than a political or economic creed. Recent thinkers have therefore approached it from another point of view, and they would lay more stress on what they consider its religious affinities. This parallelism between Communism and religion prompts the editor of *Prabuddha Bharata* to write

We Hindus always believe that religion is a constitutional necessity of men. If we are deprived of our existing religious new religions will grow to take their place. This fact has been strikingly

demonstrated by Russian Communism. Our readers must be aware how Russia has been leading an anti religious campaign for some time with disastrous results to the Christian Church in Russia.

The campaign against religion is an imperative necessity with Communism. "Religion is the opium of the people" said Karl Marx. Marx also said "Destroy the social world of which religion is the spiritual aroma and you destroy religion. Religion is the flower that cover the chains. Destroy the flowers and the chains will be seen." Communism is convinced of the truth of Marx's words. There are two id as in them. One is that if the present politico-economic system is destroyed, religion will also decay. The other is that if religion is directly attacked, it will expose the chains hidden by religion and thereby the creation of the new system will be hastened. Russian Communism is earnestly carrying both lines of attack. This is the spirit in the Russian struggle.

It cannot be denied that religion has oftentimes allied itself with the powers that be especially in the West and especially so in Russia where the Church was the head of both the State and the Church. Religion has made another mistake for good or for evil it has often lent its colour to socio-economic and political institutions customs conventions and systems which naturally cannot be either perfect or permanent. If these were not sacrificed to religion people could easily reform or reject them with the growth of knowledge and experience. But religion made them sacred. And now the evils of these really secular institutions have been transferred to the account of religion and religion is considered guilty of them. The bitterness of Bolshevik Russia against religion is mostly due to this. Religion has indeed in the West often stood against the progress of science and secular improvement. We in India have been more fortunate in this respect though it is true that the connection of religion with the socio-economic institutions in India also has not been quite fortunate. In this respect India may well take warning from the anti religious propaganda of Communism. There is a section of Indians orthodox they call themselves, who raise the cry—Religion in danger! whenever any reform in the social body is proposed. Unless they learn wisdom betimes religion will really be in danger. The tendency of India is to allow the greatest possible liberalism in religion. Had it existed in Russia, there is great doubt if to-day Communism had taken the attitude it has done against religion. The fundamental thesis of Communism is not wrong. It wants to ensure equal opportunities and rights for all in the body politic. All must have equally the blessings of life. Though in details we may disagree with the Communists we also sincerely want that all should have as far as possible equal rights and privileges in life. But this is only the outer aspect. Life does not consist in socio-economic political or intellectual activities. There is another side in which life finds satisfaction only in realising itself as Eternal Being. Attempts at this realisation have not any necessary quarrel with equality of all in the secular life. So we therefore real Communism is not antithesis of spiritual life. Two can well exist together and with excellent results.

# FORUM PERIODICALS

## Science and Religion

One of the most pronounced characteristics of the scientific thought of to-day is its revulsion from the purely mechanistic view of the universe. The new outlook is voiced by almost every scientist of distinction of our time, and the views of one of the most distinguished of them is commented upon in *Unity*.

A recent statement by Professor Arthur H. Compton of the Department of Physics in Chicago University, world famous as a winner of Nobel Prize in 1927 is well calculated to give pause to the materialists and mechanists of our time. As a matter of fact these atheistical dogmatists will probably not pause at anything—they are interested not in facts but in prejudices. But to the rest of us it is an enormously impressive thing to find one of the great physicists of the world today stating his belief that modern knowledge is more and more tending to give affirmative answers to the old problems of God, immortality and free-will. Professor Compton begins by pointing out that the new physics admits the possibility of mind acting on matter and makes mind at once the substance and goal of the creative process. The old hard-and-fast mechanism of the universe is gone and intelligence has now taken its place. There is evidence strongly suggestive of a directive intelligence, or purpose back of everything, says Dr. Compton.

The old-fashioned evolutionary attitude was that the world as we know it developed as a result of chance, variations of all kinds occurring some of which would be more suited to the conditions than others and therefore surviving. More recent thought has found this viewpoint increasingly difficult to defend.

To the physicist it has become clear that the chances are infinitesimal that a universe filled with atoms having random properties would develop into a world with the infinite variety that we find about us.

This strongly suggests that the evolutionary process is not a chance one but is toward some definite end. If we suggest that evolution is directed we imply that there is an directed intelligence directing it.

This of course is in essence, theism. Modern physics gives place to God. It also gives place to free-will and immortality.

## A Dialogue on the Same Subject

Two brilliant Irishmen recently met Professor Einstein in Berlin and the result

was a symposium on Science and God. We regret that it is not possible for us to reproduce the whole dialogue, but the following extracts from it from the account published in *Forum* will give a good idea of the central thought underlying the discussion.

**Murphy:** At a meeting of American scientists in New York last year one of the speakers suggested that the time has come for science to give a new definition of God.

**Einstein:** Quite ridiculous.

**Murphy:** But something more ridiculous followed. Out of the incident a public controversy arose which was taken up hotly by the press and the pulpit. The general contention of the preachers was that the introduction of God into a scientific discussion was quite out of place for science has nothing to do with religion.

**Einstein:** I think that both attitudes disclose a very superficial concept of science and also of religion.

**Murphy:** But the more serious and more fundamental phase of the situation is this: the public controversy showed that the scientist had voiced a yearning of the public mind. People all over the world to-day especially in Germany and in America, are looking towards science for something of that spiritual help and inspiration which organized religion seems unable to give them. How far can modern scientific theory hope to meet this yearning? It is on this point that I should like to talk with you, Herr Professor.

**Einstein:** Speaking of the spirit that informs modern scientific investigations I am of the opinion that all the finer speculations in the realm of science spring from a deep religious feeling and that—without such feeling they would not be fruitful. I also believe that this kind of religiousness which makes itself felt to-day in scientific investigation is the only creative religious activity of our time. The art of to-day can hardly be looked upon at all as expressive of our religious instincts.

On the other hand it is undoubtedly true that scientific study of the higher kinds and general interest in scientific theory have great value in leading men toward a worthier valuation of the things of the spirit. But the content of scientific theory itself offers no moral foundation for the personal conduct of life.

**Murphy:** Yet people are looking toward it with some sort of religious longing which at times almost takes on the nature of religious fanaticism. Have you heard of the rush which they made on that hall in New York some time ago and tumbled over one another and injured one another in the crush to hear a lecture on Relativity?

They thought, I imagine, that they might get some vague inspiration from the contemplation of a

great truth which they could not understand. When I read about it I had a vision of the battle in which men fought and died for abstract doctrines about the Trinity in the early Christian centuries.

Einstein. Yes I read about that. And I think that this extraordinary interest which the general public takes in science to-day and the place of high importance which it holds in people's mind is one of the strongest signs of the metaphysical needs of our time. It shows that people have grown tired of materialism, in the popular sense of the term. It shows that they find life empty and that they are looking towards something beyond mere personal interests. This popular interest in scientific theory brings into play the higher spiritual faculties and anything that does so must be of high importance in the moral betterment of humanity.

### A Fascist Opinion of British Imperialism

The reactions of the European peoples to the nationalist movement in India have of necessity been influenced by considerations of its possible repercussions in the fields of their national interests. Thus we find the French press much more critical of the Indian movement than the German because of the colonial interests of France in the Orient. One of the Conservative organs of the French press the *Figaro* recently expressed views which are vigorously contested by a Fascist paper the *Critica Fascista*. The editor of this paper writes

The Indian revolt is another of those lessons which old Europe should take into proper consideration. On the contrary Europe has found herself unprepared in the sphere of facts as also in that of ideas to bear the brunt of the Indian colossus.

England has found herself paralysed irresolute vacillating before Gandhi who is an open and ostensible violator of the British law nor have the most convinced assertors of English supremacy thought of the repercussion of non-confidence which this attitude of the Empire produced on 300 millions of Indians. Apart from very rare exceptions the press in Europe has repeated in succession the most stale common places a summary of which is to be found in a pretentious article by Crepehot in the *Figaro*.

Gandhi is undoubtedly no more than a mere symbol. The real agitators the most dangerous revolutionaries are younger and mixed with the great Bolshevik conspiracy which the Soviets foment in Asia. The English Government put these men into prison long ago. It has left Gandhi to wear himself out in Platonic manifestation. With regard to him strong measures should be employed as the despatches say only in an opportune moment.

This means that the *Figaro* has not as yet realized the political and civil significance of the non mystic predication of Gandhi who wants to arouse by means of moral training the conscious-

ness of his people. As regards Bolshevikism the more serious Englishmen confess that it has regularly missed all the occasions for action which were involuntarily offered to it in India by England.

The English are affected as also ourselves by this perfidious propaganda which consists in throwing doubts among the *elite* of the nation on the legitimacy of the civilizing action of Europeans in Asia as well as in Africa.

Civilizing action for England means security of commercial openings and as for all the rest it has been absorbed and hence repudiated by Indians.

But the countrymen of Kipling have preserved a more robust faith in themselves. It is in the British Empire that in spite of the socialism that is in fashion among the very young that the *crisis* is even now pronounced with the greatest confidence and sincerity. The movement is fully inspired and directed by Gandhi appeared in London to be without any practical import.

It is somewhat ridiculous to speak of socialism and of the impractical import of the Gandhi movement when the effects are what they are. As for the confidence and sincerity of *crisis* to *crisis* in India there is some difference between Rome and England.

Those who compare the Empire of London with the Empire of Rome are yet to be convinced of the fundamental difference that exists between Roman wisdom and dry Anglo-Saxon egoism.

Rome absorbed nations by giving them the flower of her own civilization but London gives nothing but export whisky taxes and protective duties. Kipling himself has demonstrated that the success of the English consists entirely in keeping the British mentality and British customs isolated from those of the nations ruled.

But the method is beginning to grow old and England will now be called upon to answer for her weakness before Europe.

### Gandhi Makes History

The recent developments in India and the attitude of the Labour Party upon the Indian question is the subject of an editorial note in *The World Tomorrow*.

Open minded observers especially those who are fortunate enough to obtain first hand accounts may rightly anticipate important developments in India during the next few months. Indeed it may not be too romantic to assume that the coming year will witness political results as far reaching as any that the history of mankind records. If a people should be able to rid themselves of alien rule by the policy of mass disobedience they will have taught the world a new lesson the lesson of abolishing injustice and war at the same time. There are both pacifists and critics of pacifism who are very much worried about the violence that is beginning to manifest itself in India. We think they are too squeamish. On the whole Gandhi has had remarkable success in holding his left wing in check. Considering the nation wide character of the campaign the instances in which disturbances have occurred do not bulk very large. It may be that



violence on the part of the government will in time beget violence on the part of the native population. But the non-violent campaign is succeeding too well to make such an eventuality probable.

Meanwhile the course of the British Labour Party is not strengthening the faith of the friends of parliamentary Socialism in either the courage or the political sagacity of the Labour leaders. The recent pronouncements of the Labour Secretary of State for India did not swerve by a hairs breadth from the conventional opinions of the British bureaucracy. Of what good is a new party which lets itself be captured on the one hand by permanent officials and on the other by its political hopes and fears? It is of course easy to criticize at a distance but we suspect that there is no adequate explanation for the inability of the Labour Government to initiate a sensible policy beyond the safe channel of the opposition. It may do so in the near future but if it does it will be Gandhi's volunteers rather than its own political sagacity that will deserve the credit. Perhaps it is beyond the reaches of the political virtue of any party to govern wisely on the other side of the earth. In that case it is well that a way seems to have been found to destroy this kind of imperialism. There is no magic which endows a political party with the virtue of governing any class or nation to which it is not responsible. The very hope which drives the labouring man to seek his own political representation rather than trust in the representatives of another class ought to force him to see the absurdity of degrading the fate of another people. But alas no man is as willing to be deprived as to gain by political consistency. Wherefore Indians are obliged to use the same political weapons against British labourers as the latter use against their masters.

### A Symbol of Self-justification

To the same paper Mr. Richard B. Gregg contributes an article on the Simon Report in course of which he points out the real causes of the British enthusiasm over it.

After years of delay the Simon Commission appointed by the British Government to investigate conditions in India and make recommendations for the future political status of that much harried land has finally submitted the first volume of its report. Judging from the comments published in American newspapers early in June there is considerable misapprehension regarding the Indian situation among members of the Commission. Moreover much has happened since report was written.

But the members of the Simon Commission apparently do not believe that India is rapidly uniting for they describe its diversities and opposition groups in detail and at great length. Their statement will be eagerly received by that belief in Indian diversity rest all the hope of nations are split and divided. Since Britain wants *imperio* she hopes that the condition of *divide et impera* and she is very reluctant to believe the contrary. The next six months will be a period on the one and of testing the depth unity and power of

Indian feeling and will and on the other of educating Britain to the realities of a situation to which she is now blind. It will be a period of a suffering for both nations but the suffering of Britain will last longer.

The Simon Report clearly states that Great Britain and specially Parliament, has the responsibility of guiding India, and of deciding how much more power if any shall be given to Indians to manage their own affairs. Also it emphasizes the policy of gradualness. All this reveals the underlying assumption of British superiority. British politicians including the Commission realize that Indians resent this attitude. They ascribe this resentment to sensitive pride. But the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, recently told an English audience that Europe has completely lost her moral prestige in Asia. (See *Manchester Guardian* for May 23rd). If England has lost her moral prestige in India, the attitude of the Simon Commission would not seem conducive to regaining it.

The definite recommendations of the Commission will be out soon after this issue of *The World Tomorrow* appears. The general consensus of British journalistic guesses thus far seems to be that only slight and vague additions to Indian political power will be suggested. There are hints that features will be proposed tending to maintain the present communal lines and introduce further factors of diversiveness such as more power to the separate provinces and some kind of scheme for federalizing the provinces with the Indian States, perhaps so as to have the latter act as a more effective drag on the former. *Divide et impera*.

The Simon Commission Report, as I see it is nothing more than a symbol of self-justification by the British people in this crisis of their Empire. No wonder that it is a best seller in London book shops.

### What India Resents

While Mr. Gregg points out why the Simon Report has been so vociferously welcomed in British circles, Mr. C. I. Andrews writes in the *Nation and Athenaeum* on what India resents in it. Mr. Andrews says that on two points it touches the most sensitive chords of the Indian mind. They are its re-assertion of the doctrine of gradualness and its contention that India should remain an integral part of the British Empire. On both these points the Simon Commission as Mr. Andrews says, has shown itself disregardful of Indian *exat* Mr. Andrews goes on to say:

My own chief reaction to the first volume of the Simon Report after very careful reading has been this, that however much the Commissioners may have wished to respect this *exat* every Indian feels they have been placed in such a position by force of very unfortunate circumstances that it has not been possible for them to do so. It is useless to debate whether this was due to the British Government or to the Indian

review of this book in *The British Empire Review* gives some idea of Mr Dawson's point of view.

Why renew the wasted economic wealth, if only that it may be again pulverised and scattered blown into the air or sunk in the sea? Why trouble further about civilization if it is soon to be exposed once more to the onslaught of barbaric passions? These are the pertinent questions Mr Dawson asks and he gets to close grips with the real cause of international jealousies and war. He strips away the cant and humbug from the pretensions of the civilized nations and more especially, he shows how many of the characteristics of the British race are a constant aggravation to the nations less favoured. Few books published recently have been so well worth reading not that all the authors' contentions are by any means sound but every page contains much that we must either admit or find an argument to refute. We cannot leave them unchallenged. The psychology of a nation is worth looking into. The trouble of course is that most other nations have similar failings, and greater humility, greater generosity and less aggressiveness on our part would only be taken as weakness. Mr Dawson is very insistent that a large part of our Colonial Empire and most of the mandated territories we have taken over are really no business of ours and we could well do without them—that there is plenty to do in our own England without these extravagant commitments. An answer to this may be. To whom much is given much shall be required. The Church that has no missionary enterprise is a dead church. Perhaps the nation that does not help its younger brothers would fall into decay. The same argument might be applied to the author's contention that it is not idealism but sheer stupidity for a nation like our own whose first and most vital interest is peace to ally itself to quarrelsome neighbours who have never lived in amity together but are always ready to fly at each other's throats. A section of the book on How the Dominions can help leaves one with the impression that until the Empire is organised properly from an economic point of view there will be little room in the Dominions even for further British settlers let alone for those of other European nations. There are a hundred other things which one might controvert in this interesting volume but it certainly fulfils the purpose of turning over stones and revealing the crawling things thereunder. This is what is wanted.

The editorial disagreement was of course to be expected from an organ of the British Empire League but we do not think it materially lessens the force of Mr Dawson's arguments.

#### League of Nations and Agriculture

It has recently been asserted that the social hygienic, economic and intellectual

work accomplished by the League of Nations is of far greater moment than its purely political work. Without committing oneself definitely to this view, it is well to take note of the important social work undertaken by the League. The following account of its activities in connection with agriculture is taken from the *Oriental News Bulletin* issued by its Information Section.

Farmers in all countries will welcome the news that the League of Nations is thoroughly awake to the gravity and world wide character of the agricultural crisis. The Economic Committee, at its June session considered the recommendations of the Conference of agricultural experts held in January.

The experts says the Economic Committee's Report.

Emphasised the necessity of examining all economic problems from the point of view of their influence on agriculture. They pointed out the close relationship which exists between agriculture and commercial and industrial interests. One of their main desires is that the various countries should either act independently or jointly under the auspices of the League of Nations apply to a continually increasing extent the principle enunciated by the World Economic Conference of 1927 of the solidarity of all industries including agriculture and the interdependence of all economic factors.

The League's economic work can only attain effective results if it satisfies in the first place the needs of agriculture and provides agriculture with means to secure the place which is due to it in the preparation of economic policy and in the commercial relations between States.

The main preoccupation of the agricultural experts has been not merely to reply to the general questions laid before them but to supply information and make suggestions to facilitate the work of the international organs which have applied to them for advice. They would welcome the inauguration of a series of studies and enquiries with a view to concerted action to combat the agricultural crisis.

In particular they are of opinion that a thorough enquiry should be made into the methods employed and results obtained in various countries in which attempts have already been made to ensure better distribution of agricultural products by developing the system of producers co-operative and combining for the benefit of the market the efforts of producers and consumers co-operatives.

Certain experts also drew attention to the many problems raised by the international trade in agricultural produce. The rational organisation of the market for the chief agricultural products first on a national and subsequently on an international basis would be of great value, especially for the purpose of regulating supply and demand both as regards quality quantity and prices. These experts recommended that the international exchange of agricultural products which are consumed on a large scale and should be regarded as raw materials intended for human consumption in all countries should be facilitated.

They pointed out that in many cases international trade is still hampered by arbitrary limitations.

The agricultural experts are likewise of opinion that in accordance with the investigations carried out by the International Institute of Agriculture into the mechanism of international agricultural credit, an enquiry should be undertaken on a larger scale into the possibility first of organizing agricultural credit on a national basis and secondly of obtaining the co-operation necessary for the institution of international credit.

The Economic Committee noted the progress of the enquiries now being made in some cases with the assistance of the International Institute of Agriculture and of the International Labour Office into the most important points raised by the agricultural experts such as agricultural co-operative societies, agricultural credit, agricultural intelligence, the present agricultural depression and the problem of cereals. As regards the agricultural depression the agricultural delegation of the Economic Committee (which had conducted the discussion with the agricultural expert) stated that it was awaiting certain reports and would then specify the points of an international character on which action appeared possible.

### Einstein and Graphology

Even a great scientist has his lighter vein. The following story from the *Lening Age* gives an interesting account of one of the less serious interests of the great mathematician.

No less and authority than Albert Einstein the relativist man has been persuaded to believe that handwriting provides a key to human character. Always inclined to doubt theories that no scientific laws support, Einstein was persuaded upon by the Berlin Medical Society for Para Psychology to test the powers of a young Czech graphologist called Otto Reiman who analyses personality and even foretells the future simply by rubbing his fingers across a few hand written words. What Einstein did was to write two brief sentences on a slip of paper which was placed in a sealed envelope and slipped into Reiman's pocket. The graphologist who did not know that Einstein was present then placed his hand in his pocket felt the writing and described the writer as a man of artistic ambition but mediocre ability who was probably a rather bad actor. The experiment was about to be declared a failure when the paper was removed and it appeared that Einstein had written on the back of a typewritten letter signed by a Berlin theatre manager whose signature Reiman had been feeling.

Still ignorant of the fact that the handwriting on the other side of this letter was Einstein's the graphologist then attacked the sentences that the great physicist himself had written spreading the text out before him on the table. He said that the author divided his life between playing the violin and making mathematical notes and that his logical imagination would start at the point A leap to the point D and then fill in the points B and C later. Einstein's wife announced that the artist's was

perfect and also substantiated Reiman when he described her husband as over generous and utterly impractical. At this point somebody complained that nothing had been said about relativity whereupon Einstein remarked:

That is the most convincing part. It proves the reality of this man's gift. The theory of relativity while important from a scientific viewpoint nevertheless is only of minor importance in the human side of my character on which Herr Reiman must dwell.

The performer of these strange feats is the son of an old bourgeois family in Prague. He was born in 1903 works in a bank in his native city but plans to come to America at an early date. He has already been asked to the Einstein's home by way of recognition of his great performance.

### Public Employment Service

Though seeking employment and employing workers may theoretically seem to be the exclusive concern of the employer and the worker it has been found possible to help both the parties by the establishment of public employment bureaux. The scope and functions of such services are explained in the *Monthly Labor Review*.

In its narrower sense public employment service means the bringing together of employers seeking work and workers seeking employment or what is usually referred to as the placement of workers. But in a broader and more modern sense a public employment service means many other things such as the organization of the field of available employment opportunities and available workers, the training of employers and workers in the fitting of jobs to workers and of workers to jobs to the best advantage of all concerned, seeing that the unemployed workers especially young workers get proper vocational guidance, adequate training in a selected trade and needed skill, more economical and uniform distribution of available jobs and available workers between various occupations and industries as well as between various localities on a nation wide scale, the collection and publication of reliable and exact information in regard to employment conditions in the country, the observing of the trend of economic developments in the country in order to warn and advise industries and the public as to the measures to be undertaken against threatening emergencies such as shortage either of work or of workers.

As such a service deals primarily with human beings—workers, employers, Government officials and the public at large—and as it closely affects their vital interest it is obvious that the employment service to the successful must be conducted in the most aggressive efficient and business-like manner with a strictly objective and neutral attitude. This in turn requires from the employees in the service a broad knowledge and a deep understanding of human nature and character, a friendly sympathetic treatment of the people with whom they daily deal and high technical skill in rendering employment service.

It is also to be emphasized that an employment service is needed not only in the case of an aggravated unemployment situation as it exists in most of the countries at present, but it is also needed in case of an extreme shortage of workers such as occurred in many countries during the world war. Moreover such a service is not less needed during normal industrial activities. It eliminates the waste in human labour and invested capital which results from the haphazard search for jobs and workers. It prevents for and undertakes steps in the direction of preventing unemployment or shortage of workers.

### Prohibition in America

Though prohibition has been legally established in America its fate is still in the balance. The following account in the latest phase of the controversy is taken from *The Japan Weekly Chronicle*.

*The Literary Digest* lately took a straw vote on prohibition with votes on enforcement modification or repeal. The result was not encouraging to prohibitionists. A straw vote run by a popular magazine has naturally a limited value but it cannot be wholly ignored. Prohibitionists to do them justice were not at all inclined to ignore it, but they found a great many objections to it such as the wider distribution of ballots in wet States than in dry ones—all of which only gave the *Digest* the opportunity of showing that its figures were even more representative than they had claimed. The most wholehearted champions of Prohibition are prepared to believe of course, that the *Digest* belongs to the liquor interests and that the whole thing is a fake. Other evidences are not lacking that Prohibition may come to an end. Mr. Dwight Morrow, prospective Senator for New Jersey, has made repeal the chief issue in his campaign for election.

Of course to abolish the amendment will now have its own dangers. It may lead to a prolonged orgy. But as the States have power to legislate for themselves in such matters, all due precautions will doubtless be taken. But since the bootlegging interests are stronger than the legitimate liquor interests ever were it is feared in some quarters that those who profit by smuggling will prefer the Amendment to remain and will work hard to ensure that it does remain.

### A New Phase of the Russian Revolution

Mr. W. H. Chamberlain describes in *Current History* the new phase of the Russian Revolution that has opened under the dictatorship of Stalin.

If one thinks of the Bolshevik Revolution in terms of drama one might say that the third act has now been reached. The first act was represented by the period from the establishment of the Soviet Government in November 1917 until the declaration of the New Economic Policy

or Nep in March 1921, a declaration which closely coincided with the end of foreign intervention and civil war. The second act was characterized by the gradual reconstruction of the country under the compromise between Socialism and capitalism which was created by the Nep.

The third act of the revolution which beginning in 1925 has gained steadily in momentum up to the present time represents a determined effort on the part of the ruling Communist party to cut the Gordian knot of social and economic contradictions inherent in the Nep by tearing out the last roots of capitalism in Russia, to cite a phrase now much in vogue.

By far the most significant thing that is happening in Russia now is the agrarian revolution. If the absorption of individual households into collective farms goes forward during the next two or three years as rapidly as it is proceeding at present individual farming will have become little more than a memory and moreover the basic economic contradiction of the Soviet State will have been resolved since the central planning organs which laid down programmes for the State-controlled industries could never calculate with any certainty on how much grain and raw material the peasants would supply. The New Economic Policy had strengthened the position of the peasants as small proprietors by substituting regular taxation and freedom of internal trade for the wartime requisitions of all surplus produce. It was evident therefore that in the long run the ultimate character of the Soviet social order would depend on whether the Communists would succeed in fitting the peasants into the structure of the Social State.

In their efforts to transform a predominantly agricultural country into a highly mechanized industrialized state at record speed and without external assistance the fierce innovating energy of the Communist party and the State machine spares neither people nor institutions that may stand in the way. The most conservative of all human inventions the calendar has been smashed by the introduction of the continuous working week, the new calendars which are being printed are on the basis of the five-day week. Such a fundamental change as the Latinization of the Russian alphabet is apparently on the verge of being undertaken following the general introduction of the Latin characters in the Eastern Republics of the Soviet Union.

The psychology of making a clean break with the Russian past is a very important characteristic of the Soviet regime. It helps to explain in part the war on religion which during 1929 greatly extended its scope and adopted methods which had previously been considered inadvisable, such as huge parades holding up to mockery the objects of reverence of various faiths public burning of icons and so forth. To these measures there have been added during the past year the melting down of church bells and the turning of copper and bronze to industrial uses, the inauguration of systematic anti-religious teaching in the schools, the extended and intensified use of the theatre, the motion picture and the museum as media for anti-religious propaganda.

Standards of intellectual conformity are much more rigid than they were before this third act of the revolution began. Thus the Writers Union

recently declared ineligible for membership all authors who do not actively participate in social construction. Whereas last season three plays by a young Russian author, Mikhail Bulgakov whose outlook was obviously far removed from that of Communism, were permitted on the Moscow stage, now all his plays have been banned completely. Even two works which were offered with the best of revolutionary intentions were whisked off the boards almost as soon as they were produced because some flaws were found in their ideological content. The same tendency to make Marxism and "class content" basic criteria in the cultural field is to be seen in literature.

### The Danger of Universal Spotlight

The generous publicity given to the Byrd expedition to the Antarctic only serves to remind us, says *The New Republic*, that the days of privacy are past and that we are living in a period in which neither heroism nor cowardice, neither virtue nor crime can any longer exist without all consciousness. The danger of this over publicity is great especially for the common herd. As *The New Republic* goes on to say:

But when the crowd has been seeing other crowds on the screen it must shiver upon its own intelligence if any that it is also being seen

Already the New Yorker may occasionally see himself in the news reels. From this stage it may be but a short step to a point where he will more and more think of himself not as an actual and humble human being but as a character on the screen. One emerges from seeing a news reel with one's senses somewhat blunted for an instant the whirling kale of the street is not what might be called a *ding* (or *din*) *au such* it is rather a continuation of what one has just been hearing and looking at. One's feet move with the jerky rhythm of the broken bits of pictures that are the cinema. Probably one's mind moves temporarily in the same fashion. Let us imagine this phenomenon becoming widespread as it surely must as our facilities for seeing hearing and things smelling one another across great intervals of space are multiplied. The theatrical and circus character of even an actual motion picture photograph of an actual scene will more and more pervade our lives. We shall move as Lafcadio Hearn thought of the Japanese doing as if to inaudible music. We shall keep step to roanings and yowlings and military snarl and we shall never be natural never unaided never unconscious because we shall now know that the all-seeing eye of the motion picture camera is not upon us and its all-seeing ear is listening.

This self-conscious age will have succeeded the stone bronze iron and steel ages. A few eccentrics in out-of-the-way places may continue to caw and spit and swear and put their feet on a table quite as they damn please but the overwhelming majority of us will be mentally over and eternally in Hollywood.

## The Independence Agitation in Cyprus

By B. N. SHARMA

### I

THE island of Cyprus is situated in the eastern Mediterranean at a distance of 60 miles from Asia Minor 40 from Syria and 240 from Port Said. It cannot, from its position, be of much use in protecting the Suez Canal in time of war. It neither lies in the track of world commerce nor is it a link in the great chain of communications between England and India. It is neither a port of call nor a first class military station.

The area of the island is 3584 sq miles. It is thirty times as large as Malta and next to Sardinia and Sicily the largest island in the Mediterranean sea. Its population at the census of 1921 was 310,715 of which 61,399

are Muslims. The total revenue of the island in 1924 was £713,753 and the total expenditure £679,980. Though the island is predominantly agricultural, it has suffered so much from centuries of Turkish misrule that more than twelve per cent of her imports consist of flour, rice, tobacco and sugar. Even during the fifty years of British administration the pace of progress has been exceedingly slow.

### II

Although in mythology the island was famous as the abode of the goddess of love, as a land of peace, pleasure and elegance the country has passed through very troublous

times and witnessed the ebb and flow of diverse civilizations. It held a prominent place in the Hellenic world. It became a part of the Roman Empire. It was conquered by Richard Coeur de Lion and after a short period was handed over to the Latin Kings of Jerusalem. It became a dependency of the Byzantine emperors and then along with the other islands of the Levant it passed under the Turks who ruled over the country for 300 years.

At the conclusion of the Russo Turkish War of 1878 Turkey by the Treaty of San Stefano had to cede to Russia a large slice of territory in Armenia. To guard against further territorial losses she entered into a convention with Great Britain whereby the British Government undertook to defend by force of arms the integrity of the Asiatic possessions of Turkey. In order to enable the British Government to fulfil her treaty obligations the Sultan allowed Great Britain to occupy and administer Cyprus. A sum equivalent to the excess of revenue over expenditure amounting to £92,900 was to be annually paid to the sublime Porte. Though the island technically remained under Turkish suzerainty the administration became British.

Soon after the British occupation the Greek section of the population—eighty per cent of the total—began to press for self government. In 1882 to aid the High Commissioner a Legislative Council of six official and twelve non official members was constituted. Communal representation was given to the Muslim minority. The Muslim electors elected three members and the non Muslims the remaining nine.

### III

In 1914 when Turkey entered the war against the Allies Great Britain formally annexed Cyprus to the British Empire. In 1915 the British offered to cede Cyprus to Greece if she would join the Allies. In 1916 however the offer was withdrawn and Great Britain promised not to alienate Cyprus without the consent of France. On the termination of the War it would have been difficult for British statesmen to resist Greek claims on Cyprus eighty per cent of the island population being Greek but Mr Lloyd George adroitly backed M. Venizelos the Greek dictator in claiming an overseas empire in Thrace and Smyrna. Thus silenced the Greeks.

The Greek schemes of aggrandisement were rudely shattered by the unexpected reserve of strength shown by the National Turkish Government at Angora. The Greek armies were pushed out of Anatolia by Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha. The Greeks did not gain Thrace and Smyrna and they lost their chance of getting Cyprus also.

### IV

In 1925 the island was raised to the status of a colony. The Governor is now assisted by an Executive Council composed of three official and three non official members. In the Legislative Council fifteen of the twenty four members are elected by communal electorates three by the Muslim voters and twelve by the non muslim voters.

Thus we see that while the non officials have been associated with the executive for the first time the Legislature contains a larger official element than it did before 1925. As a sop to Greek sentiment the Muslim representation is reduced from twenty five per cent to twenty per cent. All this however has only whetted the appetite of the Greek population who now clamours for independence.

### V

As we have just said of the fifteen elected members twelve are Greeks. In July last they submitted a memorandum to the Colonial Secretary wherein they demanded secession from Great Britain and failing that a responsible form of Government a cancellation of the annual tribute of £92,800 and a refund of the sum paid after 1914. To press the demand a deputation also waited upon the Colonial Secretary in London.

The considered reply of the Colonial Secretary was published in the Cyprus Gazette of December 13 1929. The demand for secession was summarily dismissed and the question was declared closed. The annual tribute of £92,800 also could not be stopped as the sum is being used to pay the interest on the guaranteed Turkish loan of 1855. As regards the Cypriot demand for responsible Government there is no chance of its acceptance in the near future as the island has not yet reached a sufficiently high stage of development. To add insult to injury the memorialists are advised to assist the Government officials in improving the economic position of the Colony by agreeing

to have better class English officials on higher salaries

## VI

This curt refusal of the British Colonial Office has raised a storm of resentment in the politically vocal section of the Greek community. Mr Zoon Rozidis, Secretary of the Cyprus Delegation which visited London makes it clear in his reply that such pronouncements instead of disheartening the Cypriots will only stimulate their inherent desire for freedom. He refers to a speech delivered by Mr Ramsay MacDonald in the Labour and Socialist Conference at Berne in 1919 wherein he declared that the policy of the Labour Party would be to allow the people of Cyprus to decide for themselves to which of the state within the League of Nations they would like to join.

Yet only ten years after the emancipation of the Labour policy toward Cyprus is the Labour Secretary of State who is the question of secession to be debated. So long as the Greek nation live their political aspirations cannot be suppressed by dangling before them the bogey of a settled fact. How many settled facts in the world's history, even in recent Indian history have been unsettled by sustained political agitation?

## VII

The next question is that of the payment of the annual tribute and it is a serious question as upon it depends, to a very great extent, the solution of the harassing economic problems of the country. The island suffers from bad harbours, inadequate irrigation facilities and the absence of an enlightened industrial policy. The Colonial Secretary justifies the payment of the tribute on the ground that Cyprus is a succession state and therefore it should be responsible for a proportionate share of the Turkish national debt. The Greek members hold that Cyprus is not a succession state but Great Britain and Great Britain, therefore, ought to pay the amount out of her general budget and not out of the budget of the territory annexed. That is what other succession states like Greece, Rumania, and Italy are doing.

Since the abrogation of the Convention in 1914 a sum of more than £2 million has been taken away from Cyprus. This huge

loss and an annual drain of £92,800 out of the petty total revenue of £713,753 (excluding the Imperial grant) means practically starving the nation building department and postponing to the Greek kalanders the day of Cypriot emancipation. That the treatment meted out to poor Cyprus by a rich and powerful country like Great Britain is not generous is also the opinion of Captain Orr, some time Chief Secretary of Cyprus.

## VIII

The last point made out by the Colonial Secretary is that no useful purpose can be served by the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the present state of affairs of the country and to suggest means to install a responsible form of Government in the Colony. The development of the country has been greatly retarded by the non official majority in the legislature and the low salaries of the English officials. Put the Cypriots in other words should voluntarily surrender their non official majority vote for a substantial increase in the salaries of the civil officers—the present rate affords seven percent of the total revenue being paid out in salaries is evidently too low. It is only by pampering the civil service that this haunted island can be nursed back to plenty and prosperity.

## IX

What an invaluable advice is this! According to the Labour Government the talk of Cypriot independence is mere moonshine. Any talk of responsible Government or even a near approach to it is also sheer waste of time. Cyprus should remain for an indefinite time the dumping ground for British skill and administrative talent.

Such an attitude on the part of the Labour Government towards Cypriot aspirations is very much like the attitude of the Conservative and Liberal parties with regard to India. In what respect may a candid enquirer ask is Mr Sydney Webb now Lord Passfield different from his Conservative predecessor Mr Amery? The naked truth is that there is little to choose between one British political party and another. All are equally Imperialistic. As Dryden says in his letter to Congreve, "Tom the Second rules like Tom the first."

**EDITOR'S NOTE**—The story of the Cypriot nationalist movement is carried to a more recent date in the leaderette reproduced below from *The Wheel of Bombay* which is an influential Roman Catholic journal edited by A Soares M A LL B

It is reported by cable from Nicosia that the Archbishop of Cyprus President of the Cyprian National Council on the occasion of the King's birthday handed to the acting Governor of Cyprus a letter of resolutions, which were passed and duly signed in all the towns and villages of the island expressing the fervent wish of the population both urban and rural for the political union of their island with Greece says the *Manchester Guardian* of 6th June. A loyal birthday present indeed!

This is evidently another instance of racial and national insurrection against alien rule. It is also a non-violent and even constitutional insurrection. And what is the answer of the idealistic Labour Government? Well a dose of the medicine which they are trying in India to drag poor people into loyalty as if loyalty were a matter of outward compulsion instead of an inward conviction. The following letter to the *Guardian* (4th June) by M Zenon Rosides a Cyprian delegate in London makes it clear how it is proposed to deal with dangerous thought in Cyprus.

Sir—I beg to be allowed to draw attention to the grave blow that the liberty of the press has just received from the Government in Cyprus by recent legislation so drastically fettering journalism as to constitute an actual menace to the free and legitimate expression of public opinion.

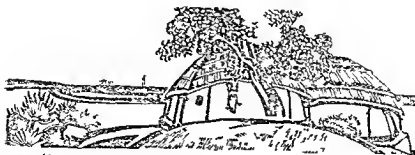
It is provided *inter alia* in this new law that no newspaper shall be published without a special permit from the Government in whose discretionary power it will absolutely rest to refuse to grant, or even to cancel a permit. It is a condition that the proprietor shall not have been dismissed for whatever reason from the Government service and heavy bonds with sureties are required while numerous other stringent conditions are attached.

That a measure reviving such despotic restrictions of the past (long abolished even by most backward countries) should now be so unjustifiably introduced in a peaceful country under British administration is a matter for no little concern not only to those interested in the intellectual and other progress of the island and the freedom of its inhabitants but generally to all who have faith in British fairness and who cherish the liberty of the press.

I express the confident belief that the British press so keenly alive to the paramount significance of the freedom of the press will not fail to take a sympathetic attitude in the case of such uncalculated interference with its liberty in a British possession.

A formal protest against the introduction of this law has been sent to Lord Passfield.

It goes without saying that if England goes for the strong hand it is done on the most altruistic principles. It is all done in the interest of the poor backward Cypriots who are fortunate enough to enjoy and yet do not seem to appreciate the blessings of the *Pax Britannica*. Alas! There is no gratitude anywhere in the world.





# Bhootki

By SANTA DEVI

Translated by Sita Devi

**F**IELD after field of golden grain bordered by trees with deep green foliage. The sky was the spec less blue of autumn and on the horizon was painted a range of hills in various poses. Some looked like helmeted soldiers with proud erect heads, some resembled Yogis in meditation with bowed shoulders, and some looked like blushing brides with downcast eyes. These huge masses of stone, though inert lifeless and mute yet seemed to express something through their postures.

The sun was about to set. The last rays of the sun gilded the white fleecy clouds and then poured down in a stream on the tree top as if exhausted. A narrow ridge-like path ran by the side of the paddy fields. At a little distance one could see a small rivulet, with wide stretches of golden sand on both sides. A group of buffaloes and a few cows stood drinking at the shallow stream. Two aborigine girls appeared to be taking care of them. Their dark bodies shone like black marble in the rays of the departing sun.

Samaresh and Madhabi were walking along that narrow ridge. Madhabi gazed entranced at the wealth of colours produced by the glorious sunset and remarked, "When we are in Calcutta, we have to forget that there are such things as sunset and sun!"

Samaresh laughed and said, "We have very little to do with the sun there so we can ignore him easily. But we don't spare much time either for the food we eat everyday. Do we ever pause to think whence those rice and pulse come? Those fields of golden grain remind us but as soon as they pass out of sight the world becomes a place full of macadamized roads and huge blocks of concrete and stone."

Suddenly a small crowd appeared at the bend of the small path talking and laughing loudly. The intellectual conversation of our hero and heroine came to an abrupt halt. The crowd consisted of Behar's Santals and a few others. Most of them wore coarse home-spun dhoties and saris with broad red

borders. These had red and black fringes of stout thread and men and women alike wore their hair in carefully prepared polished knots. Large strings of coloured beads adorned their necks. Most of them carried loads on their heads. The women carried babies too tied to their backs with red strips of cloth while baskets of green vegetables rise and pulse which they had just bought from the country fair rested on their heads.

A young girl accompanied by a man walked with the crowd. She had a basket on her head but no baby. She wore a short jacket of cheap English print and a British made sari. Her thick black hair was tied in a knot behind her back with wide red ribbons. There were tattoo marks on her forehead and her flat nose, round face and dark complexion clearly indicated her origin. She could scarcely be called beautiful according to any scientific or artistic standard yet her vigorous health and blooming youth made her appear so. Her carriage, her speech, her gestures were quite free and easy and full of grace.

She approached Madhabi quickly and said, "Salam, Mem Sahib. Do you want a maid servant?"

Instead of replying to her, Madhabi whispered playfully to Samaresh, "Look here the girl takes me for a Mem Sahib."

You look like one by the side of the Ethiopian beauty," said Samaresh. The girl all this while had been standing gravely by.

"Are you a Hindustani?" asked Madhabi. How did you come to learn Hindi?"

The girl did not say whether she was a Hindustani or not, but replied to the latter part of Madhabi's question by saying, "I learnt Hindi at my old Mem Sahib's."

It was quite apparent from her broken Hindi and pronunciation that she was not a Hindustani.

What work can you do? asked Madhabi. I can wash dishes, she replied. Her companion now came forward and said, "She can do anything you want, Madam."

Samaresh was getting impatient "There's no famine of servants in the town," he said, "for you to engage one on the road. We must hurry back now."

"Wait a bit," said Madhabi. "Since she has come of herself, she won't expect much. I have no one to carry khoka about. This girl seems quite strong, she will just suit me."

Samaresh grew angry. "Do what you want," he said, "you are always on the look-out for wasting money."

Madhabi paid no heed to his temper. "How much do you want?" she asked the girl.

"Whatever you please to give," she replied.

"I will give you three rupees and your food," Madhabi said.

"I won't eat rice, Mem Sahib," said the girl.

"What do you want, pilau?" asked Madhabi jestingly.

But the girl did not smile. "If you give me unecooked rice, I will cook myself," she said. "We don't take food, prepared by baburchs."

Samaresh laughed and said, "Good Heavens! she appears to be very strict about caste. We, who are pure Aryans, do not seem to be good enough for this Santhal girl."

"All right," said Madhabi. "I shall give you your meals unecooked and pay you three rupees."

The girl appeared to be quite satisfied. "I shall give you my address," said Madhabi. "You must be there at six sharp. What's your name?"

"Bhoothi" replied the girl. She took her address from Madhabi and went away.

"You always complain of my wasting money," Madhabi said to Samaresh. "If she decides to stay on, she would be a positive god-send. In Calcutta, if you want an ayah she would at once ask for twenty rupees, and board and lodging besides. Instead of that, you get one for three rupees. You ought to pay me some *bat-shis* for managing so cleverly."

Everything, I had, including myself, is yours already," said her husband. "Could I pay you more?"

"I hope, you will remember that," said Madhabi. "If I happen to die before you, don't go and give away my property to another woman."

Samaresh only laughed in answer.

Early next morning, Bhoothi arrived punctually at six, to join her new work. She had four strings of beads round her neck and sported an astonishing amount of red ribbons. Madhabi got up hastily from bed, rubbing her sleep-laden eyes, and said to her husband, "See, how punctual she is, though she gets only a salary of three rupees. On the other hand, your beurai, who gets twelve, is still sleeping. He could never take out khoka for his morning walk before nine. It is not for nothing that I wanted an ayah for khoka. These useless servants drive me positively crazy."

As Bhoothi came in, khoka looked at her with wonder and asked, "Who is she, mummy?"

"She is your ayah," replied his mother. Khoka took his mother's face in both hands, and turned it round towards himself, asking, "What will ayah do?"

"She will play with you, take you out for walks, and tell you nice stories."

Khoka was jubilant. "What stories?" he eagerly asked, "those about the cat and the fox?"

His mother got fed up. "I don't know," she said rather shortly, "go and ask her."

Khoka felt a bit shy at first. He clutched the end of his mother's sari, and stood leaning against her knees. But he managed to peep at Bhoothi, now and then, surreptitiously. Even Bhoothi could hardly refrain from laughing, though she appeared to be a very serious person. She stretched out her hands, saying, "Come on baby."

One call was sufficient to win khoka's heart. He sprang into her arms, and clung to her, saying, "Tell me nice stories."

To Bhoothi her work seemed more like her devotional exercise. Even before the darkness of early dawn had fully disappeared Bhoothi could be heard, scouring all the pots and pans that belonged to khoka, her wrist-lets jangling noisily. Madhabi could always see her, standing ready by her bedroom door, to take khoka, however early it might be. On account of her strict punctuality, Madhabi and Samaresh had perforce to rise earlier than was their wont. Samaresh objected strongly, but he was no match for Madhabi. "No, no, that won't do," she would say. "You can't go on sleeping under warm blankets, while another human being is shivering with cold at your door, waiting your good pleasure."

You need not copy the bad manners of Eurasians.

They had a wide verandah on the north of their room. Blasts of ice cold wind would rush in shaking all the trees of the garden and piercing the bodies of the inmates of the room like sharp arrows. Bhootki had no warmer covering than her thin cotton sari. So Samareesh had to get up though very reluctantly, leaving his warm red blanket.

As soon as he got up, khoka too jumped up. The gold wand whose touch broke through the age-long slumber of the princess was in this case represented by the memory of Bhootki's charms. He would stand up erect on the bed rubbing his eyes and shaking his curly locks off his face. "Papa put me down," he would shout. "I want to go to Bhootki."

"What an ungrateful brat!" his mother would say. "The whole night I have to look after him and see that he does not throw off the blankets. I have to soothe him, pet him and scratch his back. But as soon as it is morning he forgets everything and whines. I want Bhootki. Go away, you wicked boy. I won't come to you again. Let us see who sleeps with you at night."

"All right, khoka would answer, waving his chubbily hand. "I will sleep with Bhootki."

"You are a little monkey," his mother would say.

Khoka would toddle off at once in search of Bhootki. He would jump into her arms and say "I have come, Bhootki, kiss me."

Bhootki would cast a furtive glance around then cover khoka's face with kisses. She was afraid of being detected by Madhabi, who had strictly forbidden her to kiss the child as it was unhygienic.

After khoka had partaken of his breakfast, he and his nurse would go and sit down under the big banyan tree in the garden. And sometimes the gardener, the bearer and the sweeper woman too would join them, carrying flowers and fruits as presents for khoka.

Bhootki sat on a cane stool with the sun shining full on her face while khoka sat in his little wheeled chair with the sun behind him. "It is very cold, little master," Bhootki would say. "I have got no clothes."

Khoka's heart would melt with pity at once. "I shall buy clothes for you from the shop to-morrow," he would say, trying to comfort her. "A new coat, I shall get for you. You will put your hands inside the

pockets and walk about the streets. Throw away your old dress."

"What else will you get for me, little master?" Bhootki would ask again.

"I shall give you potato chips, oranges, sweets, and everything," would answer the magnanimous little man.

The gardener would come around with his watering can and ask "What will you give me, master?"

Khoka would look grave and say "Mother will buy things for you."

"Nothing for me, little master?" the bearer would ask.

Khoka would get fed up. "Go away," he would shout. "I don't want you."

Bhootki would look triumphant and draw the child into her arms.

In the evening, khoka was taken out for an airing in the adjoining fields. Madhabi got up from her afternoon nap to find that khoka was not in her room. But all her boxes and drawers stood open and disarranged. Who could have done this since khoka was not there? She came out and asked the servants but could get no satisfactory reply.

The short winter evening hastened to its close. The sun began to set, leaving the paths and fields mild and cool and taking away the crown of light from the heads of the trees. Madhabi looked at the paddy fields and found the wayside full of tents which a band of gypsies had set up. The women had built fires and began their cooking in earthen pots. These people must have come in to see if they could steal something, thought Madhabi, and had run off scared leaving everything topsyturvy. She continued looking out of the window to see if she could recognize any of her own things. Bhootki's head, decorated with bright red ribbons, appeared on the road. But who was it sitting in khoka's cart? He seemed to be dressed in all the colours of the rainbow. But as they approached nearer Madhabi could see that it was no other than khoka himself. He was dressed in red velvet pants and a blue coat of satin. Over it, he had put on a bright pink woollen shawl while his small feet were encased in green stockings and white shoes. A cap embroidered with gold thread rested on his head. Bhootki had ransacked all the boxes and drawers and taken out everything bright looking to dress up khoka. The wonderful wardrobe which Madhabi had so carefully collected was completely devastated. Madhabi was

furious and rushed at the offending nurse maid as soon as she came in. "What have you done, you wretch," she cried, "could not you see this warm suit and dress him in?"

"Little master won't put on dirty clothes" replied Bhootki gravely. "I feel ashamed."

"Oh, what a Nawab!" Madhabi said. "He is ashamed of dirty things. Go away, you wretch, don't touch my baby."

Bhootki put down the child and moved aside. "Oh, Bhootki," shouted he, rending the very heavens with his cry. Still Bhootki did not dare to approach him. Khoka rolled on the ground in the intensity of his grief.

"What a monkey," said Madhabi. "nobody can say anything to the girl for fear of him. Take him away. But don't you dare to touch my boxes again."

Bhootki took up the child with the same grave face, and walked out. Then, when she was out of Madhabi's hearing, she whispered, "Little master, you are very rich. When you grow older you will wear tons of gold and silver. You will become a king, a barrister."

"No, I won't," protested Khoka. "I will remain khoka."

As days passed, the gardener began to grow more and more fond of Khoka's company. He was seldom absent from his side. Only one servant had come from Calcutta with the family. But he was inordinately lazy. While in Calcutta Madhabi had to take him to task daily, to make him clean the rooms and verandahs. But she found that it was simply impossible to make him look after the big garden here. Coercion and persuasion had failed alike. She had another quarrel with her husband, because she wanted to engage a gardener. But as usual, she had her own way in the end.

At first the man did very little. He watered the plants and trees, and decorated the flower vases in the drawing room with a profusion of chrysanthemums. The room would become overloaded with the perfume of fresh flowers and the old walls and shabby furniture would become glorified, causing even Samresh to forget his grievance about the extra servant. But Madhabi did not like servants who for ever tried to shirk their legitimate duties. The man could never be induced either to do any household work and proclaimed loudly that he

was engaged to look after the garden and not to do the work of the other servants for them.

But suddenly he seemed to find plenty of leisure. He could always be seen, sitting by the side of Khoka under the old Nim tree or carrying him about on his shoulders. Bhootki walked behind him regally, carrying Khoka's cap or sweater. She looked like the mistress and the Oriya gardener posed as her very humble servant.

Madhabi would flare up at this sight. "Look at the fellow," she would say. "I engaged him so that he might carry Khoka about a bit after finishing his work in the garden. It is not much. But he would never listen to me. Watering the plants and cutting some flowers seemed to require the whole day's labour then. But now he is following that Santhal girl about the whole day, like a pet dog. I will have him kicked out one of these days. I cannot bear such goings on!"

"Why do you get angry for nothing?" her husband would say. "They too are human, with the normal love of companionship and love."

"But it is highly unseemly," his wife would argue. "She is a Santhal, while the man is an Oriya. What's the use of their friendship?"

"But you were a great exponent of social reform," Samresh said. "Because they are poor and uncultured, that's no reason why they should not benefit by your sympathy."

But Madhabi had to acknowledge, that the man had really improved in his work if not in his manners. Nowadays, nobody had to shout for him to bring Khoka's bathing water. As soon as Bhootki got Khoka ready for his bath, the gardener Udaya was there with the water. If Madhabi would ask Bhootki to fetch anything, Udaya would run for it, even before Bhootki could get up. Whenever Bhootki put down Khoka, Udaya would take him up at once. Khoka was extremely self-willed and obstinate and sometimes Bhootki too got tired of his moods, but not so Udaya. He would try and try to appease the little tyrant with all his might, in order to relieve the girl. Trying to please Bhootki, he pleased one and all.

On market days, Bhootki would sometimes take a few hours' leave to do her simple shopping. Khoka would wait

impatiently for her and question his mother a thousand times, "Mother, where has Bhootki gone?"

The weekly market was held in the town. A big banyan tree stood in the centre of the field, where the stalls were erected. The vendors spread their wits on the ground, over which they arranged their stock. Rice, pulse, fish, vegetables, and all kinds of food-stuffs were there, besides coloured saris, printed and plain, strings of gay beads, glass bangles, metal bracelets, mirrors, hairpins and combs. Everything needed by the village beauty for her toilette was there. Udaya was returning with fish and vegetables for the kitchen. Bhootki carried a comb, a bottle of castor oil and a small tin pail. Suddenly, a woman appears before her. She was dressed in a red sari, with huge yellow flowers on it and carried a large basketful of glass bangles on her head. "Do you want bangles?" she asked.

Bhootki looked greedily at the multi-coloured bangles, then turned away her eyes. "Why don't you take some?" asked the woman.

"I have no money," said Bhootki. Udaya smiled shyly and said, "Do take some, I will pay."

Bhootki walked off in offended dignity. "Who wants them?" she asked angrily. "Do you think, I will become a queen, with your two pice worth of finery?" A shop-keeper was selling chains, wristlets and anklets of silver, just in front of this group. Udaya entered the shop and took up a chain. "You want this?" he asked.

Bhootki got more angry. "Go away, you wretch," she said. "Why should I take presents from you?"

Udaya whispered something in her ear. It seemed to mollify Bhootki a bit who condescended to smile. Udaya paid for the chain and put it round her throat.

As soon as they reached home, Bhootki raised a storm. He wanted Bhootki's chain. Bhootki felt ashamed to put it on him, but the little tyrant refused to be pacified otherwise. At last Madhabi came up and asked, "What's the matter here? I never heard such a din in my life before."

"Little master wants this chain," said Bhootki shamefacedly.

Madhabi turned up her nose at the sight of the trinket. "For shame, bhoka," she said. "Why do you want such things?"

You are very silly. You should not wear Bhootki's ornaments."

"Please buy one for khoka, Mem Sahib," said Bhootki rather timidly.

"Don't be a fool," said Madhabi. "What's the use of buying such things?"

Suddenly, something seemed to strike her. "Where did you get the chain from?" she asked the servant girl. "You get only three rupees, how do you then manage to buy fineries?"

Bhootki remained silent. "Why don't you answer?" asked Madhabi.

Bhootki hesitated, then answered "Somebody gave it to me."

Madhabi became suspicious and began to cross-question. "Who is that somebody?"

"Udaya," answered Bhootki, very shyly.

Madhabi lost her temper completely. "How dare you, you bussy," she cried, "to flaunt Udaya's presents in my face? What is he to you?"

Bhootki stood silent. "You are running straight to hell," Madhabi continued, "Are not you afraid of going about with him? He will never marry you."

Yes, Mem Sahib," said Bhootki at last, rather frightened, "he has promised to marry me."

He will do nothing of the sort," said Madhabi. "You are afraid to eat in my kitchen for fear of losing caste, how can you consent to marry this Oriya?"

Bhootki's eyes filled with tears. "I have no friends or relatives, Mem Sahib," she said. "So what's the use of caste to me? If he marries me, and converts me into an Oriya, I shall have somebody to call my own."

Madhabi had nothing more to say. Bhootki took up khoka and went out. There was no one in the garden. She sat down under a lime tree and taking off the silver chain, put it round khoka's neck. Khoka cast his chubby arms round her neck, caressed her and said, "You are a very good boy."

But matters did not end there. At night Madhabi had a talk with Sumaresh on the subject. Have you heard about your gardener's gallantry?" she said. "He has bought Bhootki a silver chain. And the hussy is going about, showing it off to everybody. I wonder, what they are thinking of."

"Probably of civil marriage," answered her husband.

"Don't be silly," said Madhabi, giving hi

a slight push You must reprove him to-morrow

Next morning Udaya was sent for Samresh went straight to the point Have you said that you wanted to marry Bhooti?

Udaya was taken completely aback at the suddenness of the question Then he recovered and put out his tongue in dismay How can that be sir? he asked "I will lose caste if I marry a Sathul Besides I am married and have a family in my village

Samresh frowned and asked, "Then why did you go and make her a present?"

Udaya did not know what to say After a while he answered rather stupidly "I have not made her any present sir somebody else must have done it

Samresh gave him a resounding slap on the cheek Get out of my house at once he shouted You dare you lie to me? Get out this minute

Udaya vanished in an instant Poor Bhooti seemed ready to sink into the earth at this perky But she could not refrain from running after him and saying something to him Udaya turned angrily round uttering sharp words

But Bhooti still followed him with khoka in her arms Madhabi came out of her room and related her story Don't you dare to step out of the gate else I shall hand you over to the police

Bhooti came back Have you no shame? asked Madhabi If you run after him like this you won't find a home in any decent house

Bhooti stood weeping but made no answer She refused to let khoka down from her arms even for a moment Even Madhabi could not take him from her In the evening she gave khoka his dinner and put him to sleep Then she kissed his round cheeks stealthily and sat down at the head of the bed weeping tears of agony

When Madhabi entered the room she got up and said "Mem Sahib please pardon me And if I have ever committed any other fault please pardon those also

In the morning Madhabi got up very late because there was no sound of scuttling utensils to awaken her As the morning light streamed in through the window curtains she sat up with a start "Bhooti must have been frozen to death she murmured standing all this while at the door in this cold

She opened the door and was surprised

to find no Bhooti there The cold north wind rushed through the deserted garden shaking the trees in every branch She called the other servants but could get no news of Bhooti from them She re-entered her room and said Bhooti is not there Perhaps she felt ashamed to come

Who knows? said her husband That rascal may have enticed her away, though he pretended to be very sharp with her

Madhabi went to take up khoka from the bed As she pulled him up, she noticed that one of his gold bangles was missing Who has taken his bangle? she cried That witch must have stolen it Now I understand why she is absent She has taken the ornament and gone away with that scoundrel

It is quite possible said her husband But why did she steal only one bangle and leave the other? This is rather strange

Nothing strange in it" his wife answered She was about to take both when I came in and interrupted And mark her impudence she had the cheek to ask pardon of me as she walked off with her booty I thought she felt ashamed of her behaviour in the morning

Madhabi put khoka down on the floor As she did so there was a jingling sound and the much talked of silver chain, one or two trinkets also belonging to Bhooti and three pieces of silver rolled down This is even more strange said Samresh To leave one's own things behind while stealing those belonging to others But the chain is a fake The man has cheated her in every way

"It's a mere eyewash" said his wife She wanted to mystify us So she left all these rubbish behind But I am not going to let her off so easily this time You must go to the police station and report

Samresh had his tea then started for the police station The first thing that greeted his sight there was Bhooti's black head with its wealth of red ribbons All her other decorations she had left on the bed of khoka She stood by the door with bent head and so did not catch sight of Samresh at first He noticed that the girl was weeping

He felt moved with pity at the desolate attitude of the girl He went up to the constable standing by the door and asked Whence have you brought this girl? Has

anyone lodged any complaint against her? Let her go"

Bhoothi retreated still further behind the door, when she caught sight of the speaker "We did not bring her here, sir," replied the constable, "she has come of herself, to lodge a complaint. She says a gardener named Udaya, has stolen a gold bangle, belonging to her master's child. She wants to see the sub-inspector."

"Yes it's true" said Samresh. "But what proof is there that the gardener has taken it? The child used to be in her charge."

This time Bhoothi spoke up. "Yes sir," she said, "I took off the gold bangle but I did not mean to steal it. Khoka wanted a gold chain, but madam would not buy him one. He cried and cried. Then Udaya said

he knew the art of doubling things. If I gave him one pair of gold bangles, he could make it into two pairs. With the second pair, I can purchase as many chains as I liked. I did not believe him fully. Still I gave him one in order to test him. But yesterday, when he went away he disowned everything. He said he did not know anything about the bangle. I don't know, sir, how to rouse my head after such a piece of folly. If the police cannot catch him, I shall go to jail in his stead. I can lose caste, sir, but I do not want to commit a sin."

She began to weep again. I cannot live without Khoka, sir," she said. "Please pardon me this time."

Samresh seemed to hear Khoka crying for Bhoothi. All right he said "hurry up now. It is getting late."

## The Philosophical Importance of Sir J. C. Bose's Scientific Discoveries

By J K MAJUMDAR, M.A. (London) Barr at Law

THE scientific discoveries which Sir J C Bose, the great Indian scientist has come to hit upon in recent years and which have gained for him such a distinguished place among the world scientists seem with philosophical importance and have not attracted the attention they deserve. The conception that nature is living through and through, which is the main theme of Sir Jagadis's researches has been long prevalent. Nay, it is well nigh as old as philosophy itself and may be said to be the logical terminus of idealism consistently developed. But hitherto one of the difficulties, such a conception has had to encounter has been the lack of scientific evidence in its favour. For, quite obviously a bare speculative view of the kind indicated would be of no more value than a fairy tale unless supported by actual empirical observation of such portions of nature as are accessible to investigation. In this respect special importance should be attached to the work of Sir J C Bose and the results he has obtained in the domain

of biology and physics do furnish us with a body of scientific evidence that lends countenance to the metaphysical conception in question. "The idealist in philosophy," Prof A F Tylor remarks "who holds it is his creed that all reality is mental is too often apt to resent the very existence of an inorganic world as a stone of stumbling maliciously flung down in the way of his faith. The resentment may be traced, perhaps, to what has been the predominating influence of science in so far as it has bifurcated nature into two spheres viz., those of inorganic and organic. But such a bifurcation of nature Sir J C Bose tries to show, is really without scientific justification, and the conclusion towards which his researches seem to point is that there is no dead matter in the world that, in other words, so-called 'matter' is not something inert and dead but is pregnant with life, that, in fact, one single life pervades the whole universe. Sir Jagadis himself predicts that "the obscuring veil will be lifted and the student

will gradually come to see how community throughout the great ocean of life outweighs apparent dissimilarity. Out of discord he will realize the great harmony. The time-honoured distinction between the organic and the inorganic has been called in question and after a series of prolonged investigations Sir Jagadis has come to the conclusion that the assumed line of demarcation is quite an arbitrary one and that it cannot be sustained even on scientific grounds. In the concluding portion of his paper read before the Bradford meeting of the British Association in 1900 he said:

It is difficult to draw a line and say: Here the physical process ends and the physiological process begins. That is a phenomenon of inorganic matter and this is a vital phenomenon peculiar to living organisms. These are the lines of demarcation that separate the physical from the physiological and the beginning of physical processes.

Dr Bosc who began his career as a physicist, was first struck with a significant phenomenon when experimenting with a newly invented receiver of wireless telegraphy. After experiments had been carried on continuously for a couple of hours Dr Bosc found that the receiver became less sensitive and after more prolonged work still more so reminding one of fatigue in the sense of progressive diminution of response. When on the other hand the receiver was allowed to rest for several hours it became sensitive once more. Such phenomena were at first, merely incidental to the main inquiries but as they multiplied they grew more and more impressive and called for inquiry. Prof Geddes observes:

So complex are the phenomena of life and so long have they been regarded as mysterious that biological speculation and even experiment is open to suspicion of unsoundness and not least among physiologists in regard to each other and hence at their wisest, they are critical to themselves. It was with this caution and self criticism that Bosc began and not simply with a good deal of that fear and trembling which every respectable specialist feels when he ventures even to look over his neighbour's wall still more to pluck a handful of the roses which are overhanging into his garden. (*Life and Work of Sir J. C. Bose* p. 86)

As a result of investigation Dr Bosc found a striking similarity between the responses of the living and the non living and in his paper read before the Paris International Congress of Physicists (in 1900) he compares and tries to show a parallelism between the responses to excitation or stimulus of living tissue with those of

inorganic matter. An essentially similar paper was read before the physical section of the British Association at its Bradford meeting in September, 1900. A stimulus produces Dr Bosc holds a certain excitatory change in living substances and the excitation thus produced may express itself in either of the two forms of mechanical or electrical response. In mechanical response the excitation produced expresses itself in a visible change of form as seen in muscle while in electrical response it expresses itself in certain electrical changes, and not in any visible alteration as seen in nerve or retina and while the mechanical mode of response is limited in its application the electrical form is universal. Moreover the mechanical and electrical modes of response are practically identical in character according to Dr Bosc. Now this irritability or responsiveness of the tissue either in its mechanical or electrical form was supposed to depend on its physiological activity seeing that under certain conditions it could be converted from a responsive to an unresponsive state either temporarily or permanently. Finding that a living tissue gives response while a tissue that has been killed does not, it was concluded that the phenomenon of response is a characteristic of a living organism, and Dr Bosc thinks that from a confusion of dead things with inanimate matter it has been supposed that inanimate matter must be unresponsive. But Dr Bosc thinks that the position is untenable and he claims to have shown experimentally that not only the fact of response but all the modifications in response which occur under various conditions take place alike in metals, plants and animal tissues. This is corroborated in the cases of negative variation relation between stimulus and response effects of superposition uniform responses fatigue staircase effect increased response after continuous stimulation modified response diphasic variation effect of temperature effect of chemical reagents etc.

In this connection an important point remains to be considered. We have seen above that according to Dr Bosc everything in the universe is living in one and the same sense. But it may well be objected that what is called a thing is not a simple entity that it is a combination of elements and if it be not shown that these constitutive parts are also living i.e. living on their own account, the problem remains unsolved.

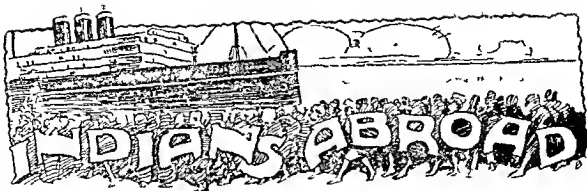


In that case Dr Bose's sweeping generalization of a living universe would seem to be untenable. Dr Bose attempts however to show that it is not only every so-called 'thing' that exhibits the phenomena of life but that every part of such thing also presents similar phenomena. This is particularly shown, he argues, in the case of plants where the electric response to mechanical stimulus is not only obtained from the plant as a single whole but that such response is also obtained from the roots, stems and leaves which are the constitutive parts of such plant. (See a detailed account vide *The Journal of the Linnean Society* Vol XXXV p 278)

Now, Dr Bose seems to be the only scientist who, in recent years, has boldly taken upon himself the task of trying to show experimentally the untenableness of the bifurcation of nature into the living and the non living which hitherto held the field and which may be said to have been mainly responsible for preventing even the greatest of idealists to come to the logical terminus or the main principle of their doctrine i.e., 'all reality is mental and thus to leave a gap in their doctrine and deprive it of coherence and consistency. The results which Dr Bose has reached by experiments go to corroborate scientifically the Leibnizian contention advanced on philosophical ground that 'nature makes no leaps', i.e. a unity and continuity obtain throughout nature, which must be the logical terminus of a true and consistent idealism, and Dr Bose's main attempt is just to show experimentally that such a unity and continuity obtain throughout nature. The wonderful discoveries of the great scientist in very recent years in the domain of plant-life have further prepared the ground for idealism. Dr Bose observes that his investigations in plant-life were undertaken with a view to establish a wide generalization of the fundamental unity of life and its mechanism. The results of his investigations in this direction for the last quarter of a century all go to establish the identity of the physiological mechanism of the plant and the animal. In the multicellular animal organism the attainment of higher complexity was accompanied by the

gradual evolution of a nervous system which put the different organs in intimate connection with each other and co-ordinated their various activities for ensuring the common good of the organism. Such connecting nervous links were not suspected in the plant. But as a result of wonderful experiments embodied in his 'The Nervous Mechanism of Plants', Dr Bose has proved beyond doubt that plants possess a well-lehned nervous system. Not only has a nervous system been evolved in the plant, but it has reached a very high degree of perfection, as marked in the reflex arc in which a sensory becomes transformed into a motor impulse.

The advance from the continuity of response as obtaining in the whole realm of nature which formed the subject matter of Dr Bose's earlier researches to the continuity of structure at least is obtaining in plant and animal which forms the subject matter of his later researches has been a distinct gain for idealism. For a true idealism cannot rest satisfied with the mere showing that the bifurcation of nature disappears but it would go further and claim consciousness for the whole realm of nature and Dr Bose's recent showing that plants do possess a nervous system cannot but lead one to admit that plants also have got consciousness, for as we are aware nervous system is the vehicle of consciousness. The activities of the great scientist, or of some one after him following in his footsteps may some day proceed further to the mineral kingdom and bring out before us some similar fact, which would of necessity all go to contribute to the upholding of the idealistic creed. Thus Dr Bose may be said to have rendered a great service to philosophy and especially to an idealistic philosophy in so far as it has, with science to do so and the wonderful discoveries that are being worked out by the great scientist from day to day would be eagerly looked for not only by the scientists but also by philosophers in so far as they go to corroborate the philosophical rendering of the facts by the ancient Hindu sages, who are the typical representatives of the highest idealism i.e. 'he who sees the one in everything sees the truth'.



By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

### A noble gift

The following news was published in the papers some time ago —

#### GIFT OF A HUNDRED THOUSAND STERLING TO PROMOTE FRIENDLY RELATIONS

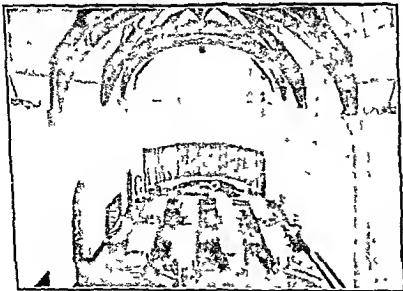
Presiding at a dinner to the delegates to the Colonial Conference Lord Passfield announced that the Raja of Sarawak had offered a hundred thousand sterling to be devoted to an object connected with Colonial Empire in recognition of friendly relations between Sarawak and Britain. The gift had been gratefully accepted and three-quarters of it would be devoted to assist the education of Colonial Civil Servants children in any part of the empire. Full details of the scheme including the allocation of the remainder of the gift has not yet been worked out but it will bring relief to many individuals in grave anxiety and also help to increase the valuable hereditary element in colonial services.

Here is an example that ought to be followed by some of our merchant princes in India and abroad. There are a number of colonial students who have an earnest desire to come to India for studies but they have no means to do so. And there are many young men in India who are prepared to go to the colonies for educational and social work if they could only get the passage money. It will be a real service to the cause of Greater India if some of our leaders could persuade people like Syt Ghanshyam Das Birla, Sir Hakim Chand, Sir Purushottam Das Thakur Das and Syt Ambalal Sarabhai and others to endow a few scholarships for the education of the colonial children in some of our institutions in India.

There are a number of merchants in Bombay and other parts of Gujarat who have benefited considerably on account of their trade connection with Africa and some of them have also vested interests in those parts. Sir Purushottam Das and Syt Ambalal being among them. There is a Colonial Merchants Association in Bombay and it ought to do something in this direction.

#### Need of a good library on Greater India

One great difficulty in the way of those who wish to study the problems of Greater India is the want of a good library where books on this subject could be had. It



The Great Hall in the Rhodes House at Oxford

present there are only two places where some material on this subject can be found. The library at the Poona headquarters of the Servants of India Society being the one and the Prabasi Bhawan of Swami Bhawan Dayal Sinhas the other. I doubt if any systematic effort has ever been made to collect all the available material in one place. The Servants of India Society has its hands full with many activities of diverse character and it cannot be expected to spend a large sum on this item while Swami Bhawan Dayal's means are too much limited to make any appreciable addition to his personal library so that it may be kept up to date so far as this subject is concerned.

The idea of a library on Greater India was suggested to me while reading an account of the Rhodes House at Oxford. There is to be a library at the Rhodes House about which Viscount Grey said it will contain a collection dealing with past history and present progress, from which those whose ambition it is to serve the British Commonwealth of Nations or the great American Republic will be able to draw inspiration and get information. The collection under this roof must do something to further the spirit of enterprise and patriotism which Cecil Rhodes had so much at heart.

One need not be so an admirer of Rhodes' imperialistic ideas to appreciate the great work that he did for the English speaking world by endowing a large number of scholarships at Oxford. If any of our leaders, who condemn Imperialists day in day out had one tenth of the imagination, foresight and perseverance of Rhodes, we should have had a good library on Greater India long ago.

#### Mr Andrews' speech on Thanksgiving Day in America

Mr C F Andrews never misses an opportunity to put in something for India, his adopted country, wherever he may wander in his humanitarian tours all over the world. The following speech is a further proof of his love for India indeed if any proofs were now necessary after his twenty-two years' service for our Motherland.

"What does Thanksgiving Day in America really stand for? Surely it is a symbol of deliverance from a Great oppressor. It represents the beginning of the greatest struggle for human liberty of modern times.

For it symbolizes to American hearts the first

day of landing of the Pilgrim forefathers who came to America. They landed out of the stormy weather on a cold inhospitable coast. But from that day of landing called Thanksgiving Day the struggle for human liberty began in a new way in a new world. The first step led on to a natural sequence to the Declaration of Independence which followed. And still further the American Declaration of Independence truly inspired the leaders of the French Revolution which shook Europe to its very foundations. Thus Thanksgiving Day in America truly represents deliverance from human oppression. Every year when it comes round we ought to balance our accounts and see what we can put down in the current year to the account of independence.

The Kellogg Pact during the year 1929 has been a mighty instrument of peace in the world. But there is another side of the picture which need to be remembered. Not only ought we to have a disarmament among the western nations but we ought also to have a disarmament of the whole world against the oppression of the East. For the Eastern land today is feeling that oppression and is seeking its independence. Just as a national disarmament is sorely needed so also a racial disarmament is equally badly needed. A Kellogg Pact is needed whereby no race or nation shall any longer control another against its own will and consent.

This principle needs emphasizing today more than any other it is the first element of human justice. The American Declaration of Independence declared boldly that all men were born equal. We want to have a similar declaration concerning the equality of all races.

My own adopted country is India, dearest of all to me in her misfortune to make a plea to America on behalf of India for Independence. In doing so I would pay my deepest reverence and affection to the Rev Dr Sunderland who at the age of ninety is still full of youthful enthusiasm in the great cause. India looks to the best men both in England and America to be with her in her struggle for independence.

#### A serious Problem

A large number of Punjabi labourers and Gujarati artisans are going to Fiji Islands every year and this has set the colonial born Indians in Fiji a-thinking. I have recently received two letters on this subject, one from Ba and the other from Vadi.

The Vadi gentleman writes

The Sattley brought no less than 500 Indians to Fiji. Two hundred of them are Gujaratis and about 400 are Punjabis. The Gujaratis are mostly tailors, goldsmiths, tanners and shoe-makers while almost all the Punjabis are labourers. The influx of labour from India is increasing unemployment here in this colony and constitutes a grave problem. Wages are already low and now there is a danger of their going down still further. The colonial born children are faced with a serious situation not only from economic point of view but also from the moral point of view.

I need not tell you that there was a great

disparity of number among the males and females of Indian population on account of indenture system that allowed only thirty women per hundred men. It was this inhuman disproportion that gave rise to so many jealousies, quarrels and demoralization among the Indian population during the indenture days. Now after the abolition of that hated system in 1919 nature herself is in the work of healing and more girls were being born than boys and the proportion was being set right till this new menace has intervened—this menace of the arrival of hundreds of untrained labourers from home. If this state of affairs continues for a few years everything will be upset and we are bound to revert back to those indenture days when immorality was rampant everywhere. We shall pray to our leaders in India to stop this emigration of labourers. If they cannot help us they can at least stop their compatriots from coming here and being an obstacle in the way of our progress.

My British correspondent writes

I feel that before very long we shall be faced with unemployment problem in Fiji unless the inflow of Fijians and Gypsies is curtailed.

The problem is no doubt a difficult one. If we approach the Government of India on this subject they will say "What can we do?" These people are paying their passages and you cannot expect us to put a stop to this free emigration. The only thing that we can do is to carry on propaganda in the Punjab and Gujarat against any emigration to Fiji. It is the duty of the Fiji Indians to send one or two workers here for this purpose and to finance them for their publicity work. One or two stray articles in the Hindi or English papers will not do anything for the class of people who usually emigrate to Fiji do not read those papers. The Government of India can easily put a stop to this evil by prohibiting the issue of any passports for Fiji but they will not do so for reasons stated above. What has the Indian National Congress of Fiji been doing for the past fifteen months? It should prove its usefulness by taking up such questions.

The late Honourable S. M. Ghose

I have been shocked to learn about the death of Mr. S. M. Ghose. But at law of Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. During my tour in East African territories in 1924 I had the privilege of being his guest along with Mr. S. G. Vaze of the Servants of India and Mr. Ghose impressed both of us as a very sincere and simple hearted gentleman ready to help every good cause to the best of his

ability. The Tanganyika Herald writes about him

Mr. Ghose came to this territory in the middle of 1924 this practice began flourishing from the very beginning. He got himself established very soon. Immediately after his arrival here he joined the Indian Association and worked for its welfare. In 1925 he was appointed as a member of the Township Authority and in the subsequent year he had the honour of being nominated as a member to the Legislative Council. He was simple, moderate and a willing worker. He was a practical man and had no love for leadership. Yet there could hardly be found any function social or political in which his leadership was not sought. His services to the Indian community in the federation propaganda are too well known to need recapitulation. To the Central School movement his contribution was immeasurable. He was a member of the Community which went door to door collecting funds. He has taken very active part in the Indian Library Committee work he was available at any time. In the community has lost a sincere worker, a reliable leader and a generous donor and this is a great loss.

Mr. Ghose had been suffering from heart and kidney diseases for the last four months and had been under Dr. Mitchell's treatment. Owing to long illness he was very much run down and was unable to satisfy his desire of going either to England or to India for better medical treatment. On last Friday his condition became worse when he was removed to the European Hospital and there he breathed his last.

We are deeply pained to learn that Mr. Ghose could not get better treatment at the European Hospital in Dar es Salaam. We read in the Herald

It has transpired that the late Honourable Mr. Ghose was not given better accommodation and better treatment in the European Hospital. He was kept in a Coen ward and was allowed to lie there.

It is really impertinence on the part of the authorities to have denied best treatment and best accommodation to an eminent person like Mr. Ghose whom His Excellency (the Governor) described as his personal friend and a wise counsellor of whom His Honour the Chief Justice spoke so highly who was popular among all sections of the non-native community who dined with His Excellency on many an occasion and whose services to the country as a whole have been appreciated.

Of what use are the expressions of feelings and show of sympathy to a dead man when he could not get even a hundredth part of such feelings and sympathy shown towards him in time of need?

Mr. Ghose was in a very bad condition when he was taken to the hospital otherwise he would certainly have protested against the indecent treatment meted out to him.

It is things like these that make the task of better understanding between the brown and the white people impossible. That a highly cultured gentleman of Mr. Ghose's type could not get better treatment at the time

of his extreme illness—treatment that is always available to every Tom Dick and Harry of a white skin makes us almost despair of racial unity even in that mandatory territory, where there ought to be no racial distinctions

### Lord Delamere's outburst

Here is a summary of a statement of Lord Delamere of East Africa wired out by Reuters to the Indian papers

Lord Delamere, who is at present chairman of the elected members organization declares that the proposals held out no prospect of a union of the settlers in the government of the country until the natives who were savage thirty years ago are able to participate on an equal basis. He believes that the essential art of ruling is based in the inherent characteristics of a people and it is a gift that cannot wholly be handed on by teaching and example.

Lord Delamere suggests that the word 'trusteeship' in connection with the East African policy has become smeared with the idea of unbusinesslike and impractical rectitude and its ordinary meaning has been lost. The Kenya settlers are standing on well tried European principles, the very first of which is that we are a governing people in place of the word 'paramountcy' which has become controversial. Lord Delamere suggests the use of the phrase 'equality under the law'.

He points out that if a White civilization must be rooted in the soil of Africa because natural development will not remove the sloth, slavery and witchcraft of countless years.

This racial arrogance—this belief in the Religion of White Race Supremacy is characteristic of the mentality of European settlers in East Africa. Lord Delamere claims a monopoly of the art of ruling for his race but the fact is that such sentiments proclaim the settlers' inherent unfitness to rule over people of different races. The record of the white settlers in East Africa has not been at all creditable so far as their relation with the African races are concerned. Professor H. J. Taylor writes in the Times of India:

One recalls in this connection that in the year 1904 Major Grogan (another settler very prominent in the history of Kenya) horsewhipped a black boy before a large crowd in front of the Court house for which he was sentenced in one month's

imprisonment. This sentence caused such a storm of protest from the Europeans that the Governor was led to ask the Colonial Office to detain a warship at Mombasa. During the Indian crisis of 1948-49 Europeans, a sailed the R. V. C. F. Andrews who was visiting Kenya. Again during this crisis the settlers threatened an armed



Lord Delamere

revolution if their demands were not granted and the armed revolution was very near to being carried into effect. Instances might be multiplied. The settlers of Kenya have never hesitated to use extra legal means of getting their own way.

People having such a mentality are surely the least fitted to rule justly over the brown and the black people of Africa.

### Swami Bhawanji Dayal's new address

Swami Bhawanji Dayal Sanmyasi is kept in Central Jail at Hazratbagh (Bihar) and his friends and admirers in different colonies will be glad to learn that he is being treated well and has improved in health.

# The Awakening of India\*

VIRGINIO GAYDA

On the 31st of December 1929 at midnight the Indian National Congress which met in Lahore concluded its 11th session by announcing the independence of the Indian people. This is a new and magnificent episode of the world for the year 1930. It has placed the Labour Government of England face to face with a new national problem which puts the tradition of the party in strong contrast with that of the British empire. Everywhere in the British empire from Eilat to South Africa from Canada to India, banners of national independence are being raised which threaten to break its unity and power for ever. India, today, gives us the sign of the great awakening of the continent of Asia. The Chinese nationalist movement which is already triumphant is more theatrical and unprecious; that of India is more profound. In India there is now a rapid almost rectilinear progress of ideas and the masses. The desire of individuals are added to the desire of millions of men. The year 1929 was very quiet. The two bombs thrown on April 8 in the hall of the Parliament in Delhi during a discussion by the Legislative Assembly of a law which was to give full power to the Authorities for repression of unlawful agitation might make one think of an essentially terrorist operation of some small groups in the country. But the decisions of the Lahore Congress following upon a second attempt on the life of Lord Irwin Viceroy of India have clearly demonstrated that behind the small groups the masses are already there.

All the political parties in India were represented in the Lahore Congress by twenty thousand delegates. After the President Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had spoken of a British imperialism which thrives on exploitation of other races, the Congress voted a series of resolutions which are summed up in the three following points:—(1) proclamation of the right of independence of the Indian people together with the refusal to participate in the conference to be called by the British Government in London for discussing the solution of the Indian problem; (2) boycott of the central and provincial legislative assemblies; resignation of the members who form a part of the same; abstention from future political elections; (3) full power of the executive committee to make a programme of civil resistance to Britain which may ultimately lead to the refusal to pay tax.

It is an open proclamation of a silent and peaceful revolt. Should it be realized it will paralyze the entire administrative machinery of this vast and mysterious land with a population of 300 million. In 1927 Gandhi started the movement of Non-Cooperation with the Government but it failed. It was not accepted by all classes. The British Government was

stronger and able to do great damage to the Indian national movement. But times are changed. A new element a formidable force—the masses has entered the scene. It is already pervaded by the new national sentiment. Above all it has learnt not to fear the danger of resistance. An experiment has already been made with the silent revolt of the peasants in the district of Bardoli. The English authority had imposed an increased tax upon the people of the locality. But the peasants incited by the national propagandists refused to pay. The government seized their lands and put these to auction. But the peasants remained unmoved and continued to cultivate and sow them. When the harvest came the British Government in order to avoid a bloody conflict with the masses had to yield. A commission of inquiry was appointed and it was recognized that the new taxes were too high. Since that day the Indian masses have learnt the value of numbers.

There are two new mass movements in India—that of the workers leagues and that of the youth leagues. Labour organization is advancing rapidly even among the workers in India. It is futile to look for its driving force in Moscow, Russia, Communism and the agitation thereof counts much less in India as also in China than it seems and is said. There is no doubt that the Indian labour movement which is born of a new consciousness of man has its origin in the preachings of Gandhi. He is the great apostle of India who declaring equality of men and the crusade for the suppression of caste especially that of the pariah or the untouchable which keeps 50 million men isolated in the cities and the villages depriving them of all human dignity has not only stirred up the labourers and brought them nearer to the intellectuals but has above all created a new conscience in them. It was a crowd of thirty thousand workers which for the first time brought the cry of independence into the Calcutta Congress of 1924. The Whitley Commission appointed to enquire into the social conditions of British India have affirmed that most of the two hundred strikes declared in India in 1928 and involving 314,710 days of lost labour had a cause more political than economic. To the workers leagues which give the organized force of number are added the leagues of young men who are the dictators in all Indian activities and are now at the head of the national movement. Young men of India today have the typical characteristics of their age in all countries. They are radical uncompromising bellicose learning with nationalism inclined to violence. Their terrorism is fuelled more by the Indian example of Sinn Féinism than by that of Moscow. Organized during the first struggle of Gandhi in 1920 for the boycott of the British schools they represent a thought which is more purely

\* Translated from the *Corriere* a magazine directed by Renato Guzzoni.

profoundly affected by India's dominantly rural character its isolated villages and the dependence of the vast majority of its people upon agriculture the low standard of living of the masses and their poverty and the long tradition of centralized administration. With the most optimistic estimate the average income per head in India in 1922 was about £8 only while the corresponding figure for Great Britain was £95. The contrast remains startling even after allowing for the difference between the range of needs to be satisfied. Great disparity exists in the incomes of different classes of people in India and grave inequalities prevail in the distribution of taxation. Thus a poor cultivator who not only pays to the State a substantial portion of his income from land but also bears the burdens of the duties on sugar kerosene oil salt and other articles of general consumption receives very different treatment from the big zamindar or land holder in areas where permanent settlement prevails who pays to the State a merely nominal charge fixed over a century ago and declared to be unalterable for ever, while his agricultural income is totally exempt from income tax.

Sir W. T. Layton assumes that it is both possible and desirable to improve the economic and social condition of the Indian people by a substantial increase in expenditure on the nation building services and that it is possible to raise additional revenues for this purpose provided that the incidence of further taxation is adjusted to the capacity of the tax payer to pay.

Any scheme for financial reform should ensure

(a) that the services of revenue appropriate to the requirements are available for these authorities who have urgent and expanding services to administer.

(b) that all the parts of India make an equitable contribution to common purposes and

(c) that the responsibility for imposing additional taxation is definitely laid upon those who will have to incur the additional expenditure. Under the existing financial administration these conditions are not adequately fulfilled especially as the provinces with rapidly expanding needs have sources of revenue which are almost stationary many of the provinces are unequally treated and the industrial provinces are handicapped having no power to tax the industries.

An examination of the balance sheet of India's finances during 1929-30 taking central and provincial finance together shows that on the revenue side out of Rs 146 crores of taxation customs produce Rs 51 crores and revenue Rs 35½ crores—alcoholic excise Rs 19½ crores, income tax nearly Rs 17 crores stamps Rs 14½ crores and salt Rs 6¼ crores. On the expenditure side debt absorbs Rs 15 crores defence Rs 5 crores law and order justice, etc., and pensions Rs 7 crores. Of nation building services education accounts for Rs 13 crores health and medical services Rs 6½ crores agriculture and industry Rs 3¼ crores only, while expenditure on civil works amounts to Rs 14 crores.

On the Revenue side of the Central Government the key to future prospects is to be found in the field of Customs. Provided that a liberal fiscal policy is maintained and serious political dislocation does not occur the growth of India's foreign trade is likely to continue at an even faster pace than heretofore. Moreover there are reasons for thinking that the economic development of India in the next ten years should be much more rapid than in the last decade.

On the other hand the expenditure for defence is a dominating factor in India's financial situation. Current expenditure on defence bears a very high proportion (62½ per cent) to the total expenditure of the Central Government—a higher proportion in fact than in any other country in the world. Even when account is taken of provincial and central expenditure together the ratio (31½ per cent) is still a very high one. Security is of course essential if production is to develop, but it cannot be claimed for expenditure on defence either that it is a mere redistribution of income or that it promotes productive efficiency. Indeed economically speaking it is the most burdensome form of expenditure and this is particularly the case where as in the case of India the Army contains a large element drawn from elsewhere. India's expenditure on armaments is between two and three times as great as that of the rest of the Empire outside Great Britain and has increased by nearly 100 per cent as compared with the pre-war situation while the rise of wholesale prices in India has been only 41 per cent between 1913 and 1928. Whether anything is done or

per cent and the provinces should be given the right of imposing further duties in the form of excises to bring them in line with their excise policy.

(b) Revenue from commercial stamp should be transferred to the Centre.

(c) One-half of the proceeds of the income tax paid by residents of a province (including the tax on dividends received by them from companies operating outside) should be assigned to the province concerned. Super tax should however continue to be entirely central for the present.

(d) Provincial Governments should have the option of levying a limited amount of surcharge on the income tax collected on incomes of residents in the province.

(e) The exemption from income tax of agricultural incomes should be abolished by definite stages and the whole of the proceeds should be assigned to the province of origin.

(f) Provinces should be empowered to levy terminal taxes at a low rate for provincial purposes for a temporary period.

(g) There should be a Provincial Fund fed by specially designated taxes such as excise on cigarettes on matches and the duty on salt which may be transferred when central budget situation permits. The resources of this Fund should be automatically distributed to the provinces on a *per capita* basis. This proposal is essentially a federal idea.

If all the preceding proposals are carried out it would add nearly Rs 40 crores to the revenues of the provinces by 1940 of which Rs 12 crores will be transferred from the central budget.

In any case attempts should be made to equitably treat and harmonize the finances of the Indian States and that of British India. If necessary representatives of Indian States should be consulted on financial policy and the machinery of consultation between British India and the States should be progressively developed.

Sir W F Layton's proposals leave ample room for criticism but on the whole he deserves to be congratulated on the masterly way he has presented the problems of Indian Finance. One is however inclined to feel that he is rather too optimistic in

his estimate. The abolition of exemption of agricultural incomes from the income tax, the re-grading of the income tax, the levy of death duties, excise on cigarettes and matches increase in total rates, etc., as recommended are measures which are more or less admissible. But we are surprised to find an able economist like Sir Walter recommending terminal duties. He has shown some amount of hesitation in supporting this taxation but has ultimately fallen a victim to the demand for increasing provincial revenues at all costs. A terminal tax is not only dangerous to trade and commerce of a country, but is also positively harmful inasmuch as it places artificial barriers to the equalization of economic standards in different parts of the land and prevents that adjustment of productive resources which make for most efficient and economical working. In the matter of taxing agricultural incomes and in bringing down the evils due to a permanent land settlement to a minimum we are at one with Sir Walter but we feel that unless proper safeguards are provided to prevent further desertion of the village and rush to the towns for living taxation of agricultural incomes may lead to disastrous social consequences. A re-grading of the income tax has our sympathy but we can not see how on the face of the low standard of living and acute distress of the middle classes and in the absence of any provision for remissions or rebates based on the size of the family to be maintained Sir Walter Layton can propose a lowering of the limits of free income.

The most important part of Sir Walter's recommendations lies perhaps in his methods of division or allocation of revenues between the provinces and the centre. His proposals are certainly an improvement on the Montague-Chelmsford or the Meston schemes but we are doubtful if adequate attention has been given to the practical difficulties involved in carrying them into effect. Lastly with regard to the resources in the Provincial Fund we do not think the proposals have provided for an adequate sense of responsibility of the provinces in the matter of new taxation.



## •The World's Humour



"Just think! He called me an old idiot!"  
 Heaven and how old are you really? —*Rohg Huh Tumm!*  
*(Gotten) urg*



But Dr. Scott, why don't you prescribe for yourself instead of calling in Dr. Bobs?  
 "I canna afford it! My charges is two guineas and Bobs charges only half a guinea —"  
*Aussie Sydney*



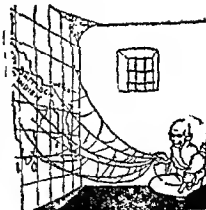
Doctor: Your trouble is laziness.  
 Patient: Yes doc, I know. But what is the scientific name for it—I've got to report to the wife.  
 —*Bulletin Sydney*



"I'll carry your three bags to the station for 2/."  
 It's very dear, you must make it 1/.  
 Good, then I'll carry only two bags! —*Elven Humor Madrid*



Wife: Never mind, we'll have plenty of spare parts for our next car — *Smith & Weekly Sydney*



Mr. Gandhi in prison is passing the time spinning — *Globe Vienna*



"Do you always carry your wife's photo with you?"

"Yes, then whenever I feel like making a look at her I take a look at it and change my mind —"

*Smith & Weekly Sydney*



Minister: I'm sorry to hear you waste much time at the public house.

"He waste time? Why, Boss, I can drink a pint quicker than any other man in the place —"

*Bulletin Sydney*



What is the total cost for repairing my car?

Two pounds.

And what was wrong with it?

The petrol I had run out of the last drop —

*La Stage Saclay Leipzig*



# NOTES

## An American Comment on Simon Commission Report

*The New Republic* had to comment on the report of the Simon Commission before its first volume had been received in America. But it could anticipate from the news despatches covering the substance of the first volume that "its effect is likely to be extremely unfortunate which has turned out to be true. The American Liberal weekly thus indicates its reasons for its comment.

Here is a nation which is seething with the demand for freedom. Its leaders anxiously await a clear statement of policy by the Government of the nation which at the moment is employing force to retain its rulership. And the recommendations are to come from a Commission consisting wholly of representatives of the ruling country—representatives moreover whose responsibility is emphasized by the fact that they comprise members not of one British party alone but of all. Let the first part of the report consists largely of a summary of the difficulties assumed to lie in the path of Indian self-government—the complex population, the religious antagonism, the caste system, the status of women, the independent states, the necessity for military defence. It passes judgment on Indian institutions, concluding that the Indian people themselves are responsible for most of the evils for which British rule is blamed. It states that Indian political thought finds it tempting to foreshorten history and is unwilling to wait for the final stage of a prolonged evolution. All this is an old story, corroborated by impartial scientists, it might conceivably have some beneficial effect on the mind of India. But as the pronouncement of an alien sovereignty to a people who demand the right to judge and rule themselves, it is likely to sound insufferably pretentious. Questions of sovereignty are sharp and exclusive; they must be solved by a nation not by moralizing.

## 'MacDonald's First year

The same journal devotes an editorial article to the examination of Mr MacDonald's achievements during his first

year of office. It notes that the debate on India on May 26 was ended without a formal vote but with every indication that both Liberals and Conservatives were ready to support the Labour Government's policy in overwhelming numbers adding that as to India he has been supported by the Conservatives because on the whole he has done what they would have asked him to do. Passing in review the principal achievements of the MacDonald Government *The New Republic* writes:

It is felt to put the matter candidly that the MacDonald Government is in danger of striving in office at the expense of sacrificing too great a share of its principles.

It holds that it is not unfair to consider India as a test.

For even months after coming into power the Labour Government let matters drift. They knew from the beginning that a crisis was imminent and during the latter months of that period they even knew the date at which civil disobedience would begin. Yet they did nothing. Since the beginning of Mr Gandhi's campaign they have been equally dilatory regarding the excellent advice on this subject which they might have found in Mr MacDonald's own books on India and in the speeches of many Labour members of Parliament uttered in past times from the Opposition benches. Their efforts to solve the Indian question by constructive measures have been too insignificant to be visible to the naked eye. Instead they waited as long as possible and then resorted to cruelly repressive tactics. Just what has been done it is impossible to say. An effective censorship has been laid upon the native press and most of the European correspondents are either unable to get the news or their reports give evidence of being coloured by their sympathies with the British rulers of the country. We know however that the native leaders are being thrown into prison that many lives have been lost and that nearly all of these are the lives of Indians. That the flames of revolt are being fanned by a ruthless policy of suppression which is indistinguishable from that of the blackest Tory government of modern times.

The defence which the British premier and his friends make is outlined in the following sentences:

They admit that the policy is bad from the point of view they themselves maintained before

taking office. But they argue that any attempt to behave decently toward India now would result in the instant overthrow of the Government. They think it is better to stay in power and do what they can under the restrictions of a minority Government than to go out on this issue and see the matter put into the hands of the Conservatives.

This defence is criticized as follows:

It is a problem of the greatest importance and one in which every individual coming into office is concerned. Naturally the man with responsible power must proceed with a certain caution who is not necessary for the independent critic. The question is how far should this caution go? In the case of the MacDonald Government and India, we admit it has gone too far. The Labour Government was elected by the working men and women of England. It was elected because it stood for certain ideas, certain principles of which these men and women approve. If in office it refuses to live up to them, the members of the Government as individuals lose all claim upon the suffrage of their constituents. It will be better to be forced out of office by the Conservatives because of going too far than to stay in office and further away the present with the trial and life of Labour by doing the Imperialists' dirty work for them. The publication of the Simon Report gives Mr MacDonald an opportunity to put the whole treatment of the Indian question on a new plane. History will judge him by the choice he is about to make.

### Social Boycott in Gujarat

Mr Slocombe who came out to this country as the representative of the *Daily Herald* of London sent many despatches to that labour organ. One of these was devoted to a description of the social boycott of Government servants as practised in Gujarat. *The Free Press Journal* of Bombay has made an extract from this despatch from which we learn that Mr Slocombe based his description on a picturesque account received by him of the life in those Gujarat villages where Mr Gandhi's campaign against payment of land revenue had already been launched.

In many villages the headman who is the local Government agent responsible for the collection of land revenue and for all civic functions has resigned his office either in sympathy with the civil disobedience movement or in fear of the social boycott practised against Government servants which is a terrible weapon in rural India. The district authorities have retaliated by declaring the peasants' lands forfeit and seizing their furniture and other possessions. The visit of revenue officers to the defaulting villages is the signal for feverish activity. Look-out men posted in palm trees warn villagers of the approach of Government officials by beating of drums. All huts in the village are then hurriedly locked and the peasants decamp for the fields with their wives and children leaving only an abandoned and foodless village to be occupied by the Govern-

ment agents. Even the village well which is of enormous importance in many of these waterless districts of India, is covered by planks which are clamped down and locked. The plight of revenue officers who arrive in a village hungry and thirsty only to find it foodless, waterless and inhospitable becomes precarious.

The writer then describes how social boycott works in Gujarat.

Social boycott which is already applied to the police in Surat Poona and even Bombay, is another factor of increasing importance in Mr Gandhi's campaign. In the complicated fabric of Indian social life in which caste and religion play a preponderant part, the village headman or other minor Government official who defies the Congress edict and aids in the collection of land revenue or in the enforcement of the Anti-Picketing and other Government laws finds himself rigorously boycotted. His friends abandon him, shopkeepers refuse to serve him, his servants leave his employment, even his wife and children treat him with chilling silence or open hostility. In the frequent marriages, births and deaths which occur in patriarchal life in Hindu and Mohammedan families, services are refused to such recalcitrant officials and his children he cannot marry off his daughters for no Brahmin will perform the ceremonies. He cannot borrow money or buy or sell in the market. His life is henceforth cursed. Such is the occult power of this silent and foodless new weapon forged by Mr Gandhi in his campaign for Indian freedom.

We cannot either corroborate or criticize from personal knowledge Mr Slocombe's description of and remarks on social boycott in Gujarat.

### Non Co operation and Tagore's Knighthood

In the course of an excellent article on Mahatma Gandhi and the non-violent non-co operation movement, Mr John Haynes Holmes writes in *Unity*:

It was in August 1920 that there began in India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi that vast campaign of non violent non-co operation against the British. By the Indians of all classes were mobilized into one great body of revolt. They surrendered all titles of honour and all honorary offices—Sir Ratanindranath Tagore for example returned his knighthood to the British crown.

This may lead readers to think that the poet renounced his knighthood after the Non co operation movement had been started. As a matter of fact he renounced it more than an year earlier—on or before the 1st of June 1919.

### Mr Holmes' Estimate of Mr Gandhi

In the same article Mr Holmes observes that, "in the confusion of the hour, it is

But the Mahatma belongs not to India and Asia but to the world. He is the man who may learn again the way of life that we see in this revolt which Gandhi leads. On the one side the greatest empire that the world has known since the decline and fall of Rome, equipped with vast resources of men and money, armed with rifles, bayonets, machine-guns, tanks and bombing planes, all this immeasurable power that wreaks devastation and death in the East and West. On the other side one feeble man with an emaciated body and halting step, naked save for the cloth that binds his loins accompanied by no army or even band of followers but only by a little group of disciples as unarmed and therefore as defenceless as himself. When has the world ever seen such a duel as this between sword and spirit? Not since Jesus the Nazarene confronted Pilate and declared to this viceroi of imperial Rome "My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight—but now is thy kingdom not from hence." Again after two thousand years the throne of Pilate is set up among the nations and before it stands the saviour of mankind. Must there be another crucifixion? And if so, will not Gandhi rise as Jesus rose to vex the peoples of the earth for ever?

### Mr Sastri's Attack on Simon Report

London July 22  
"To flout the intelligentsia while satisfying the Princes the British minority communities and the Services is to involve Britain and India in a strife of which none can see the end," declared Rt. Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, criticizing the Simon Report in an address at the East India Association. Mr. Sastri declared that the form of Self government envisaged by the Commissioners was nothing like Dominion Status. He referred to this connection specially in the proposals regarding the Army and Indian States and declared that the former depriving India for ever of the means of self-defending had denied her the power of exercising the right of secession and thus ruled out the possibility of Dominion Status.

Mr. Sastri contended that proposals relating to States would involve the existence side by side of two final authorities in India. Mr. Sastri asserted that the Commissioners had shown even greater regard for Princes' susceptibilities than the Butler Committee. Examining the Federal scheme Mr. Sastri declared that the introduction

in depriving India for all time of the means of defending herself the Commissioners had thus ruling out the possibility of her attaining Dominion status.

Moreover it was obvious that even self government in civil matters which the Commissioners contemplate for India must be seriously crippled by the existence within her territory of a powerful striking force beyond her control.

Mr. Sastri was of opinion that the proposal to establish on a permanent basis the connection of the States with the Crown would bar altogether the continued association of the Government of British India and the States as at present even if the Princes could be brought to agree to such an association.

Reviewing the federal proposal, Mr. Sastri said that a combination of incongruous elements with bureaucracy at the Centre and democratic administrations in the Provinces would create constant friction and instability.

Whatever the internal differences might be all parties and communities in India, even the Princes were united in the demand for Responsible Government.

To postpone or deny it was to ignore human nature.—Copyright

### Dr Howells on India's Claims

In the course of an interview Dr Howells, late principal of Serampore College who is now at "home" said:

"I have always been a strong sympathizer with India in her aspirations, and I pointed out that India's claims to political self-determination should be made to depend not merely on political fitness as estimated by foreigners, however impartial, but ultimately on India's own rights as a national entity."

### Bombay's Quota of 'Volunteers'

According to a *Free Press* message, dated Bombay, July 22, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has issued a statement to the effect that there have been 86,000 enrolments during the Congress week.

## Srimati Champaklata Devi

The *Amrita Ba ar Patila* records the sad and untimely death of Srimati Champaklata Devi of Bhagalpur. She was the wife of Srijut Pandurarth Mukherjee, President of the Bhagalpur District Congress Committee who is now under trial. She died of failure of the heart at the age of only about thirty.

She was an orthodox Hindu lady and had observed purdah all along, according to the custom prevalent in Bihar and Bihar. Moreover, she had not received any modernizing university education. But when her husband accepted the Presidentship of the local Congress Committee, she discarded the purdah and took a prominent part in public activities in spite of the fact that she had recently had an attack of beri beri. In consequence the women of Bhagalpur of all classes imbibed her public spirit under her leadership.

Far from being depressed or daunted by her husband's incarceration, she was lately engaged in organizing Indias Khaddar and Charka work. Even a few hours before her death she had gone out into the suburbs on the same morning. She had been taking only one meal a day, and did not allow her ill health to stand in the way of her work.

On account of her charming and yet dignified personality, she had endeared herself to every man, woman and child at Bhagalpur, and her death came upon all like a bolt from the blue. A procession of about 15,000 strong followed the funeral bier to the Ghat. Sri Mukherjee, who had refused to come out on bail when his trial was going on, was released on bail this morning and accompanied the body. The whole town immersed in deep grief and gloom.

## Fighting Malaria

The League of Nations *News for Overseas* for July contains the following paragraphs:

The League Health Organization is nothing if not practical, and among its many other activities has organized courses in the prevention and cure of malaria at Paris, Hamburg and Rome in order to pool the most expert knowledge and practical experience of the world and put them at the benefit of public health services. These courses which are held annually on a common programme last for about six weeks (June 3rd to July 10th) this year.

Scholarships are supplied by the League and in some cases by the Governments benefiting by the course. The training is thorough and comprises a study of the habits of the mosquito and the way it spreads malaria, how to detect the presence of the parasites in the blood and to treat

malaria patients, the best methods of combating malaria (destruction of and protection against mosquitoes) and then, lastly, the use of quinine and other febrifuges, prophylaxis and popular education, the role of the State, general measures of hygiene and drainage, etc.) The laboratory and clinical work is followed by a month in areas of Spain, Yugoslavia and Italy where the fight against malaria is being actively conducted by the latest and most scientific methods.

The training of medical officers in anti malaria work is one of the forms in which the League is assisting the Greek Government to build up a modern public health service.

In this year's course health officers from the following States are represented: Bulgaria, France (Lyon), Greece, Honduras, Italy, Persia, Portugal, Roumania, Spain and Yugoslavia.

Most provinces of India are malarious. Some very populous provinces like Bengal are among the worst malaria stricken regions of the world. And India stands sixth in the list of member States contributing to the funds of the League of Nations in the order of the largeness of the amounts paid by them. Yet when it comes to holding offices in the League secretariat or receiving direct benefit from any work undertaken by or under the auspices of the League, she is almost nowhere. This state of things cannot be remedied so long as India remains deprived of the primary human right of self-rule.

## Political Daemons in London?

The following news items have appeared in *The Statesman*:

The second mail bag robbery in London within a fortnight occurred today.

A postman was delivering letters in Westminster when a man on a bicycle snatched away his bag and remounted dashing across Westminster Bridge.

It is stated that the bag contained only one registered letter the value of which is not yet known.

Nine days ago a 63-year-old postman was carrying a bag of 100 registered letters along High Holborn when a saloon car drew alongside the pavement, two men jumped out, struck the postman and jumped back into the car which immediately dashed off.

The postman was partially stunned, but nevertheless he managed to follow the car for some distance before he lost sight of it. He was able to furnish Scotland Yard with a description of his assailants.

Have any Indian political daemons and anarchists migrated to London from Munshiganj in Bengal? How did they manage to travel without passports? Or

were they able to obtain pass-ports in spite of the omniscient C I D ? We ask the questions as officials in India appear to believe that none but political die-hards and anarchists commit multiple robberies and that such offences are peculiar to India

#### Medical Research Institute Site

A resolution has been passed by the Medical Research Conference at Simla that the Central Medical Research Institute on the lines advocated by the Fitch Committee should be located at a university centre as soon as financial conditions permit. That is the only reasonable decision about the site which could be arrived at

#### Irwin Sapru Jayakar Move

It would not be proper to discuss whether the Sapru Jayakar mediation could by any chance be considered a command performance, for both Lord Irwin and these two Indian gentlemen have written letters implying that it is not. And the latter have also in interviews expressly said that they have undertaken to negotiate on their own initiative and responsibility. So let the matter be left to some future writer of the diplomatic history of India in the month of July 1930

At the time of writing (July 26 1930)—and we are writing from a hamlet away from Calcutta—we have not got even an inkling of what has passed between Dr Sapru and Mr Jayakar on the one hand and Mahatma Gandhi and the two Nehrus on the other. But let us say how one would have liked the negotiations to be carried on.

Mr Vithalbhai Patel was right in asking "Have you ever heard of peace terms being discussed by non-combatants? though we are told Dr Sapru and Jayakar are not authorized to offer any terms"

It Mahatma Gandhi Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had been brought together in one jail and if Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr M. R. Jayakar had seen them in the company of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel that would have been far to those imprisoned Congress leaders and to the Congress. Of those three leaders Pandit Motilal Nehru was the last to go to jail and therefore he is,

comparatively speaking possessed of more up-to-date knowledge of the turn the civil disobedience movement has taken than the other two. Pandit Jawaharlal was the first to be clapped in prison and after him the Mahatma. So if no Congressman outside prison walls could be allowed to see the imprisoned leaders in the company of the two semi-official liaison officers the latter ought to have seen Pandit Motilal first as he possesses the most recent information relating to the world outside prison walls. And then they ought to have seen the Mahatma. In that case the Mahatma could have known what Pandit Motilal thought of the whole affair. It may be said that the information possessed by Dr Sapru and Mr Jayakar is more up-to-date than even that of Pandit Motilal. But information relating to a movement is obtained from the inside as well as from the outside. Mr Sapru and Jayakar possess no inside knowledge of the civil disobedience movement and they may think that the official diagnosis that it is losing its strength and gradually collapsing is correct, and even as regards outside information a congressman or one in sympathy with the movement would naturally read more news and know more about it than those who are not in sympathy or touch with it. For these reasons Messrs Sapru and Jayakar are not the most competent persons to give the imprisoned leaders all necessary information relating to the movement. And such information is necessary in order to suggest or settle the terms of agreement or compromise. For the winning party may suggest or accept terms which the party about to be defeated would not think of mentioning. We do not of course, know what the three imprisoned leaders would say or do,—we are describing what usually happens.

The way in which the negotiations are being carried on is unfair to the imprisoned leaders as well as to the other leaders and rank and file within and outside prison walls. No doubt Mahatma Gandhi is the supreme leader and is the embodiment of Indian national aspirations to a greater extent and in a higher degree than any other Indian. His co-workers and followers owe loyalty to him but he also owes loyalty to them. Therefore for the discussion and acceptance of any settlement he should be placed in contact with them and they with him through

some accredited representative Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel would have been the best of such representatives

Both Mahatma and Pandit Motilal are shrewd politicians and as such are not likely to accept any vague promises and assurances. But if by some chance what is unlikely happens if that which is not likely to satisfy national aspirations, accepted by the three imprisoned leaders, the result is likely to be an aggravation of the situation. The nation is not in the mood to be satisfied with anything which is not a clearly worded definite promise of the substance of independence.

Mr Ramsay MacDonald is a very clever and brewed tactician. No Indian can at present be expected to be a match for him in tactics and that because of want of practice and experience. He and the like of him can be faced by Indian leaders with any hope of success only if they are unflinchingly straightforward in sticking to what the Indian nation has put forward through them as the minimum of Indian rights and claims.

Some Liberals appear to think as they have said. What is the harm in going to the Round Table conference and arguing our case. If we do not win if we fail we can again start doing that which we have been doing hitherto.

Now apart from the insult and humiliation involved in going not as equals but as supplicants there are three things which the Liberals do not seem to understand. They do not appear fully to realize the difference between arguing a case like an advocate in a law court and striking life and limb and all and non violently fighting for a cause. They do not appear to understand that there are times and occasions when argument is of no avail and that the present is such an occasion. They have also to understand that even if argument be of any use now or in the near future it is or would be because of the pressure exerted by other circumstances and last of all they don't perceive or realize that in case of failure, the difficulty of reorganizing and re mobilizing the Congress forces after civil disobedience has been once called off and those forces have been disbanded and demobilized. The Liberals have been praying and protesting and agonizing. There is no need for them either to mobilize or demobilize or re mobilize. The difference with Congressmen is that

Mr Ramsay MacDonald succeeds in his manoeuvre the imprisoned Congress leaders may be out manoeuvred. The vast majority of politically minded Indians, as well as ourselves will be glad indeed if civil disobedience is called off on the definite and clearly worded understanding that the London Conference is meant primarily and mainly to draw up a constitution for a substantially independent India and settle its details. Nothing short of it will inspire confidence. We speak of Mr MacDonald's manoeuvre for it is almost certain that he has been privy to what has passed between the Viceroy and Messrs Saprú and Jajakar and that every thing has been done with his previous knowledge and consent. If he succeeds in practically getting the imprisoned leaders to say or do something without their giving other congressmen in and outside jail any opportunity to make their views known to them there is likely to be a split in Congress ranks to the snare of their opponents. May the time never come to shout 'Divide et impera Landabai'!

### An Unconscionable Bargain

It is reported in the papers that Mr Hoplyn's Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal has circularized the servants of that Government to the effect that they would be held responsible for not only their own conduct but also for the (political and politico economical) opinions and conduct of their families and dependants. Of course the circular would not in practice be enforced against European and Anglo Indian Government servants. For their families do take part in politics and politics in bureaucratic parlance, mean anti bureaucracy politics. Col O'Driscoll in the course of an appeal to his community recently observed 'We know the members of the I M D are prevented by military law from joining any association but this should not prevent their wives or family relations from becoming members [of the Anglo Indian Association] and so showing their appreciation of our labours on their behalf.'

In a subject country like India a native servant of the Government should not complain if it is held by Government as understood that the salary paid to him is the price not only of his services but also of his freedom. But it would be an uncon-



cionably hard bargain if it were at the salary paid to one Government servant is the price of the freedom of every member of his family and of every member of his. The thought of driving such a man can have occurred to the British Government here only because they possess political power and because this question is a distressing problem among the Indian men.

In a free country, say Britain, a Government servant like Mr. Baldwin who is Premier could not be expected to control the political opinion and conduct of Mr. Oliver Baldwin nor was the latter to be responsible for the political action and conduct of his daughter the Hon. Lady Cynthia. At present Lord Curzon a Cabinet Minister cannot control the opinion of his wife who still calls herself Mrs. Webb not Lady Pafield.

Though Government does not do anything to the dependants of Government servants and has not therefore purchased their freedom, it may be argued that indirectly they have been paid as they owe their living to the Government servant. But some of them can retort that they are not exactly dependants for they render some service to the Government servant which is equivalent to what they get. It was never understood that they would have to part with their freedom to boot.

As regards the families of the Government servant, many Hindu and Moslem and some Indian Christian families are joint families. In many such families it is not merely the Government servant member who is an earner. There may be and in many actual cases there are other members who earn (and sometimes earn more than the Government servant) by following some independent profession or by engaging in some business. Is it not absurd to expect them to shun politics as Government would wish them to? How is the Government servant going to drag them into conformity with official politics or no politics?

In the Hindu view a son is bound to maintain his parents. How he does it is his own look-out. He would be an unfilial and despicable son who would expect his parents to give up their freedom in consideration of being maintained. Similarly a Hindu wife has the right to be maintained by her husband so long as she is chaste irrespective

of her political opinions or conduct. Her maintenance is not the price paid for her freedom. It would be highly resented if she were told that she was a slave because her husband had sold himself for a constituency. This is particularly the case today when there has been a great awakening among Indian women of all classes—literate and illiterate.

When the wife has an independent income would the Bengal Government expect the Government servant to bind to coerce his wife into political activity? How is that to be done? Is there no divorce in the Hindu law that is recognized by British Indian law courts? Will Government enact a new law or promulgate another ordinance to the effect that an official husband may legally divorce a non-official wife if she does not submit to her husband's political opinions?

The people of India have many divisions among them. One of comparatively recent creation is that between officials and non-officials. It is proposed to extend it to the families and dependants of these two classes of peoples. So caste feeling is going to have a greater scope than now. Britishers are supposed to be opposed to caste. Are they so in India?

Those heads of families who are Government servants are not likely to be always and in all cases able to be efficient conscience keepers and jailers to their wives grown up sons, daughters, nephews, nieces etc. There may be revolt and civil war in many families. This may not be unwelcome to our opponents. But from the point of view of the solidarity of the Indian people such a contingency cannot but be feared and deplored.

The families and dependants of Government servants are expected to steer clear of not only the civil disobedience movement but also of "aligned" movements. We suppose this means that for example, a Government servant's wife may not ply the spinning wheel or buy or encourage in any other way home-spun home-woven goods or promote Swadeshi in any way. And yet we may have been frequently told by very high officials that they are all for Swadeshi—they are opposed only to the boycott of British (and other) foreign goods.

One of Lord Irwin's ordinances makes it penal to instigate, compel or tell any Government servant to give up his job.

If Mr Hopkins' circular leads some members of the families of some Government servants to feel a desire to commit that offence in secret, we hope there is no thought leader in the C I D to detect that secret inclination and punish anybody for it.

We hope it is not an offence to remind the Government that though it is powerful it is not all powerful. There is always a danger of overdoing a thing.

### Indian Insurance Companies

According to a free Press message in opening the office of an Indian insurance company in Madras Sir P C Ray said that he had heard that 10 per cent of the lives insured in India were with Indian companies and that was a hopeful sign of the times. There was no reason at all Dr. Ray said, why the wealth of the country should go outside the country so far as life insurance was concerned. Unhappy India has been the happy hunting ground said Acharya Ray of all classes of foreign exploiters. Every Indian should deem it a point of honour to insure his life with an Indian insurance company. Acharya Ray said that the drain of wealth from India was due to causes over which they have sufficient control but about which they were indifferent.

is however, an excellent one and, if carried out would make for peace in Asia.

### Disuse of Foreign Toys

Some months ago we wrote a note in *Prabasi* urging that our children should be given toys made in India to play with. The use of foreign toys not only takes away much wealth from India and deprives numbers of our craftsmen of a profitable occupation but it also accustoms our children from infancy to unconscious dependence on foreign countries. What is worse they unconsciously come to imbibe a taste for foreign styles of dress foreign features foreign complexion etc which breeds a sort of inferiority complex in them. It is easy to get beautiful toys of wood porcelain tin etc made by our craftsmen. They would be cheaper too. The establishment of factories for making India rubber and celluloid toys also is not beyond the resources of Indians.

### Women Satyagrahis

The active part which Indian ladies have been taking in the civil disobedience

### Getting Afghanistan into the League of Nations

At a Conference held last month under the auspices of the Indo British Mutual Welfare League in Piccadilly London Mr Srinivas Sastri criticized the Simon recommendations in connection with the Army and said that the proposal to make the defence of the frontier an Imperial responsibility was a way of making permanent the establishment of the British Army in India. He would make a suggestion regarding the part that India and Britain could play in promoting world peace. That was that the two countries should get Afghanistan into the League of Nations. Afghanistan however cannot be brought into the League unless Russia is also brought in and that brings the question into the field of European politics. It is true no doubt that the question of Russia's entering the League is a problem of European politics. But it does not seem axiomatic that Afghanistan cannot be brought into the League unless Russia were also brought in. The suggestion that Afghanistan should be made a member of the League of Nations



Srimati Indu nati Goenka



Srijukta Mohini Devi and her  
grand-children



Srijukta Urmila Devi

### Do Shopkeepers Feel Molested?

movement has been a surprise and a revelation to friends and foes and it is alike Frend in purdah ridden Bengal they have been in evidence since the time when Srimati Indamati Goenka Srimati Binmal Pratibha Devi Srimati Urmila Devi Srimati Mohini Devi and Miss Jyotirmoyi Ganguli M. A. were sent to jail in Calcutta. On the 24th July in the same city the following seven ladies received the sentences mentioned against their names

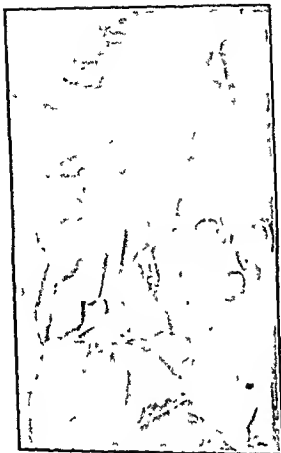
- (1) Srimati Jc. eswari Devi—4 months simple imprisonment
- (2) Srimati Saraswati Devi—4 months simple imprisonment
- (3) Srimati Bhanquar Devi—4 months simple imprisonment
- (4) Srimati Devi—4 month simple imprisonment
- (5) Srimati Bachit Patel—1 months simple imprisonment
- (6) Srijukta Chameli Devi—6 months simple imprisonment
- (7) Srijukta Santi Das M.A.—4 months simple imprisonment

And what is more their number is added to almost everyday

Only the other day many prominent Bombay merchants protested against the punishment inflicted on picketers saying that the latter did not molest them. Probably in their places too it is not the shopkeepers for the most part who object to picketing but the police arrest them all the same. More than a month ago shopkeepers in Calcutta observed hartal because some lady picketers and others had been roughly handled. On the 23rd July also what happened is that the cloth-dealers immediately closed their shops and came out in the street. Being asked they said they had closed their shops as soon as they had heard about the arrest of the lady picketers in Burrabazar Calcutta. If the ladies had molested the shopkeepers would they have closed their shops by way of protest against the arrest of the ladies?

### The Closing of Mills in Bombay

Business being dull many cotton mills in Bombay have either closed or are about



The Workers and the Office bearers of the  
Hari Sabharwal Samiti. The figure  
at the extreme left is that of  
Miss Danu Das.

to close. This is being made a count in the charge against the civil disobedience movement.

Some have lost their lives, some have received wounds, some have had their skulls battered, some have been imprisoned, and some are losing part of their expected incomes. There is nothing unusual in this. Whenever great changes have taken place in any country, they have been preceded by economic disturbances also. No class of people can expect their way of life to be strewn with roses during the period of transition. Those who like us are not in the fighting ranks should not expect to be rolling in wealth for that reason.



Kishoregiri Ganguli

### Appeal for Help

#### SAD PLIGHT OF KISHOREGIRI HINDUS

The following appeal has been issued by  
Sri Anil Kumar Roy-Chowdhury, Secretary  
Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha

Reports from Kishoregiri sub-division reveal a most unprecedented state of things. A situation has arisen which is infinitely worse than the Palma riot. Not a single Hindu within the jurisdiction of the Pakundia Thana has got any hearth or home. They are passing their days without food. They have nothing in their houses even to drink water with. They quench their thirst by taking handfuls from the pond. They have been absolutely in a deserted state.

Thousands have been living in jute fields for fear of mol station. Thousands of men, women and children have taken refuge in the schools and other public buildings in Kishoregiri town. They have been rendered penniless and are being fed by the public. The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha has so far sent a number of workers and wired some money to the Hindu Sabha, Kishoregiri for relief purpose. More money is immediately wanted. We appeal to all to come forward with help. All donations should be sent to the Secretary, Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha, at 160 Harrison Road Calcutta.

not in human nature, particularly in the nature of those who occupy positions of authority in a subject country, to admit that any class of people can be superior to them in any respect or, which is the same thing that they themselves can be inferior to any non official class in any respect. Disinterested foreign observers have been able to perceive that in the present struggle the moral victory—so far as the attitude of violence is concerned—rests with the civil resisters. Officialdom also perhaps believes this to be true. Hence perhaps smarting under this inferiority complex officials make what efforts they can to pull down the satyagrahis from their moral height. This conscious or unconscious effort is perceptible in the Bombay Governor's speech before the local council. According to an *Associated Press* telegram dated Bombay July 20 speaking in that city on the evening of that day

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel expressed appreciation of the Viceroy's feeling reference to the innocent people injured by the police but he added that the speech of the Governor of Bombay before the Legislature did not give him a chance to entertain any hope of compromise. He declared that therein Sir Frederick Sykes had said that the civil disobedience movement was violent and had suggested that the Satyagrahis were thieves and rogues. Mr. Patel urged that a compromise under such circumstances would be futile.

Fuller details are found in a report of Sardar Patel's speech published in the *Bombay Chronicle*.

The Governor had stated that the dacoities in Kaira District were due to Congress movement. But he belonged to Kaira and knew the truth about it. The dacoities were instigated by interested parties and the victims were those who had joined the national movement and they declined to complain to the police of the British Government. The Dharis who had given up their profession of dacoity by the preaching of one follower of Mahatmaji were grossly labelled by the Governor.

### Police Censured in Punjab Council

The Legislative Assembly debates in the course of which many non official members spoke of 'police excesses' from their personal knowledge, were practically a censure on the police. The condemnation of repressive policy in the U P Council was also tantamount to such censure. In the Punjab Legislative Council a censure motion on police 'excesses' was carried by 41 votes.  
31 The gentleman who brought forward

that motion admitted that all policemen had not been guilty of excesses—some had kept themselves within the bounds of the law. That is also the case elsewhere, we think. It should not give any pleasure to Indians to refer to police excesses. For the majority of policemen accused of such conduct are our own countrymen. We should feel ashamed when we read descriptions of such conduct.

### "Nawabi" Raj

It has been published in some papers that when several villages near Dacca were looted, the plunderers said that *Nawabi raj* had come and they could do what they liked. No doubt, they did what they liked, but that did not prove either that *Nawabi raj* had been established or that such *raj* was always or generally equivalent to *Goonda raj*.

### The Bihar Herald writes

Closely following the Dacca riots we witness to-day mob fury at Kishoreganj. No Government can deny to the people the elementary right of protection. Should we remind our friends in the Assembly what our Moslem rulers did before the advent of the British? Speaking of Nawab Marudh Cooiy Khan Stewart says: "Moorshid Cooiy Khan devoted two days in the week to the administration of justice and so impartial was he in his decisions and so rigid in the execution of the sentences of the law that he sent his son to death for an infraction of its regulation" (p. 272). Nobody could oppress with impunity and Vakeels were continually in search of complaints and whenever they met with any person who had reason to be dissatisfied they used every endeavour to pacify him but if it happened that a well founded complaint reached the ears of Moorshid Cooiy the offender was sure to suffer severely. If the officers of justice out of partiality or respect to rank neglected to redress the meanest person upon a representation thereof from the party aggrieved the Nawab tried the cause himself and in his decisions showed neither favour nor affection to any one the rich and the poor bearing equal value in his sight (p. 400).

We hold this picture before the eyes of the Indians that they may contrast it with the rank communalism that has been attempted to be stirred up to day.

### Lord Irwin on the London Indo British Conference

In the Viceroy's address to both houses of the Indian legislature at Simla on July 9, 1930 he outlined the scope of the conference to be held in London in October between the representatives of Britain and the so-called 'representatives' of India.

in size) may be chosen as the basis and the essentials rejected. When such choice rests with only one party, how can there be that equality between the parties which constitutes the roundness of a round table conference?

### How India's Representatives could be Chosen

It may be asked if the Government of India are not to choose India's representatives how else could they be chosen? There were more ways than one to do so.

Government have constituted central and provincial legislatures for India. Whatever non-official or non-Indian may say the British Government must recognize their representative character because it has been claimed that India has got a parliament or parliaments and has been enjoying dominion status in action for the last decade. These central and provincial legislatures might and should have been asked to choose India's representatives. Of course we refer to these bodies as they were constituted with regard to their personnel before most of the Congress members had resigned.

If the Government of India say that these legislative bodies do not represent India the question may be asked: Why did you constitute such sham representative bodies and lead the world to believe that you had given India at least a fair measure of self-government?

We know Government cannot definitely and expressly recognize the representative character of the legislatures without placing themselves in an embarrassing position. For the Legislative Assembly has twice formulated what is known as the National Demand which embodies the substance of at least internal autonomy for India and some provincial legislatures also have carried similar resolutions. Therefore if Government recognized the representative character of the Legislative bodies they would have to admit that Indian representative opinion was in favour of Dominion status and no conference like the intended London Conference would be needed to learn what India wanted. All that such a conference might be required to do was to settle the details of an Indian constitution on the Dominion status basis.

But assuming that for some reason or other the legislative bodies could not be

entrusted with the duty of choosing the representatives of India what other way would be left? The answer is not difficult. It must be universally admitted that the most unsectarian non-communal pan-Indian and all-sectarian representative body in India is the Congress. The National Liberal Federation similarly contains members from all religious sects and all provinces though it is a much smaller body than the Congress. Of communal representative bodies there are the Muslim League, the Christian Association, the Sikh League, the Non-Brahmin Federation, and some Sabha or other representing the Depressed classes. To these the Hindu Mahasabha might be added if it liked to have separate representation at the Conference.

All these representative bodies might have been asked to choose their representatives. It would not have been impossible to determine the number to be chosen by each, the preponderating representation being, of course, allowed to the Congress in view of the largeness of its following and the strenuous efforts and sacrifices made and the risks run by Congressmen.

Not that we admit that it was or is at all necessary to ascertain afresh the main and minimum political demand of India. There is no representative political body of standing and influence which has asked for less than Dominion status. Hence it is also generally agreed that it should be declared by the British Government definitely that the object of the conference would be to settle the details of a dominion constitution and some safe guards of a temporary character for a few years.

### The Object of the London Conference

What the object of the conference should be has been indicated above. But with what object the British Government is calling it, can only be surmised. The declared object is to arrive at the greatest measures of agreement between the parties and make that the basis of the proposals for legislation relating to the governance of India to be placed before the British Parliament. Let us see what chances there are for any such agreement to be arrived at as would be acceptable to Indian Nationalists in general.

The Indian representatives are to be chosen by Government, that is to say,



of the three presidency towns the Indian representatives of a nationalist turn of mind could have felt strengthened in their demands by the moral support of the public and the hoodles and torbides might have received their due meed of obloquy even during the progress of the conference.

### Would it be a Free Conference?

I read Irvin's address in his address that the London Conference would be a free conference. We do not think the word free should be applied to it. Where even the choice of the representatives of India can be made by Britain obviously because India is held in subjection where does freedom come in? These representatives may be allowed to talk as they like but there is to be no self-determination and hence no freedom.

### Mr St Nihal Singh's Article

Mr St Nihal Singh's article on the Simon Commission's Report in this issue is written from the viewpoint of one who has been watching the play of British Imperialist forces in many lands. Every where the same thing is happening—Britain proposes to give her subject peoples new powers and privileges while all the time she is trying to tighten her grip over them. The Simon recommendations are the latest refinement in this process. It is hoped that these Indian leaders who are displaying so much anxiety to go to London while Mahatma Gandhi is still in jail will pay some attention to what has been said in this article.

### Harbours and Shipping in Ancient India

The late Rao Bahadur G. V. Joshi was a distinguished statistician and economist. He gave valuable help to Gokhale and Ranesh Dutt in their work. He contributed an article on Shipping in Ancient India to the *Modern Review* for February 1908 in the course of which he said:

As far as the recorded results of Oriental research enable us to judge there can be no doubt that in ancient times India was one of the foremost maritime nations of the world. Her geographical situation in the heart of the continent, with Africa on the West and the

Eastern Archipelago and Australia on the East, and connected with the vast mainland of Asia on the North her magnificent seaboard extending over 4000 miles and upwards—from Karachi to Chittagong—her ports and havens over 1000 in number some of them among the finest in the world the boundless wealth of her material resources the unrivalled richness and variety of her products her shipping and ship-building—all these constituted advantages of unique value to the development of her maritime enterprise, and her marvellous colonizing and trading activity the genius and energy of her merchants the skill and daring of her seamen concurred to give her the command of the sea and helped her to attain to the proud position of a premier maritime power in Eastern waters. We had our colonies in Madagascar and Socotra on the one side and in Pegu and Cambodia in Java, in Sumatra in Borneo and in all probability further afield on the other. Similarly we had our trading settlements in Southern China in the Malayan Peninsula in Arabia and in all the chief cities of Persia and all over the East Coast of Africa. We maintained extensive intercourse with foreign countries. Our trade extended not only to the countries of Asia but to the whole of the then known world—including the vast dominions of ancient Rome. There was for instance a large and lucrative trade between the Indians, Cholas and Chera kingdoms of Southern India and the Roman Empire. The whole of this oceanic intercourse with foreign nations was in our hand and under our control. The shipping employed was our own and our galleys and galleys, our galleys and lateels, our bagalas and kottas were in every sea and our Jats, Kachhis and Gujratli seamen visited every shore. A thousand ports participated in our extensive seaborne trade of the time and prominent among them were Lakhpat and Diu, Broach and Vallabhi, Beypoor and Cochin, Masulipatam and Balesore. Each seaport had its own ship-building yard, its own seamen and pilots, the ships were built of timber mostly teak—the use of iron and steel as material for ship-building was unknown. A few references may here be conveniently cited from *Romley's Gazetteer* Volume I, part I, History of Gujarat Appendix IV, pp. 192-96 and elsewhere. The time of Herodotus (B.C. 450) the ports of Arabia and Ceylon were entirely in the hands of the people of Gujarat.

In the third century A.D. 247 the Periplus (McCrindle's edition, p. 91, 92, 109) notices a large Indian ship in the East African Archipelago and Indian settlements on the north coast of Socotra.

The Han the famous Chinese pilgrim who set out on his great itinerary in A.D. 629 and did not return to his monastery till 15 years later records in his journal that:

He sailed from the mouth of the Ganges to Ceylon from Ceylon to Java and from Java to China in ships manned by Indian crews.

During the fifth and sixth centuries the ports of South India and Gujarat were among the chief centres of maritime enterprise in the East. In the fifth century, according to Huan Tsang of Ispahan, at Hira near Kufa on the Euphrates the ships of India and



China were constantly moored in a sixth century the Jats from the Indus to Kutch occupied the islands in the Persian Gulf. In AD 630 Huen Tsang (Hsüan Tsang) visited the chief city of the Hindus were settled as traders enjoying the fruits of their religion. Before the advent of the Mahomedans, what large vessels like Rajasthani sailors of Gujarat manned is shown by the Oluc who about AD 1321 (Seventeen months in Voyages XVIII) crossed the Indian Ocean in a ship that carried 700 people and the Rajasthani ship sailed between Kathiawar and China. In the 11th century Somnath is referred to as a great port of call for merchants trading between Sofala in East Africa and China, as it was for Chinese ships.

The maritime enterprise of India declined during Moslem rule. But even during the first quarter of the 19th century and some years later, Indian seamen continued to cross the ocean in their own ships built in India. In those days war ships as well as mercantile vessels were built in India. For instance Appendix 10 of the *History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce* by W S Lindsay vol II gives a list of ships belonging to or chartered by the East India Company in 1820, mentioning where they were built and their tonnage, number of guns and men to which 17 ships are referred to as having been built in this country. Seven were built in Bombay, six in Bengal and four in India. Four carried twelve guns each and thirteen twenty six guns each.

### Medical Inspection in Schools

In December last it was given out that

The Government of Bengal contemplates the introduction of a regular system of medical examination and supervision of boys in the Government High Schools and Senior Madrasahs outside Calcutta and in hostels attached to them. A separate scheme is already in operation in Calcutta.

Under this scheme each medical officer attached to school will have a part time medical officer attached to it who will be appointed on the recommendation of the Managing Committee of the school and will be required to undergo a course of training in school hygiene in Calcutta for three months under the Public Health Department.

To examine the materials presented by the school medical officers a Provincial Board will be set up in Calcutta consisting of the Director of Public Health, Director of Physical Education, two persons interested in the welfare of students, preferably two members of the Students' Advisory Committee of the Calcutta University and two members of the medical profession in Calcutta interested in the work of the Board.

The duties of the medical officers will be as follows

(a) Medical examination and physical measurement of the students twice a year and reporting Defectives to their parents as also rendering medical advice.

(b) Advising the school staff and working in co-operation with the physical instructors in all relating to the health of the boys.

(c) Giving lessons in Hygiene and Health and supervising the general sanitary conditions of the schools and hostel premises.

The school medical officers will compile in collaboration with the physical instructors a half annual report on the health of students for submission to the Provincial Board referred to above.

The Board will advise the Government as to the future lines of action to be taken in the next few years for the improvement of the health of the boys.

The scheme which will involve an annual expenditure of Rs. 3,000 has been provisionally sanctioned for a period of two years for the trial.

Though the scheme outlined above was a small one and the grant inadequate still it was a beginning. We have no information as to whether anything has been done to give effect to it. A scheme worked out in greater detail was communicated to the Director of Public Instruction and to the Director of Public Health Bengal by Dr Narayanan Banerji early in September, 1927. He has done practical work along these lines. Evidently the Government scheme is based on Dr Banerji's communication, though it is not mentioned in the former. Dr Banerji also contributed a paper on the Height and Weight of Bengali School Children with graphs based on his own work to *The Modern Review* for May, 1928. Those interested in the subject are referred to it.

### Proposed Law in Russia for Obligatory Study of Adults

The All Russian Special Committee for the elimination of illiteracy, of the Commissariat of Public Education, has drawn up the following plan for a law for obligatory study for adults. The plan is now being discussed in all the local organizations of the voluntary society for combating illiteracy. The text proposed for the law is as follows.

Socialist reconstruction requires a higher cultural level of the entire working class and before all else the elimination of illiteracy and semi illiteracy. The presence of illiterates in our socialistic enterprises is an obstacle in the realization of the Five Year

may probably have a thing or two to teach some enlightened peoples of the world

### "From Slavery to Independence"

When before proceeding to attend the last Lahore session of the Congress Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru saw the Viceroy in order to obtain if possible some definite assurance to the effect that the 'Round Table' Conference would settle the details of a dominion constitution for India it was reported that Lord Irwin told the Indian leaders that anything from slavery to independence might be discussed at it. We wonder if any British authority could have mentioned to the South Africans or the Irish, on the eve of the discussions preceding the drafting of their constitutions conferring Dominionhood on them the insulting possibility of their being reduced to slavery by the new constitutions which they were going to get

Note The right is conferred on local District Executive Committees to issue an obligatory decision for the immediate teaching of illiterates and semi-literates within the limits of their territory

(4) The All Russian special Committee and special local Committees for the liquidation of illiteracy are granted the right to make use of schools clubs churches private homes and other suitable quarters in factories plants Soviet farms etc for this work

(5) Persons evading the fulfilment of this decree obligating them to become literate will be held responsible under the Civil Labour Code

(6) Persons preventing workers employees members of collective farms and members of co-operatives from eliminating their illiteracy will be held responsible under the Criminal Code

(7) The Commissariat of Education Commissariat of Labor and the Commissariat of Justice are required to issue instructions on the adoption and use of the present decree during the course of a fortnight

It is not merely socialist reconstruction but the reconstruction of society in conformity to any enlightened ideal whatever, that the utter removal of illiteracy and semi-literacy is an urgent necessity, particularly in India. But while Britishers in general individually and collectively, down to the Simon Commission speak solemnly of India's illiteracy as a serious difficulty in the way of her getting self rule they have never dreamt of passing any law like the proposed Russian one for the extinction of illiteracy. The bloodthirsty Bolsheviks

### The Official Peshawar Enquiry Report

The report of the official committee appointed to enquire into the disturbances which took place in Peshawar on 23rd April 1930 has been published along with the Government resolution thereupon. The committee consisted of one European High Court Judge and one Indian Muslim High Court Judge. On two important points the opinion of Mr Justice Shah Muhammad Sulhman is different from that of Mr Justice Panckridge.

The Honble Mr Justice Sulhman believed that some persons were run over by an armoured car before the despatch rider was attacked and that the situation would not have assumed such a serious aspect but for this unfortunate incident. The Honble Mr Justice Panckridge does not on the evidence feel justified in coming to a positive finding as to whether the despatch rider was attacked before or after persons were run over.

### The Government Resolution

The Government resolution does not attach sufficient importance to this difference of opinion and indirectly throws Mr Justice Sulhman overboard.

Turning to the events subsequent to the second firing the Government of India observe that the two members of the committee have stated certain views in separate notes. After dispersal of the main mob some members of it

### Working of the Press Ordinance

From the Home Member's reply in the Assembly to a question relating to the working of the Press Ordinance one learns that some 140 journals have felt its heavy hand many having ceased publication. Serious as this result is it does not represent the whole of the mischief. Legitimate publicity work has been seriously hampered. Mr K. C. Neogy complained in the Legislative Assembly—and we personally know that what he said was literally true—that he could not get the Contagious Enquiry Committee's Report printed at any press in Calcutta every press to which it had been taken being afraid of the clutches of the Ordinance. It is to be presumed that that has been or may be the fate of the non-official Peshawar Enquiry Committee's report too.

### Indian Christians and the National Movement

We read in *The Guardian*, an ably conducted Christian weekly journal of public affairs of this city

The Council of the All India Christian Conference which has just met at Lucknow has passed a series of resolutions in regard to the present situation and the future constitutional developments which will we think commend themselves to the community as a whole and also to the country

### U S A Senator Blaine's Resolution

• Great prominence is given in American new papers to a resolution introduced into the United States Senate by Senator Blaine of Wisconsin. It is a long document of which the last paragraph sets forth

That as India is an original signatory of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact the United States Senate instructs the State Department to use its best offices to insure a peaceful settlement of the Indian struggle with no abridgement of the just rights of the people of India, who are seeking to emulate our own national independence.

The Washington Correspondent of the London *Times* has written to that paper that the resolution is the outcome of the efforts of a few Indian Nationalists in Washington whose statements the Senator accepted without question. That paper is angry with Mr Blaine. It exclaims, "how could any one with the slightest power judgment or knowledge of the world show himself so gullible. Of course every one is gullible who does not accept as gospel truth the official and non-official British imperialist stories relating to India."

According to some British and Anglo-Indian papers, Mr Blaine's resolution will

get some publicity but it will not be approved. The wish is father to the prediction though it may be a true one.

We appreciate all friendly foreign interest in Indian affairs though we know foreign nations can at the best give us only moral support. And we also know that nations by themselves are made.

### Caste and the Coming Census

The Jat Pat Tik Mandal of Lahore has issued a manifesto from which a passage is extracted below:

The Jat Pat Tik Mandal of Lahore is striving to destroy the caste system completely. The next census will take place in 1931. That year will be a year of trial for the well-wishers of the Hindu society. The Mandal calls upon every Hindu not to record his caste on that occasion. There is no law which can compel any person to register his caste in the census papers if he does not want to do so. Let us make a combined effort to wipe the present watertight compartments out of existence. To repudiate one's caste is the first step towards national unity. The Census Report of 1931 should on no account be stained with a declaration of our slavery to the caste system which has spelt our ruin.

### Proposed Indian Students Tour in Europe

The Inter University Board is in communication with all the Universities in India regarding a proposal put forward by the National Union of Students of the Universities and the University Colleges of England and Wales for a conducted tour of Indian students in Europe in the spring and summer of 1931. It is proposed that a party of a hundred students should be given an opportunity of travelling for three months in Europe in the company of Professors. It is expected that the cost would be about £200 per head. It is claimed that the tour should serve as an admirable general introduction to European culture at first hand, and would be invaluable for Indian students studying the political and cultural history of Europe.

The proposal is a commendable one. There are some Indian students, no doubt whose guardians can spend £200 per head for such a tour. But many of our best students are poor. It would be desirable if they too could be enabled to take advantage of this proposal.

### Three Party British Representation

In his last November announcement the Viceroy declared that the conference would be between representatives of His Majesty's

Government in Britain and the representatives of India. But his recent address says that it is to be a joint assembly of the representative of both countries. And it has been announced that the British representatives are to be chosen from the Labour, Liberal and Conservative parties, just as the Simon Commission was. That commission has produced a report which has been condemned by all parties and public bodies in India. But Liberal and Conservative leaders have declared beforehand that it must not be scrapped and have given the public to understand by their attitude that they would oppose any Indian constitution more advanced than that recommended by the Simon Seven. So though Lord Irwin says that the Conference will be free to approach its task greatly assisted indeed but with liberty unimpaired by the report of the Statutory Commission or by any other documents which will be before it, practically the limit to political advancement will be set by the Simon Report. The Labour Party, in office itself thinks that it is a great document.

The problems of Britain are being tackled by the Government in office. The problems of self government in Canada, Ireland and South Africa were solved by the Governments in power in those days respectively. There were no three party conferences with the representatives of those countries. That Labour has agreed to include the representatives of the two other parties in the conference shows that they are not prepared to take any risk for India and that they cannot face unpopularity with the two other parties but that, nevertheless they want to pose as friends of India.

It has been said that there would be a certain advantage in having representatives of all the British political parties at the conference. We presume the advantage might be this that if representatives of all the British political parties accepted any proposals relating to India at the conference there would be a greater chance of legislation based on such proposals being carried through Parliament than otherwise. That is true. But if the agreed proposals themselves were of a retrograde character—and from the anticipated personnel of British all party delegation they are not expected to be better—it would be worse than useless to have such legislation for the governance of India.

Maharaja of Bikanir that the movement has taken a firm hold on the people of practically all classes and communities of Indians at least in the Bombay Presidency. Other illustrative facts will readily occur to readers of newspapers. A few relating to Bombay may be mentioned here. The merchants procession in Bombay was one lakh strong, and the procession of the Parsis fifty thousand. There were large Muhammadan processions on Peshwar Day and after the Bhendi Bazar incident. Mr Abbas Tyabji ex Judge of Baroda led the movement and went to jail after Mahatma Gandhi's arrest. Among the ladies jailed are Mrs Sarojini Naidu poet orator ex President of Congress social reformer and a leader of the woman movement. Mrs Kamala devi Chattopadhyaya another leader of the woman movement a promoter of woman's education social reformer a pioneer of the new theatre movement and herself distinguished for her histrionic talents. Mrs Lalvali Munshi a cultured and

is the wife of Dr Jivraj Mehta Dean of the King Edward Memorial Hospital and daughter of Sir Manubhai N Mehta Diwan of Bikanir and ex Diwan of Baroda who is to go to the Round Table Conference with the Princes. Her predecessor in the local presidential chair now in jail was Mr Dhurjial C Modi B.A. who is a man of business and a publicist belonging to a very respectable Gujarati *banijya* family of Surat. His uncle gave a donation of two lakhs to the Surat Arts College.

### Tagore Proud of His Countrymen

Reuter has recently cabled from Berlin that the poet Rabindranath Tagore told an interviewer that he was proud of his countrymen. This piece of news has no chance of turning out false as certain other mythical interviews did. How deeply he loves his country and his countrymen is illustrated by his following poem among others.

#### MY PRAYER FOR INDIA

What is my longing, my dream, my prayer for my country, my beloved India  
I dream of her I fervently pray for her that she may no longer be in bondage to stranger  
But that she may be free  
Free to follow her own high ideals  
Free to accomplish her own important mission in the world  
Free to fill her own God-given place among the great nations

Among the mythical things which Tagore is alleged to have told some interviewer or other is the following:

Interviewed by Reuter Dr Tagore disclosed that at present he was producing three or four fresh pictures daily and had temporarily abandoned poetry, also that he was losing interest in politics. Said Dr Tagore:

I am out of all that now. I do not even have time to read what is going on in India.

About this the poet has written to us from Tolnes, England in Bengali. I hear that using some [alleged] interview with me in Paris as a handle, slander of myself has been carried to India across the ocean. I did not give any interview to any journalist or news man, nor did I say to any of those who are unconnected with newspapers any thing bad.

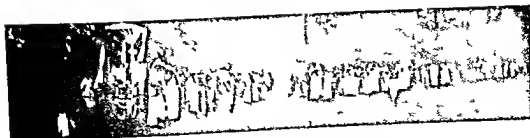
### Festival of Rains in Santiniketan

Though Rabindranath Tagore is at present in Europe work and play and work play are going on in his University as usual. On the 26th July the staff and students had their



Sgt. Dhurjial C. Modi and Mrs. Hansa Mehta

the speaker wife of Mr Munshi ex M. I. C. Mrs Lukmanji a Muslim lady aged 67 daughter of the late Mr Justice Badruddin Tyabji who was sentenced for picketing a liquor shop. Mrs Peria Captain a grand daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji who was President of the Bombay Congress Committee and War Council etc. Mrs Hansa Mehta another President of the Bombay Congress Committee who has been or may soon be imprisoned.

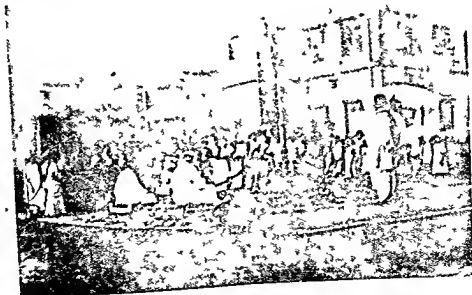


The tree planting ceremony

Festival of the Rains. Had the tree here he would have added the inspiration of some new songs and play or story. In his absence old verses did duty. Tree-planting was of the festival. The procession students headed by two stalwart men carrying a young *malati* plant in a fluted decked palanquin with an umbrella, fell over it started from the boys' host and

the functioned as minister chanting sonnets in Sanskrit verses. Srijut Ramamanda assisted at the planting of the tree. At nightfall there were music and recitations at Uthayan. The poets danced under the direction of Srijut. The drama by Tagore. One of the items was sung by two little girls with graceful and rhythmical movements.

Tree-planting ceremony



Tree-planting ceremony

singing appropriate songs all along the way. Seated Sree-blavan the girls hastened in front of which the tree was planted. Srijut Dinendranath Tagore, the distinguished musician, led the choir. Pandit Vidhusekhar

#### Picketing of Schools and Colleges

In connection with the picketing of school colleges and universities in many provinces to dissuade students from attending

their classes it is not necessary to disenfranchise whether it would be good to destroy these educational institutions for the picketers and their leaders do not mean by their present move to destroy them. They only want the students to suspend their studies temporarily. Now such suspension where it takes place should be voluntary. And those students who have voluntarily given up their studies for some months or so have also the liberty to try to bring other students to their own way of thinking by arguments and entreaties. If picketing were confined to these means of persuasion even those who are against it would not strongly condemn and oppose it. But the picketers have nowhere confined themselves to the art of persuasion. They have obstructed the entrance to educational institutions in many ways thus preventing students from going in. They have invaded the class rooms some adventurous youngsters even dropped down into a class room of a college from the skylight. These methods we condemn. Those who want to continue their studies should have unrestricted liberty to do so.

The question of what part students should or should not take in politics has often been discussed in these pages. It is not necessary to repeat our observations. Suffice it to say that we are advocates of neither the pure atmosphere of study nor of students taking any leading part in politics. But grown up students should certainly be in touch with all public movements political and non political so far as the ideas and arguments underlying them are concerned and they may also play such subsidiary parts in them as would not seriously interfere with their studies. That ought to be part of their education for their future work in life. It does not require a very mature intellect to understand that Swadeshi industries should be encouraged by using Swadeshi articles in preference to and to the exclusion of foreign goods and that all intoxicants should be eschewed and barred. It is quite possible for students to work along both these lines without discontinuing their studies for good and even temporarily suspending them. Whether they should give all their time and energy to such public work should be decided by them individually in consultation with their parents or other guardians. If students who are not minors decide to give up their studies contrary to the desire of

their guardians they should not expect to be supported by the latter. Independent thought and action presuppose independent livelihood and self support. As we have not yet run the risk involved in picketing liquor shops and foreign cloth shops we should not advise young persons or old to do so, one should say 'come, not merely go'. Nor have cold blooded creatures the right to dissuade ardent souls from any course of conduct which the latter consider necessary for the good of the country and are prepared to make sacrifices and run risks for it.

#### Work of the Bengal Hindu Mission

Swami Satyananda, leader of the Hindu Mission in Bengal is doing good work in East and North Bengal to promote the fraternization of the depressed classes of the Hindus with the other castes and thus to bring about the solidarity of the Hindu community. He should be helped in every possible way. One indispensable means of elevating the depressed classes is to teach old and young among them of both sexes to read good books. Officials profess great concern for their welfare but have not given any proof of inextinguishable zeal in the cause of free and compulsory universal education.

#### Madras Women on Amendment of Sarda Act

A resolution was recently passed at a largely attended meeting of Madras women protesting against the motion in the Council of State to circulate Mr Surpat Singh's amendment to the Sarda Act to elicit public opinion and requesting the Government of India not to go back upon their decision. If Mr Surpat Singh's amendment became law it would nullify the Sarda Act to a great extent. Mr Surpat Singh is not wanting in patriotism. He puts very searching questions many of which are disallowed on technical grounds, and those which are answered are not answered satisfactorily. But they show the trend of his thought for the country. We do not know him personally. But judging from his questions, we think he ought not to have been the man to seek to nullify the Sarda Act to any extent.

The meeting of the Madras women whom we congratulate on their active zeal in the cause of social reform which ought to be

emulated by their sisters elsewhere also expressed dissatisfaction at the reply of the Viceroy to the Moslem deputation to repeal or amend the Sarda Act, if necessary without any regard for the feeling of enlightened women of the Moslem community

### Moslem Nationalism

Officials and other opponents of Indian national unity and freedom have been trying, for a long time past, and particularly in recent times, to persuade the Indian public and the British and other foreign public to believe that Indian Muslims have in a body or at least to a very great extent kept themselves aloof from the national movement and even condemned and opposed it. We do not believe in such propaganda as it is opposed to facts. One has only to read the list of names of men and women recently imprisoned in the various provinces of India for political reasons and the reports of public meetings and processions all over India to find an effective refutation of such propaganda. Intelligent Muslims have come to realize that the best way to safeguard the rights and interests of their community is first to help in winning political and civic rights for the Indian people as a whole. If these are obtained it is only then that Moslems like others can have a share of them. What rights are there in a state of bondage to share and safeguard. Surely neither the Moslem nor the Hindu nor any other community can be made free to the exclusion of the rest. In order to win freedom for one's own community, one must join all other communities in a united endeavour.

It is therefore, a pleasure to find that at the U P Moslem Conference held at Lucknow (haudhuri khaliquzzaman said

it was time for the nationalist Muslims to assert themselves and say "you (communists) have no business to stigmatize the Moslems of this generation eternally. Let no future generation put the finger of opprobrium and say you are men who deliberately aided in the process of keeping India in bondage than was otherwise possible.

Dr Ansari an ex President of the Congress, said at the same conference

Out of the total Muslim population of India about 80 per cent. Muslims belong to N W F, the United Provinces and Bengal and the remaining 20 per cent to other provinces. These Muslims have been shown to the world by their participation in the present struggle for freedom that the majority of them are nationalists to the very core and supporters of the Indian National Congress. The people who have been sent to jail in Bombay Bihar U P,

Madra etc include good number of Muslims and this very fact shows that the Muslims are taking their full share in liberating their country from foreign domination

He added that flatterers do not represent Muslims

Dr Ansari exhorted the Muslims to understand more for all that the party of the few communalists and interested persons which has taken up the profession of flattery Government and to ponder to its will cannot represent 7 crores of Muslims inhabiting India. The true representatives are those who have the freedom of the country at heart. Their voice he said is your voice and their deeds are your deeds (loud cheers)

Our opponents he said who are trying to hoodwink the nation the Government and himself have been making statements and indulging over the idea that the Muslims have kept themselves aloof from the Congress. The Secretary of State has also expressed such wrong idea but we cannot close our eyes to the existing fact and we must therefore openly declare that the Muslims as a community are with the Congress and the movement initiated by it and that there is no sacrifice which the Muslims are not ready to make for the sake of their mother country (prolonged cheers)

### Indian Professor Invited by Chinese University

The Chinese National University at Peking has invited Professor Phanibhusan Adhikari of the Benares Hindu University to teach Indian philosophy there for three years. Both by scholarship and character Prof Adhikari is well qualified to keep alive the ancient Indo Chinese cultural connection which was revived a few years back by Rabindranath Tagore who took with him a party of cultured young Indians

### Public Meeting of Indian Women in London

At the public meeting of Indian women recently held in London Mrs. V C Sen took the chair. It was held for the following purposes

(1) To demand the immediate and unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi and other political prisoners.

(2) To urge upon the Government the futility of any negotiations at the proposed Round Table Conference without the participation of Mahatma Gandhi as the leader of the party most representative of Indian people.

(3) To warn leaders of communal interests and other political parties not to participate in the proposed Round Table Conference until the above conditions are fulfilled

Mrs Sen made a fine speech. The following is one of the passages devoted to the Simon Report

What a lot of money and time have been spent to produce this. No new weapons have been found against us. The same old arguments which we



have been hearing for years have been applied again and supplied our judges justification for the existence of the foreign Government. I do not know why these very grounds do not condemn them instead? For if in 150 years they have not been able to remove our disabilities are they likely to be able to do so ever? The report does not say much about our own reformers. But whatever social reforms have been done and are being done Indians themselves have done and are doing. Every country has its own problems and it alone can solve them. There are a hundred different problems here in this country and Governments are made and unmade frequently on these problems. What outside power ever comes forward to solve the problems of this country? And we would not tolerate anybody's interference. We are often asked 'What will happen to us if the English left India? Nobody can foresee things but if the worst happened as the diehards take delight in predicting it would be our own affair.

### The Dacca Tragedy

One of the most tragic events connected with the movement for closing down schools and colleges happened at Dacca, where Ajit Bhattacharyya a student of the Dacca University who after passing the I Sc examination had come to seek admission in the B Sc class died on July 21 as a result of injuries received during the *melee* when the police charged a crowd in the Science Laboratory of the University.

After his death the students and the public approached the authorities for permission to take the body in procession to the funeral ghat. But it was refused by the District Magistrate on the ground that such a procession was likely to lead to communal trouble. And

it is reported in the newspapers that, when in these circumstances the relatives of the deceased student and the students refused to take delivery of the body from the hospital it was burnt by the police.

### Sapru Jayakar 'Peace Mission'

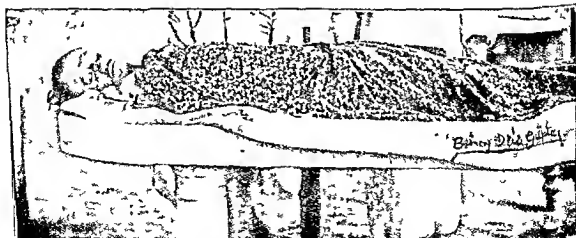
The latest news about the Sapru Jayakar 'peace mission' received as we are going to press is that both these gentlemen had an interview with Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in Naini Jail and discussed the situation with them. The latter gave them a letter for Mahatma Gandhi and Mr Jayakar is taking it to Poona while Sir Tej Bahadur remains behind at Allahabad.

No useful comment can be made on the peace mission till full details of these discussions are known. All that can be said at present, is to repeat our previous contention that the peace which is wanted is effective peace with honour.

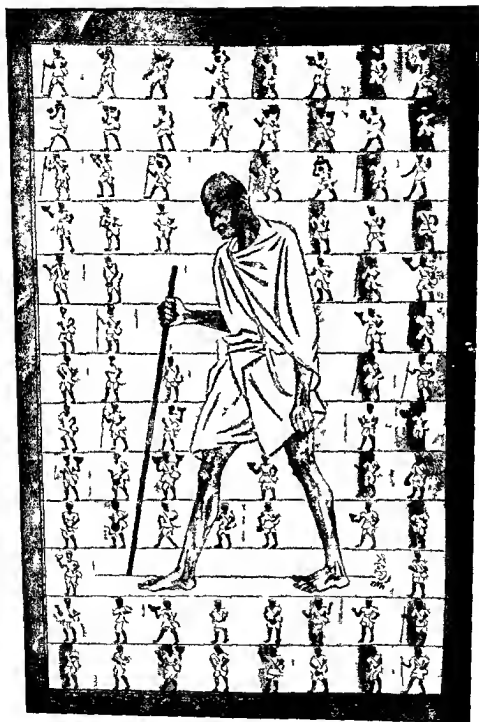
### ERRATA

There are a few misprints in the editorial notes in the July number of *The Modern Review*. The correct readings are given below.

Page	Col	Line				
115	1	12	for	united	and	limited
118	1	7		same		some
119	2	33		may		many



The body of Ajit Bhattacharyya at the Morgue





VOL. XLVIII  
NO. 3

SEPTEMBER, 1930

WHOLE NO  
285

## War and Revolution in China

By AGNES SMITH

**T**HREE outstanding facts characterize the Chinese situation today 1 The civil war 2 The economic decline 3 The peasant revolution

Regarding the civil war this has come to seem like a state of nature in China. But beyond the usual official war news which nobody believes any more because they are so ludicrously censored by the Government and so in variance with the truth there are a number of historical and social factors that will remain and play an important rôle in China, regardless of the outcome of the present war between the militarist cliques. These are The Nanking Government with its present dictator General Chiang Kai shek represents a very clear social force—a force of feudal large landowners, in union with the rising capitalist class one of whose strongest wings is the banking interests with both native and foreign imperialist affiliations. On the whole this Government enjoys the approval and support of the great foreign powers and even if it is destroyed the forces it represents will still strive for power. The Northern Allies now warring on Nanking on the other hand represent old style Chinese militarism tempered by the paternalism and peasant mentality of Feng Yuxiang commander of the Kuomintang

who leans more to the Reorganizationist or left wing Kuomintang and whose simple personality wins for him the life and death devotion of his unpaid soldiery. The Reorganizationists until recently a part of Northern Alliance but no longer so claim to be the one and only true Kuomintang. In the Hankow days of 1927 they represented a real revolutionary force of workers, peasant and the *petit bourgeois* to day there remains of them nothing but the *petit bourgeois*—and a rather impotent *petit bourgeois* at that—able to stand alone only when united with other forces—which just now happen to be the reactionary Kwangsi clique whose leaders are known as “communist killers.” It claims as its own the famous Ironsides of Chang Fa kwei and individual Generals in various provinces temporarily loyal to Chiang Kai shek—and kept loyal by bribe.

Each of these contending factions has its foreign and domestic programme. Nanking's programme is as clear as that of Mussolini's—it is a clear military dictatorship operating under the guise of a 6-year political tutelage period conducted by militarists and hand-picked Kuomintang men loyal to the ruling family of Sung of whom Chiang Kai shek is one of the most important

It wishes to unify and develop the country under this dictatorship along lines of clear benefit to the owning classes which it represents. Accordingly foreign journals in China praise it for its moderate foreign policy 'in against the ravings of the agitators,' and say that even though it does not have the mandate of the Chinese people still only foreigners of limited vision would rejoice over its downfall for no other Government would be more complacent in so far as foreign privileges are concerned.

The chief programme of the Northern Alliance seems to be to overthrow Chiang Kai-shek and constitute themselves as the rulers in his stead. They say they wish a representative constitutional government, but the prepared list of new rulers consists of the northern military men including the feudal dictator of Manchuria Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang and the extremely reactionary Western Hills clique. They say they would sympathize and co-operate with the Kuomintang and they offer Wang Ching-wei the Leftist leader a position in the new constellation. But the Reorganizationists of which Wang Ching-wei is the political head have broken with the North on this issue. They still hold to the dictatorship of the Kuomintang under a kind of revised 1926 programme. Conversations with their leaders show that their programme now differs little save in phrases from Nanking. They are now placing their hopes on the capture of Canton by the Ironsides and Kwangsi armies and the establishment of an independent Government in the south.

All of these warring groups have been struggling for the body and soul of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang of Manchuria with the result that this gentleman is emerging with a lot of new titles and more money and power. If he really throws in his armies against the North he will cast the decisive vote.

As is usual powerful foreign imperialist governments are interested in one or the other of the warring parties and each party shows a far deeper sensitiveness to the opinion of the imperialists than they do to the opinions of the Chinese people. The Americans in China as well as Germans although critical seem to be solidly behind Nanking. The British seem to have a split on the issue—they will work every side, and the Japanese support and sell guns to both

the North and Nanking,—making hay while the sun shines, so to speak. The French are clearly in sympathy with the North—perhaps because the Germans support Nanking. The Reorganizationist leaders are leaning heavily on the imperialist British Labour Party and in case of victory, they intend to replace many of the foreign advisers in Nanking with men from the British Labour Party and the Amsterdam International. The Chinese correspondent for the *London Daily Herald* and for the Social Democratic Press of Germany is a Reorganizationist leader in Hongkong who has just started a campaign in the foreign press in China proving that his party is just as respectable as Nanking in that they are against Communism and for the crushing of the peasant revolt. The Reorganizationists are depending on the British party that is increasing Indians.

Lao Tse-tse programme of the warring factions differ according to the private interest they represent but regarding the land question and the revolting peasants there is no difference between them. They all promise to settle this problem with bullets. The Reorganizationists differing only in their explanation of peasant revolts saying these revolts are not due to enmity as Nanking thinks but to economic causes and to bad Communist ideas.

There is also another problem that will remain regardless of the outcome of the civil war and this each party will have to face that is the disastrous economic decline that characterizes the present internal situation. This decline is not only the result of the impotence and reaction of the government that has ruled China for three years but it is the logical consequence of China's subjection as a nation and the consequent impact of capitalism and imperialism upon the old Chinese economic system as well as the incompetence of the present government to solve such problems. A survey of a Chinese government research bureau in Shanghai shows that in the nine months period from August 1929 to April 1930 500 Chinese industries and businesses went bankrupt. This survey included only seventy districts in nineteen of the thirty Chinese provinces and in no way attempts to touch peasant life although it is upon the backs of the peasants—80 per cent of the population—that the chief and final economic burden falls. The utter and criminal impotence of many

Chinese officials who rule today is revealed most strikingly in a personal letter received by the writer from a high official in Shao-hui. He writes "The civil war, the never ending famine the silver slump business decline and banditry have ruined our country. There is no force inside or outside the party (the Kuomintang) that can save us. And I—well I drown my despair by eating and drinking."

But the dispossessed and heavily burdened peasants, deprived of all power and protection and delivered up for three years to the big landowners and usurers, and the mass of hand workers now unemployed, are "drown their despair in eating and drinking, they have nothing to eat or drink. They have asked for food and they have been given bullets. The result is that today they are fighting ferociously all over central and south China. Today it is no longer 'bloody Bolshevism' in China for one to admit the fact that there are peasant uprisings. But it is still considered a sign of criminality for one to declare that these uprisings are anything else than banditry. For officials to admit anything else would lay them open to the necessity of solving this problem by other than bullets. And that they cannot do. They have neither the ability nor the desire.

The entire foreign and Chinese press is now filled with reports of the peasant uprisings in May and June the *Peking* and *Tientsin Times* a big British daily ran a series of ten leading articles on what it called "The Third Revolution" ending by saying "The agrarian revolution which nobody thought possible a few years ago is in being. The sources of information of this big daily are press and missionary reports—and Consular reports. It says there are today thirteen Red or peasant armies with over 40,000 armed men under educated Communist military leaders trained in Germany Russia and Japan. The highly 'decent respectable' articles admit that in the early days the peasant revolts were chaotic and took the form of pure banditry but that now they are operating under a single organization and following a uniform procedure. They forbid vice gambling opium smoking suppress temples and churches destroy idols deport missionaries kill the enemies of the people (big landowners official the gentry) abolish private property and give the land to the peasants. In large districts they issue passports control the

post and telegraph and regulate business. The revolutionary intellectuals of China are attending their studies and going to the market holds with the peasants."

But some foreign publications are not objective. The *China Weekly Review*, the chief American weekly of Shanghai is continually permeated through and through with a hatred against the peasants—and with the most vicious agitation against Soviet Russia. They use the peasant uprisings the business and business decline as an excuse, they are far fetched to attack Soviet Russia. But the very danger of its existence. But the 28th June is embedded one of the keys for the reason of this agitation. A Russian business it says cannot compete with the trade conducted by the Soviet State. Menoply in North Manchuria, and the Russians have given railway orders to Germany and Czechoslovakia instead of to America. The Red Soviet Russia is a danger to the sovereignty of China. This magazine is a harbinger of the American fomented and directed war against Soviet Russia in the near future.

The June issue of the *Jar Eastern Review* of Shanghai the chief organ of big business and finance in the Far East, backed by Japanese capital in particular but also representing American British and other big imperialist business interest is much more honest. It makes no pretence of wishing to help China as does the American journal and as do so many hypocritical Americans. Its leading editorial is a summary of the economic situation in China and of the peasant revolution in which this magazine gives an open ultimatum to the Nanking Government backed up by a threat of intervention. Frankly it says "These facts are being slowly grasped and when the influence of Big Business International Finance—capitalism if you will—is brought to bear on their respective Governments there will be no hesitancy when it comes to the choice between Communism and demanding that China put her house in order."

Putting the house in order means massacring the starving and fighting peasants.

And this is the danger that faces China and the entire Far East in the future, and it matters little how the present sanguinary civil war ends. There is the danger of armed intervention of foreign imperialism to save their dollars and cents or por-

shillings in China. It is a great danger of life and death importance not only to all Asiatic countries but to Soviet Russia as the only power that has advocated the freedom of subjected Asiatic peoples and as the only power that has broken the capitalist system and inaugurated a new and successful Communist system.

Of course the imperialists have their excuses blindly ignoring the century old subjection that has reduced the Chinese masses to a degradation as great as that of the Indian masses. They now would have us believe that the peasant uprisings are the work of Soviet agents. So they speak of the Indian movement for freedom so do they speak of every movement of revolt of the oppressed. The truth however is that the economic disaster in Chinese life today has fallen most heavily on the bent backs of the peasants. Added to this is the fact that a Government sits on the throne that has betrayed the Chinese revolution has compromised and served the imperialists and brought reactionary imperialist advisers and interests into the country. For the sake of their own miserable private interests the new rulers of China have betrayed the masses who are the Chinese people. They have turned upon and massacred the Russians who alone of all peoples had extended to them a hand helping them to rise from the swamp of subjection. They have united with the imperialists in the Ports and other centres—united openly and shamelessly—in a man hunt on those Chinese revolutionary young men and women who would not bow their heads to this betrayal. And not content with that, they united with the British imperialists in raiding head quarters of Indian nationalists in Shanghai where the Indian national flag was flying. The present reactionary government is unwilling and incapable of making any changes in Chinese economic or social life that would solve the dire poverty of the masses. To do so would mean to strike at its own personal interests in land business and banks. Its new land law is clearly a law on behalf of the big landowners whom it represents the landowners who hold the lives of peasants in their grip and who in many places have reduced the peasants to actual chattel slavery. The process of the concentration of land in the hands of big owners has gone on with lightning

rapidity in the past three years of the Nanking regime during which period all the the peasant unions were smashed and the unions of big landowners put in their places armed with guns and State power for further exploitation of the peasants. This concentration of the land in the hands of landowners—who are usurers, business men, officials and militarists or all rolled into one—has forced the peasant into tenancy then into daily labour on land then driven him off the land into the city looking for jobs in industries that have gone bankrupt or it has thrown him into the rials of banditry, or, if he is far visioned and creative in outlook into the Communist armies. To his ranks are added the hand workers thrown out of work by business depression and by the impact of western capitalist modes of production on the old Chinese system.

The social revolution has begun in earnest in China. The Nanking Government, applauded by foreign imperialists has started what it dishonestly calls bandit suppression or peace preservation campaigns. This means a war against the peasant revolution. It is using aeroplanes and every kind of weapon it can spare from the civil war in this noble pursuit. And the foreign gun boats along the Yangtze have repeatedly fired on cities held by the peasant armies without one word of protest coming from the Nanking Government or any of the warring cliques fighting today for the control of the country. The peasants badly armed and badly fed are however fighting for their lives throughout the Yangtze valley and in the southern provinces. And this much must and should be said. It is the Chinese Communist party and their leaders heading the peasant armies that have prevented the peasant uprisings from becoming the pure banditry of desperation. These leaders have brought to the peasant a clear social programme and clear revolutionary tactics. They and they alone are capable of rescuing the peasants from chaos. There have in Chinese history been repeated peasant uprisings due to oppression and exploitations, and generally banditry has been the form of protest of the peasants. Today is the first time in Chinese history when they come under an organization with a clear social programme and a clear social revolutionary leadership with international affiliations. For them to lay down their arms after the present murderous civil war is ended is impossible. They cannot. Conditions

# The Distribution of the Nagara Type of Temples

1. 1. DISTRIBUTION

**O**RIGINALLY the Nagara type was so massive or imposing compared with what it became in the 10th or 11th century A.D. like the modest *Pranil* *ralla* or the very small *silla* as the earlier temples at Aihola a similar type of the *ukhara* is to be noted in the earliest temples of Northern India as the Parvatesvara temple at Banaras the twin temples at Baudhi the partly preserved *villars* of the Dasavatara temple at Deogadi. After the lapse of fifteen centuries it will be difficult to determine how the mode of *silhara* of the earliest temple of the Nagara type came to be accepted in the heart of the Karnataka yet the earliest temples of the Chalukyan capital at Bidam and Aihola are exact replicas of the sixth century northern temples like the temple of Dasavatara at Deogadi consisting of sanctum a covered path of *pradishana* and an open hall or *aulap* in front.

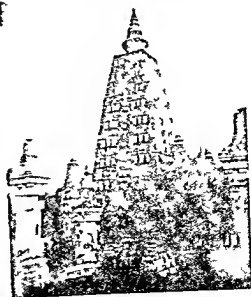
Before the term Nagara type became known in India Fergusson indentified it correctly but gave it the name of Indo-Aryan. In the country of its origin i.e. Magadha or South Bihar there are only two temples dating before the Muslim conquest of the country.

(1) The temple of Mahabodhi at Bodhi Gaya and

(2) The temple of Diva at Koneh near Tikari, both in the Gaya district. These two constitute the first group of Nagara temple.

The second group of Nagara temple is to be found at Khajuraho in the Chhittaur State of Bundelkhand. It belongs to the

11th century (1010-1015 A.D.) and the Chandella period (1025-1200 A.D.) only three temples have survived the late Pratihara period e.g. the temple of Lakshmanji Visvanatha and Vamana. The remaining temples were built by independent Chandellas. The earliest



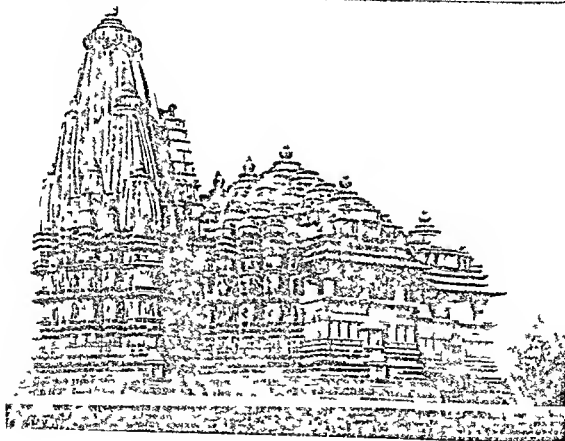
The Great Temple at Mahabodhi

of them is that of the *Lamara* or the Dwarf Incarnation of Vishnu from the fragment of an

inscription of the Chandella king Harsha who was a contemporary of King Mahipala I of the Pratihara dynasty of Kanauj. Similarly a long inscription of Yasovarman dated V S 1011 95 A D was discovered near the Lakshman temple. This inscription informs that an image of Vishnu called Varanathartha was obtained by Yasovarman from King Derapala of Kanauj which Derapala had obtained from Shahi the king of Kana or Kangra Valley who in his turn

Kanauj as for example Rajapala, the last king of that dynasty who ruled at Kanauj and was killed in 1019 A D. Many of the later temples at Khajuraho follow the plan and elevation of the later Pratihara temple.

The three types of North Indian temples e.g. the temples of Kalinga or Orissa and the two types of Nagara temples of the Gaya group and the Khajuraho group show a number of affinities and discrepancies. The majority of the great temples at Bhuvaneshvara and Puri



Temple of Chitragupteswara Siva at Khajuraho

had obtained it from a king of Western Tibet (*Bhauttas*). Strange to say this temple still enshrines an image of Vishnu. A third temple of the later Pratihara period is associated with the Chandella king Dhanga and an inscription of this king was found near this temple which is dated V S 1059=1002 A D. This is of the period of last kings of the Pratihara dynasty of

do not show a covered path of *Pradalshana* around the temple but they show four distinct members in these temples—1 the *Vimana* or the sanctum (*Garbhagriha*) 2 the *Jagamohana* or the first hall (*Mahamandapa*) 3 *Natamandira* or the second hall (*Mandapa*) and 4 *Bhogamandapa* or the third hall (*Abdhamandapa*).

It is known to us from inscriptions that the



but there was no difference in the type between the temples of Northern and Southern Gujarat can be proved immediately by a comparison of the *manlapa* of the great temple at Modhera and that of the temple of Galesvara at Sarval near Thakra, on the BCCI Railway between Anand and Godhra. Standing in the bed of the river the temple of Galesvara lost its *shikhara* very early and the *manlapa* itself had to be taken down stone by stone for reconstruction

affinity to the Khandesh or the Un type. The *mandapa* is much too large than the *ga bhagita*. Even in Northern Gujarat only a few temples have survived after the 8th century and those that have are later in date. This is the small temple on the banks of the Kien Sarovar at Anahilavada Pattana. Like the temple at Modhera which was constructed in V S 1083 10 6 A D the temple at Dilmat shows the use of sloping black rest and corrugated *clayya* the earliest

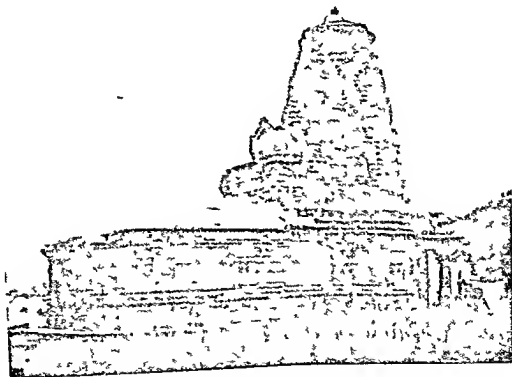


Fig. 1. Temple of Anantavar at Anand showing the Mandapa of Un type

only a few years ago. In comparison with Southern Gujarat, the temples of Northern Gujarat have suffered less and the only reason for that I can assign for it is the ravages of the independent Sultans of Gujarat and the Mughal Subahdars of that province till the rise of the Marathas. In Northern Gujarat the great temple at Modhera has lost its *shikhara* long ago though the plan of the existing structure is sufficient to prove it

and the best examples of which can still be seen at Khajuraho among Nagara temples of Northern India. The *shikhara* of the temple of Anantavar at Sarotra is better preserved and it shows a slight curvature in the outline of the *shikhara*. The great

of the temples of North

(great, Pl. V)

Gujarat to the earlier temples of Lakshmanji and Visvanathji at Khajuraho and at the same time the smaller dimensions of the *garbhagriha* in comparison to the *mandapa* can be seen in the old temple at Kiseri\*. In this temple the *sikhara* is covered with a number of miniature shrines almost in the style of modern UP†. The temple of Limboji Mata at Dimal shows the diminution of the height of the *sikhara* and the entire structure appears to be medieval‡. A smaller shrine behind the temple of Limboji Mata appears to be older§. The image of the Trimurti shows that its execution cannot be earlier than the 12th century\*\*. The old temple at Sinkeswar is perhaps older in date like the temple of Parsvanatha††.

Further digression into the temples of Northern Gujarat will not serve our purpose and we must return to the great southern road. The great temple of Gondesvara at Sinnar, about six miles due west from Nasik is entirely in the *Nagara* style with a small temple at each corner of the original platform. Further south in the western part of the Ahmednagar district stand the temples of Rutesvara and Amritesvara at Ratnagiri on the old road between Poona and Ahmednagar. The temple of Amritesvara at Ratnagiri shows the first sign of the mixture of the Northern *Nagara* and Southern *Vesara* or the Dravida styles. In addition to a closed *mandapa* of the Khindesh or the Un style there is a small porch at the back of the temple on two pillars and two pilasters.

At the extreme end of Gujarat, as it stood before the conquest of Gujarat by the Mughals, i.e. on the bank of the Kalyan creek which was called the creek of Mahim by the Portuguese in the 16th century we find the last specimen of the *Nagara* style in temple architecture. About three miles from Kalyan junction stand the little village of Ambarnathi so called from the existence of the great temple of Ambarnathi built during the rule of the Sikharis in Thana. The *sikhara* so much of it as exists today, was distinctly *Nagara* but ornaments have been introduced into it which proves that the *Vesara* or the Dravida style was already advancing to join hands with the northern style. The ornaments of the *sikhara* were

miniature templo *sikhara*s and great fan shaped niches with which we become more familiar in the temples of the Western part of the Deccan plateau beginning with those on both sides of the Gokak falls in the Belgaum district and ending with Arsikere Hosur and Halavid in the Mysore State. In spite of the decoration and the small porches on pillars the influence of the *Nagara* style in the Ambarnath temple near Kalyan is unmistakable. To reach Ambarnath today you can take a taxi or a tonga from Kalyan Junction or go by train to Ambarnath station on the Madras line and walk to the temple.

Leaving the plains of Gujarat we must now ascend the Western Ghats in order to continue our narrative of the extension of the *Nagara* style into Southern India. Junnar Taluqa and practically the whole of the district of Poona and Satara were denuded of temples during the rule of the Bahamani Sultans of Bidar and Gulbarga the Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar and the Adilshahis of Bijapur. In the Karnataka certain temples appear to approach the *Nagara* type, such as the temples of Galaganatha and Kadsiddhesvara at Pattadakal\*. But this resemblance is accidental being due to the absence of the hemisphere in the case of the Kadsiddhesvara. So is the case with the temple of Tarakesvara at Hangal†. The only temples which may be called of the *Nagara* type are those of Ganapati at Hangal and that of Doddas Vasavanna at Dambal near Gadag junction§. In the case of the temple of Ganapati the *sikhara* is a comparatively modern structure as in the case of the temple of Sambhulinga at Bankapur in the Dharwad district\*\*. What Feigussan took to be an extension of the *Nagara* type in the Dharwad district is perhaps better illustrated in the temple of Santesvara in which the *vesara* dome was reconstructed in later times when it sank in level and lost the characteristic elevation of the *vesara* neck††. In conclusion we must return to the temple of Hadda Vasavanna or Doddas Vasappa at Dambal near Lakkundi in which the base of the *garbhagriha* is formed by intersecting parallel rectangles the *sikhara* of a series of steps and the *vesara* dome missing. In fact to the south of the Krishna the influence of the *Nagara* type is not found.

\* Ibid. Pl. LI

† Ibid. Pl. LVI

‡ Ibid. Pl. LXXIII

§ Ibid. Pl. LXX

†† Ibid. Pls. LXXX-LXXXI

\* Conson's Chalukyan Architecture Pl. LII

† Ibid. Pl. LXXXVII § Ibid. Pl. LXXXIII

\*\* Ibid. Pl. XCII †† Ibid. Pl. C

as little as possible but it is extremely bad economies. The only way to promote Indian industries is to create consumers. This means that the vast working population must also be a purchasing population. With all the natural resources and labour capacities of India it is quite possible for everybody to have a nice house with all simple instruments of culture and refinement.

In India a consuming public is what is required. Our rich men and women must be educated to understand the value of the circulation of wealth in the country as compared with hoarding, buying jewellery and unproductive banking. In the political field many realize the evil effects of the drainage of the wealth outside the country but fail to see that there is an even greater danger the lack of circulation of wealth inside the country.

Let me now apply this to the question of khaddar. It is wrong to allow the price of khaddar to become established casually in comparison with that of mill cloth. It is also wrong to give the worker a bare pittance. Therefore the minimum price of khaddar should be fixed (perhaps by Congress) taking into account a reasonable wage for the producers. For it is a very sound strategic move to make it worth while for the worker of this trade and all the more so because it would provide a means of subsistence for the unemployed. Khaddar is a beautiful product and should command a good price on its own merits. You would not think of offering the same price for a hand painted picture as you would for a print. I know it is often said that if the price of khaddar is not brought to the level of the common man's pocket there is no future for khaddar. But when the common man is paid a living wage, he will be in a position to buy it. What an ironical thing it would be if they who for the sake of their country had taken to the beautiful art of making khaddar had to resort to the purchase of mill cloth for their own use! Again people say this industry was meant by Mahatma Gandhi to be a village industry and a spare time work, a secondary means of earning a little extra during the intervals between seasons. If by village industry is meant that the peasant should spin weave and wear the cloth he makes I heartily endorse that idea. Then no money

transactions are involved. But when you find decrepit old ladies or young girls spinning for two annas a day even though it be a secondary means of supplementing their income, if it is taking advantage of their poverty and as such is to use a hard but true word sweated labour.

I have figured it out roughly as follows. One pound of cotton costs ten annas in Madras. The spinner should get as a minimum the same amount for spinning that pound of cotton. The weaver as his minimum should get the same or a little more. This means that with all overhead charges the cost of making a dhoti weighing one pound would be a little over Rs. 2. If then the retail price for such a dhoti be fixed at Rs. 3 or Rs. 2.12 this will allow not only for the makers to get a decent wage but a commission or profit for the travelling salesman or shopkeeper is also included and all share in proportion.

People should not be permitted to do this work free or at a low price even for the sake of the country from a political point of view for they are only spoiling their own capacity for consumption and that also of others.

To make a real success of this Swadeshi industry Indians must live as Indians and not half Indian and half European. The fact that we are ruled by a foreign nation need not compel us to require a foreign model. said Dr Ananda Coomaraswamy but that is what has occurred to some extent. Both Indian and European lovers of India have urged the people to become patriotic not only in word but also in deed. The country is full of starving artists in weaving, carving, painting and other industries that made India famous in the past. They have not lost their skill but lack encouragement, while politicians turn their attention to factories for soap, shaving cream etc. and copy the western world. The mind of India has become somewhat of a slave's mind, its people have acquired an inferiority complex, it is perhaps on account of foreign domination. Let this fact be recognized and the danger of it will soon pass and the people will stand up as men and say Indian am I in thought, word and deed. Then the world will rejoice for she is still appreciative of the unique work that India can offer today again as she did two hundred years ago.

# The Hellenistic aggression against India (4th—2nd century B.C.)

By UPEENDRA NATH GHOSHAL, M.A. Fild

**T**HREE distinct periods of aggression of the Hellenistic powers of the West against India may be distinguished in all the centuries of her past history.

The wonderful campaign of Alexander of Macedon (334-323 B.C.) which led to the subversion of the effete empire of the Achæmenids brought the young and vigorous Western power which took its place into contact with the wonderland of India to the East. The victor is soon to be hailed as the subjugator of Britain and Sogdiana on the furthest confines of the Hellenic empire crossed the Hindu Kush on his way to the invasion of India (327 B.C.). North Western India the Uttarapatha of the ancient Indian writers was nothing more than a position to meet the attack of a foreign invader. In truth its condition was not dissimilar to that of the Indian Midland before its political unification under the House of Magadha. It was split up into a number of monarchies and tribal republics, and while the powerful monarchical States were contending with one another for a ascendancy they sought to absorb the more vulnerable republics. We thus learn from the Greek accounts how just before Alexander's arrival in the country the bold and ambitious "Porus" (Πυρρίης), King of the Doab between the Hydaspes (Hydaspes modern Jhelum) and the Acesines (Aksai modern Chenab) with his ally Abhisares (king of Abhirara) was engaged in a war with Taxiles (king of the Doab between the Indus and the Jhelum with Taxila as his capital). The same description shows how the two allies had sought some time before to conquer the valiant Katharoi (Kathas) living on the banks of the Hydraotes (Hydravati modern Ravi) and their neighbours but had been forced to retreat without accomplishing anything. In these circumstances not only was an effective combination of the indigenous States against the foreign invader out of the question but it seemed by no means impossible for some of them to join his side and betray the country's cause.

The incidents of Alexander's Indian campaign have often been told by modern historians, and only a brief recapitulation of the principal events is here necessary. Crossing the Hindu Kush Alexander took the ancient route leading through the Kabul valley to Puskuravati and Jalasala. He received in advance the willing submission of nearly all the Indian rulers inhabiting the frontier region including the king of the rich and powerful city of Taxila to the east of the Indus. When after his successful campaign against the wild Indian tribes inhabiting the hills to the north of the Kabul river he rejoined the main force he was able safely to cross the Indus with his troops through the help of the king of Taxila who renewed his submission to the invader. Thus the whole of the open country up to the line of the Jhelum river submitted almost without a blow to the conqueror. The passage of the Jhelum was disputed by Porus, but with his usual consummate generalship Alexander overcame the opposition of the Indians and inflicted a decisive defeat upon them at the battle of the Hydaspes. Porus who declined to fly was taken prisoner covered with nine wounds. With politic generosity the victor responded to the captive's proud request to be treated "like a king." He then advanced to the banks of the Hyphasis (Vipasa modern Beas) fighting on the way the warlike tribe of the Katharoi whose stronghold Sangala was taken after a fierce resistance. Recalled from the Hyphasis by the clamour of his troop Alexander retraced his steps to the Hydaspes and began a memorable voyage with his newly built fleet of boats down to the sea. The story of his campaign thenceforth is a sickening record of horrors. The Mallor (Malavas) living along the lower course of the Ravi "the most numerous and warlike of the Indians living in that region" prepared to give him a formidable reception but Alexander burst upon them before their preparations were complete and slew a vast number. Lower down the Indus a king called Monikano (king of the Muktakas) ventured

Gujarat to the earlier temples of Lalshiraji and Visvanathji at Khajuraho and at the same time the smaller dimensions of the *gubhgruha* in comparison to the *mandapa* can be seen in the old temple at Kaseri\*. In this temple the *sikhara* is covered with a number of miniature shrines almost in the style of modern U P. The temple of Lamboji Mata at Dilmal shows the diminution of the height of the *sikhara* and the entire structure appears to be medieval †. A smaller shrine behind the temple of Lamboji Mata appears to be older ‡. The image of the Trimurti shows that its execution can not be earlier than the 12th century\*\*. The old temple at Sankewar is perhaps older in date like the temple of Parswanatha ††.

Further digression into the temples of Northern Gujarat would not serve our purpose and we must return to the great southern road. The great temple of Gondesvara at Sinnar about six miles due west from Nasik is entirely in the Nagara style with a small temple at each corner of the original platform. Further south in the western part of the Ahmadnagar district stand the temples of Ratnesvara and Amritesvara at Ratnawadi on the old road between Poona and Ahmadnagar. The temple of Amritesvara at Ratnawadi shows the first sign of the mixture of the Northern Nagara and Southern Vesara or the Dravida styles. In addition to a closed *mandapa* of the Khandesh or the Un style there is a small porch at the back of the temple on two pillars and two pilasters.

At the extreme end of Gujarat as it stood before the conquest of Gujarat by the Mughals & c on the bank of the Kalyan creek which was called the creek of Mahim by the Portuguese in the 16th century we find the 1st specimen of the *Nagara* style in temple architecture About three miles from Kalyan junction stand the little village of Ambarnatha, so called from the existence of the great temple of Ambarnatha built during the rule of the Silaharas in Thana The *sillara* so much of it as exists today, was distinctly *Nagara* but ornaments have been introduced into it which proves that the *Iesara* or the *Dravida* style was already advancing to join hands with the northern style The ornaments of the *sillara* were

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Leaving the plains of Gujarat we must now ascend the Western Ghats in order to continue our narrative of the extension of the *Nagara* style into Southern India. Junnar Taluqa and practically the whole of the district of Poona and Satara were denuded of temples during the rule of the Bahamani Sultans of Bidar and Gulbarga the Nizamshahs of Ahmadnagar and the Adilshahs of Bijapur. In the Karnataka certain temples appear to approach the *Nagara* type such as the temple of Galesanatha and Kadsiddhesvara at Pattadakal\*. But this resemblance is accidental being due to the absence of the hemisphere in the case of the Kadsiddhesvara. So is the case with the temple of Tarakesvara at Hangal†. The only temples which may be called of the *Nagara* type are those of Ganapati at Hangal and that of Doddas Vasavanna at Dambal near Gidag junction‡. In the case of the temple of Ganapati the *silhana* is a comparatively modern structure as in the case of the temple of Srmbhulinga at Bankapur in the Dharwad district\*\*. What Feigunsson took to be an extension of the *Nagara* type in the Dharwad district is perhaps better illustrated in the temple of Santesvara in which the *resara* dome was reconstructed in later times when it sank in level and lost the characteristic elevation of the *resara* neck††. In conclusion we must return to the temple of Dadda Vasavanna or Doddas Vasappa at Dambal near Lakkundi in which the base of the *garbhagriha* is formed by intersecting parallel rectangles the *sillara* of a series of steps and the *resara* dome missing. In fact, to the south of the Krishna the influence of the *Nagara* type is not to be found

Year	1970	1971	1972	1973
II	II	II	II	VI

† *Ibad* Pl I \ N I

§ 161 II I NI III

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. I, VI.

†† *Ibid.* 118  $L \setminus \setminus V$   $L \setminus \setminus VI$

\* *Consensus Chalitzan Architecture Pl. I II*+ *Ibid.* II 1 \ \ \ \ I \$ *Ibid.* Pl. L \ \ \ \ II

\* *Ibid* II XCII † *Ibid* Pl C

†† Ibid Pl C

# The Power of Swadeshi

By MILDRED WOOD

It has often been pointed out that India's fame spread westwards first through her arts and crafts and then through her religions and philosophies. Thus it was her material progress which first attracted attention. Only later on came her poverty quickly upon the decline of her home industries.

When the Prussians were defeated by Napoleon at the battle of Jena in 1806 so that the power of that people was destroyed the nation set its hopes upon education as the best means of raising once more a powerful and united nation and the king circulated a notice that above all things he desired that education should receive attention in such a manner as to restore within the country that power and credit which they had lost. This policy proved itself sound. That education showed itself to be a power even beyond expectation. But this was due to the fact that it was directed towards the practical needs of the nation. It was not that the Prussians, having been defeated materially, took refuge in academic education and contented themselves with mere mental success. There is a close parallel between the use of education and the use of Swadeshi movement for the uplift of the nation. The Swadeshi movement can be not merely a temporary expedient kept going by sentiment and ulterior motives but a mighty power one of the very life streams in the body of the nation.

Although the boycott of foreign goods is the best means to bring the British to their senses the work of Swadeshi is not only the boycott of foreign cloth but has the much more permanent and constructive side of fostering home products. This work requires a slow but steady education of the people as to the economic benefit of giving support to their country's industries.

England buys from India only those things which she cannot possibly produce more cheaply herself. This is as it should be but India goes on buying from abroad those things she could produce more cheaply herself and mainly with what is at present

unoccupied labour. England moreover buys goods made from a low paid peasantry while India buys goods from a relatively highly paid people. So India is kept poor. There is a very unequal exchange of the products of labour though the margin of loss to India may seem small in money. The yearly drain from British India of products for which there is no return is put at upwards of £30,000,000 a year. But one cannot measure the goods exchanged in terms of money. One can only measure them by looking at the amount of actual goods remaining in the possession of the parties to the transaction.

Some years ago President Coolidge pointed out that the claims of traders operating in foreign countries was the chief modern cause of war. Therefore no nation must neglect to develop those industries for which it has the natural resources, the labour and the talent. Though international trade has its value it would be a ridiculous thing to carry goods to and fro unnecessarily besides destroying the variety of occupations which is necessary for the stability of a country especially in times of transition, which are increasingly frequent as is to be seen, for example in the immensely reduced consumption of woollens or in another way in the disappearance of horses and the horse trade. Besides the life of a nation is somewhat like the life of a man. The child may need the gifts the mother can offer, but the growing boy and strong man must work for himself.

There is no need for me to go into the industrial past of this country. It is well known to all. Men came from afar to shake the pagoda tree. Those were the days of India's great manufacturing fame, she was the greatest manufacturing country of the world and it is perfectly obvious that she can be so again if she supports her Swadeshi industries and puts them on an economic basis. Unfortunately, those who are thinking of this matter forget the difference between a financial basis and an economic basis. It may be good finance to pay the worker

Hellenistic attack from the West Seleucus who had succeeded in the general scramble for the spoils of Alexander's empire in carving out the kingdom of Western Asia for himself sought to recover the lost Indian dominion of the Macedonian throne. On this occasion the two rival powers the Indian and the Hellenistic were equally matched. Seleucus crossed the Indus (305 B.C.) but was forced after an unrecorded campaign to make a humiliating peace. By it he added to his Indian rival in return for a comparatively insignificant gift of 500 elephants a considerable part of Ariana comprising the three provinces of which the capitals corresponded to Kabul, Herat and Kandahar together with the eastern portion of modern Baluchistan. Thus the expedition of Alexander was amply avenged.

be a great incentive towards political unification. In the interests of his own administrative arrangements Alexander swept away the crowd of princelings and tiny republics in the Indus valley and placed them under the control of his own satraps or of subordinate Indian princes like Ambhi and Porus. And when his career was cut short by a premature death (June 323 B.C.) the whole of the conquered country rose in revolt and united to expel the foreigner. At the time of the second partition of Alexander's Empire by his generals in 321 B.C. India was totally abandoned by the Macedonian Government and with the departure of Eudamos the commander of a Thracian contingent in the Indus valley in 317 B.C. disappeared the last traces of Macedonian rule in the country.

The leader in India's "War of Liberation" was the young Chandragupta Maurya who had probably shortly before this time displaced the last of the Nandas on the throne of Magadha. Thus the challenge of Macedon was fitly answered by the completion of the political unification of Northern India. Tradition associates with this first Emperor of all Northern India an Indian Brahmin, Visnugupta usually known by this family or clan title as Kautilya or Chanakya. No sooner was the new Indian empire fairly established on its foundations than it had to meet the menace of a fresh

The brilliant victory of Chandragupta over Seleucus was an event of incalculable importance for the history of India. Not only was the Hellenistic menace which had hung like a cloud over the country for twenty years swept away, but the political boundaries of India were carried to her true scientific frontier on the north-west—the line of the Hindu Kush. Like the issue of the Franco-German War in Germany, the enormous prestige of the victory won by the first Maurya Emperor must have tended to establish the new imperial dynasty on secure foundations. In so far as its relations with the Hellenistic powers were concerned a period of friendly intercourse followed that of the clash of arms. The matrimonial alliance which cemented the treaty between Chandragupta and Seleucus was followed by the arrival of embassies: first of the well-known Megasthenes and afterwards of Deimachos at the Indian court. Another Hellenistic potentate Ptolemy Philadelphus King of Egypt sent an ambassador called Dionysios probably to the court of Bindusara. The path of intercourse with the West being thus thrown open it became possible for Asoka to extend the grand scheme of his missionary organization to the Hellenistic States and he could claim in the eighth year of his consecration to have achieved the chiefest conquest in the border lands even as far as *Coo yavanna* where dwells the Yavana king called Antiyoka and beyond this Antiyoka to where (dwelt) the four kings called Turumaya, Antekina, Vagra and Alakusudara.

In the course of a little over half a century the Empire of the Seleucids, fell a prey to the forces of internal disintegration. About 250 B.C. Diodotus, the governor of a thousand cities of Bactria threw off the Seleucid yoke while at the same time a revolt of the rude Parthians near the Caspian sea laid the foundation of the great Parthian dynasty. In the time of Euthydemus, the third successor of Diodotus Bactria was invaded by the Seleucid Antiochus III who eventually acknowledged its independence. Immediately afterwards (206 B.C.) Antiochus crossed the Hindu Kush, still as before the political frontier between India and Persia and renewed his friendship with an Indian king called Sophragasas (Subhagasesa). This Hellenistic expedition was little more than a reconnaissance in force and its influence could not have reached further than the Indian border land.

The withdrawal of Antiochus left the Greek kingdom of Bactria secure from attack on the West. The ambitious kings of this outpost of Hellenism in Middle Asia now turned their attention towards the rich Indian territories whose frontier defences had been disorganized by the downfall of the Maurya Empire. Euthydemus to judge from the distribution of his coins, crossed the Hindu Kush and conquered the Paropamisadae (Kabul valley) as well as Arachosia (Kandahar and Seistan). The next Bactrian king Demetrius, aptly called king of the Indians, pushed his arms beyond the Indus and his example was followed by a later king the famous Menander whose capital was Sakala (modern Sialkot). Indeed if we are to trust a statement of the geographer Strabo the Greeks under Demetrius and Menander carried their arms through the Indus delta to the modern Kathiwar and across the "Hyphra" as far as the "I-nu" (Jumra). One of these military expeditions which must have been rapid rather than conquests created such a profound impression that references to it were made in the Mahabharata of the grammarian Pitanjali and the ancient astronomical work called the Gargi samhita. The Greeks in this case possibly under Menander broke into the Ganges valley and after occupying Mathura and investing Saketa (in Oudh) dashed on to Pataliputra which they besieged. The memory of a conflict between Prince Vasumitra (grandson of Pusyamitra Sunga) and the Greeks which took place on the banks of the Sindhu

river forming the present boundary between Bundelkhand and Ruyputana is preserved in the Malavikagnimitra of Kalidasa.

The invasions of the Bactrian Greeks were the last, and as they turned out to be, the most successful attack launched by the Hellenistic States against India. Such surprising success of the foreigners naturally calls for an explanation. No doubt the political disorganization of the country following the downfall of the Maurya Empire gave the invaders an opportunity such as their predecessors had not enjoyed. But the headlong break down of the Indian powers of resistance must be attributed to deeper causes. We may well believe that the bureaucratic centralization of the Maurya rule deprived the people of that sturdy spirit of local independence which had made the political unification of Northern India a task of exceptional difficulty in the past, while the imperial autocracy to whatever height of moral grandeur it might attain under Asoka could not but prove an uncongenial soil for the growth of public spirit and patriotism among the subject. With more certainty we may conclude that the propagation of the pacifist teachings of Buddhism by Asoka and as it appears of Jainism by his two descendants Samprati and Sahasika could not but impair the efficiency of the fighting and ruling classes. With equal confidence it may be stated that the lavish patronage bestowed by these Emperors upon the Buddhist and Jaina orders of which we have highly coloured accounts in the later legends of the favoured sects must have tended to withdraw crowds of Indian manhood from the duties of active life to the ease of monastic seclusion. The facile conquest of the Indian territories by the Bactrian Greeks and the later horde of barbarians from the West, the Sakas, the Parthians, and the Kushans and the long centuries of foreign subjection thereafter form the most fitting comment on the nature and tendencies of the Maurya imperial system.

It remains to notice in conclusion as a sign of the profound political weakness of the Indian States at this period that the Hellenistic domination in India was checked and eventually destroyed through external causes. From the immediate danger of conquest by the Bactrian Greeks, the Indian Midland was saved in part by the valour of Pusyamitra.



# Industrial Efficiency and the Policy of National Economy

By RAJANIKANTA DAS M. Sc. Ph. D.

**W**HILE general education forms the background the first step in the scientific organization of labour forces for productive purposes is vocational education. Vocational education means a conscious and purposive training for certain specific types of work in the industrial organization of society. It is on the development of the latent human capacities in certain industrial lines wherein lies the industrial efficiency of a nation. Every boy and every girl as a future member of society is entitled in addition to general education to vocational education for a certain industrial career.

Vocational education must, however be preceded by the choice of a career. So the present it has been done by empirical methods, i.e., by caste and custom both of which are very crude ways of determining a career especially in modern times when division of labour has reached a very high state of development, and special training is required for each trade. The most up to date method of choosing a career is the psycho-physical test by which the potential capacities of children might be determined. Like inspectors of schools the State must also employ psychological and medical experts for giving children advice as to their future career.

After the selection of vocation comes the question of education for a career. Apprenticeship as a method of vocational education is quite inadequate for modern industrial career. Modern industrial technique has developed to such an extent and it requires such intensive studies both in theoretical and applied sciences besides practical training in industrial organization, that very few industrial establishments can have adequate facilities for such education. It can be imparted only by the institutes of technology and colleges of engineering supplemented by industrial school.

One of the fundamental causes of Indian industrial inefficiency is the lack of facilities for technical education. The necessity of a

diverse system of education in a country predominantly agricultural was first realized by the Indian Famine Commission of 1880. The Commission for revising the existing system of education emphasized the importance of technical education in 1882. In 1885 the Government of India pointed out that technical education could be provided with advantage for those industries which had fairly advanced i.e. textile and engineering industries and suggested that the local Government should take action in this direction. But this recommendation failed to materialize and even after the Educational Conference of 1901 no provision was made for the development of technical education on any appreciable scale\*. The Industrial Commission of 1916-18 again emphasized the importance of developing technical education and laid down an elaborate scheme in its recommendations. But little progress has been made in that direction. It is only through technical education that the industrial organization of the country can be kept abreast of the times and the latest industrial technique can be utilized for the development of national industries.

The next step in vocational education is the training of managers and technical staff. According to the census of 1921, of the large-scale industries, four fifths of the cotton mills and two thirds of coal mines are managed by Indians but about four fifths of the railway works, three fourths of tea gardens and two thirds of engineering works are managed by Europeans and Anglo Indians†. The lack of technical staff, including managers, is a great drawback to the growth of large-scale industries. It is by education and training in engineering and technology that an adequate number of technical staff can be provided.

\* Indian Industrial Commission 1916-18 Calcutta, p. 93.

† Computed Census of India, 1921 Report 2 277-34.

like technical education for higher industrial career education in more or less organized industries such as arts and crafts or cottage industries is also lagging behind. The first attempt in this direction was made in the seventies when the modern type of industrial school was established by Christian missionaries in Madras to provide instruction in such trades as carpentry, blacksmithing and weaving and tailoring. This system has been copied in other parts of India and is at present imparted by three distinct agencies: namely, Government, local bodies e.g., municipalities and private enterprise including mission schools.\* But for the lack of general education industrial education has scarcely made any headway. The organization of industrial education among the masses is a bounden duty of the Government and is the only sure way to industrial success.

Industrial education should be imparted to men and women alike. Like every man every woman is entitled to an industrial career. It is necessary not only for unmarried and widowed women but also for a large number of married women who are employed in all kinds of industries such as factories, mines and tea gardens. Out of 86 million adult women in 1921 46 million were returned to be gainfully occupied by the Census. The lack of industrial education for women, who roughly form about one-half of the social population is one of the essential causes of India's industrial inefficiency and economic backwardness. In every industrially advanced country in addition to men a large number of women with vocational training is employed in modern industries which are competitors of similar industries in India. To preserve India's competitive power alone requires industrial education for women. The vocational education of women should include domestic science or home economics. One of the first principles of national economy is the economy of the household or how to make the most use of the resources or the income of a family. Like industrial establishments Indian households are badly in need of reorganization with a view both to saving time energy and expenses. It is only with the help of scientific education that Indian women can rebuild their households.

Not only young men and women should be given vocational education but they must

always be kept in touch with the progress of industrial technique even after they have left the industrial school and entered an industrial career. This can be done by offering special and short courses, night schools, demonstration and exposition and other means of general adult education.

From the point of view of industrial efficiency, the most important function of the Government is however, to formulate the policy of national economy and to adopt the means for its realization. By far the major part of the organized industrial activities of a country are the results of herd instincts, group habits and economic necessities and not such have developed unconsciously or without any organized effort or definite plan on the part of society. With the growth of social consciousness there have been growing concerted efforts on the part of the State to develop industrial activities for national prosperity. The best historical example of State activity for increasing national wealth is the rise of mercantilism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and although it was followed by a reaction toward *laissez-faire* in the eighteenth century, the policy of national economy or new mercantilism again found its way into the practical policy of almost all the advanced nations.

State aid to industries was not unknown to ancient India and the East India Company undertook industries even under State direction and protection. They helped the growth of some industries while they discouraged others. With the growth of the doctrine of *laissez-faire* and the transference of the Government from the Company to the Crown the industrial policy of the Government underwent a profound change and not only the State industrial activities were discontinued, but even any help to industries was regarded with disfavour except to those which were connected with irrigation, forestry and certain other public utilities.

The famine Commission of 1880 advocated State aid to industries but nothing was done for developing industries and preventing increasing poverty. Successive famines towards the end of the century gave rise to a new consciousness among the people who came to realize the economic effect of foreign rule. The partition of Bengal in 1905 gave occasion for the expression of national feeling against British policy in India. The boycott of British goods was organized which

\* Indian Industrial Commission 1916 18  
 report p 97. Clow *The State and Industry* p 50

industries with the help of tariffs will allow British manufactures to compete with their own.\* For India nothing would be worse than entering into a new economic bondage from which she has been emerging since the new Constitution and it is hoped that the next Constitution will free India entirely from outside economic entanglement.

In the second place national economy would lead to the regulation of foreign monopolies which have been developed in India during the past half a century or more and which have retarded the growth of indigenous industrial enterprise. The most important example of these industries is the coastal shipping for the control of which there is already a Bill in the Legislative Assembly. All the national industries of which the coastal shipping is one should be reserved to the indigenous people and foreign industrialists should be allowed to carry on business only upon certain conditions such as the registration of the companies in the country, the employment of the higher staff and board of directors partly from the Indians and the distribution of a certain number of shares among the people of the country. It must be at once laid down that there should be no concession without compensation. India needs rapid industrialization and nothing can help her more in this respect than foreign capital. Whenever foreign industries in India have to be regulated or taken over adequate compensation should be made for the loss of capital investment and good will.

In the third place attempts should be made to develop within the country all the basic industries which are required to supply the essential needs and which are necessary for an industrially independent existence as a nation. It is not proposed that India should try to become a completely self-sufficient country—a thing which is impossible in these days of international culture and commerce. But India having a variety of climates and geographical regions and a vast supply of resources must utilize them to the fullest extent especially as over one third of her man power remains unemployed throughout the year.

Self-sufficiency in basic needs on the

part of India implies however a substantial reduction from the Indian market of British cotton goods the export of which is one of the most important sources of national income to Great Britain and which thus raises a complicated political issue. The recommendation is made here purely from the economic point of view on the presumption that while it will be of immense benefit to India the latter's prosperity and higher purchasing power will ultimately reflect upon Britain's trade although temporarily there might be some reorganization of her trade relation with India.

Trade is a benefit to both parties concerned and to society in general as long as it is voluntary. But trade based on compulsion or special privilege is exploitation as in the case of slavery and serfdom. The British cotton goods trade in India has been built on her political advantage. Both the decline of the once flourishing handloom industry and the retarded growth of the cotton mill industry in which was levied until recently an excise duty were the direct results of the British economic policy in India. This policy is one of the essential causes of India's poverty. Besides food what the Indian masses need is clothing which they themselves made before and even in the early days of British rule and for the manufacture of which India has all the advantages in the world except her national Government and an intelligent policy of national economy.

What are the different lines along which India can and should develop her industries is a problem which can be determined only by scientific analysis. For this purpose Government should appoint a body of economic experts like that of the Agricultural Council. The body might be called the National Industrial Board to be attached in an advisory capacity to the Minister of Industry of the Central Government with a branch in each province. The proposals for a similar board was also made by the Industrial Commission of 1916-18.\* The industries in India are so backward and the economic condition of the people so depressing that one of the immediate aims of the new constitutional reforms should be to increase the number of the economic departments in the Central Government including

\* It is hoped to expect Australia to agree to Empire Free Trade declared Mr Scullin (Premier) commenting on the debates in the British House of Commons on 9 January 1930—*The Times* of 1 Feb. 1930 p. 11.

\* *Op. cit.* p. 190. Since this writing the Government of India has accepted a resolution in the Assembly to that effect.

Industry Agriculture, Commerce and Labour Each department should be in charge of a Minister Provincial Government should have Ministers of Agriculture and Industry, also a Minister of Labour in such provinces as Bombay Bengal and Assam.

In the fourth place, Government must adopt the policy of protection and the system of State aid, such as bounties subsidies and loans for the development of national industries. The theories of Free Trade *versus* Protection are well known but what ever may be the ideal among theorists few countries have complete Free Trade except such helpless countries as India which has been the dumping ground not only of Great Britain on which she is dependent but also of almost all other countries which have resorted to high protective tariff for their own industries. Since the War most of the Central European countries are building their national industries behind the tariff wall India cannot afford to retain Free Trade in the face of the world's competition and under her present social political and economic conditions. In fact she has already adopted the policy of protective tariff as pointed out before. What is needed is the development of the "scientific tariff system under a Tariff Board which has also already come into existence. It should be brought to its logical conclusion. State aid such as subsidies, bounties and loans must also be advanced for the development of certain public utility services e.g. coastal shipping and new industrial enterprise e.g. marine fishing. The importance of granting bounties in the case of the cotton mill industry was realized even by her Indian Tariff Board on Cotton Mill Industry in 1926\*.

The scope of State aid must be extended to arts and crafts or cottage industries especially in the form of loans. The cottage industries still supply the largest part of national needs for manufactured goods and they are as much subject to foreign competition as the large scale industries. Moreover being scattered unorganized and in most cases antiquated, they are in great need of State aid for modernization improvement and financing. The first step in this direction has been undertaken by the State aid to Small Industries Act of Madras and Bihar

and Orissa. Such measures should be adopted by other provinces; the number of industries eligible for loans should be enlarged and the amount of grant should be made more generous. Moreover, there should also be a central organization under the auspices of the proposed National Industrial Board to take care of the inter provincial and national aspects of these industries.

The last and by far the most important industry requiring State aid is agriculture. High rent of land heavy indebtedness and exorbitant rate of interest leave the cultivator scarcely anything for investment in agricultural improvement. The financing of agricultural enterprise is therefore one of the worst national problems. This can be solved only by making the cultivator solvent and by lending him sufficient capital at a very low rate of interest. The first step in that direction will be to free the cultivator from the clutches of the local money lender. The Co-operative Societies Act of 1912 had for its object the replacement of the money lender by a source of credit and the institution of Village Credit Society on the *Raiffisen* model\*. Government has also passed several measures such as the Usurious Loans Act of 1914 for controlling the rate of interest. But these measures have not proved adequate. Government must have a definite plan so that the cultivator may be freed from his heavy indebtedness in the course of ten or fifteen years. In the second place the cultivator must have adequate capital for the operation and improvement of his farm. The necessity of improving rural credit was realized by the Government early in the nineties and the Co-operative Credit Societies were established in 1904. By 1927-28, the number of these societies rose to well over 70000†. But the scope of work is still very much limited and the amount of capital advanced inadequate. It needs improvement and extension.

The most important step in this direction will however be the substitution of the present land revenue system by a graduated income tax so that the cultivator below a certain income may be freed from the payment of rent which often amounts to one-half of his profit. The land system has not only proved a veritable hardship to the

\* See *Report of the Indian Tariff Board* (on the Textile Industries) 1921 Pt. I No. 130.

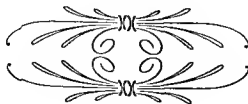
\* India in 1927-28 p. 108.  
† India in 1927-28 p. 37.

poor cultivator but also a great obstacle to agricultural progress, inasmuch as it has reduced considerably the agricultural capital of the country. Thus substitution may involve the Government in some financial loss in the beginning but it will be more than compensated for by the general agricultural prosperity which will in the course of time follow. A prosperous rural community will pay in income tax than the rent of the present poverty-stricken peasantry.

That protection or State aid especially the former is not an unmixed good must be readily admitted. Indiscriminate protection may lead to inefficiency, favoritism and increase of prices but these defects can be easily remedied. Industrial inefficiency arising from protection can be controlled by restricting its scope only to those industries which have natural advantages and for which there is a national necessity. Such principle has already been made the basis of India's protective policy. Moreover, any industry which seeks protection or applies for the renewal or increase of tariff must be made to adopt the principle of rationalization as a preliminary condition. The question of favoritism, i.e. protecting or aiding a few selected industries among a host of others can be easily solved by granting protection or State aid to an industry only on the ground of its national importance. Moreover under the scheme advocated here almost all the important classes of industries of the country will receive protection or State aid in some form or other. It must also be remembered that the development of one industry has a salutary effect upon others. Large scale industries for instance have helped the reorganization and modernization

of agriculture, as in the case of the United States. The greatest defect of protection is however, that it is apt to give rise to monopoly or to encourage the increase of prices. The hardship of Indian masses from increased prices, especially of cotton goods, cannot be minimized. It must, however, be mentioned that the consumer is expected to derive benefit from general prosperity, which protected industries are sure to confer upon the country. Moreover, protection need not increase prices beyond what is absolutely necessary to encourage national industries. If it does, the State in granting protection to an industry has the right to supervise its operation as regards rationalization and price fixation. As in the case of public utilities, the supervision of price fixation may be assigned to a specially created section of the Tariff or Public Utility Board.

Finally the question of nationalizing some of the natural resources and public utility services must also be considered from the point of view of national economy. The economy of State *versus* private ownership is an old but still controversial question. The problem has however, two aspects, namely, economy in production and justice in distribution. The question of distributive justice is beyond the scope of the present enquiry. The point which should be kept in mind in connection with nationalizing these resources and services is whether such step will lead to the economy and efficiency of the nation. The question is a technical one and can be decided only by expert bodies such as the proposed National Industrial Board and similar other organizations.



# Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar as an Unofficial Adviser of the Government

(Based on Stat Records)

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

THE career of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar as an educationist has been traced by me on the page of *The* as in some respects a little behind the

*Modern Review* down to the year 1859 when he left Government service. With that year a new phase opens in it. Although he was no longer a salaried public servant, he continued for the rest of his life to be an unofficial adviser of Government. Successive Lieutenant Governors consulted him and he readily gave them all the assistance in his power.

SANSKRIT COLLEGE

Shortly after the Pandit's retirement, the D P I on 30th Mar 1859 placed before the Bengal Government a proposal for the reform of the Sanskrit College with the minutes on the subject by Woodrow Roer and Cowell—the last named being the new Principal of the College.



Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar

the Sanskrit College though undoubtedly an institution of importance and utility as in some respects a little behind the times and that it should be improved and invigorated. In order to bring it more into harmony with the University system the Director recommended to the Government that the institution should be divided into a school and a college department, the former to educate up to the University Entrance standard and the latter for the under graduate students who while completing their Sanskrit course should be permitted to attend lectures in other subjects in the Presidency College on reduced fees.

The Lieutenant Governor consulted Vidyasagar, who had so recently been the head of that college. The

The D P I held that follows Pandit replied on 17th

April 1859 as

Mr Cowell recommends that the students of the college should go through a higher than the Entrance Course in English. This object was always in view and to attain it the English Department was remodelled. It is true that since the establishment of the University the English students of the college have not been higher than the Entrance Course but previous to that event those studies were of a far higher standard. It is not difficult or impracticable to teach the B. A. Course in the Sanskrit College. With an increase to the teaching staff the end would be easily attained. Perhaps one additional teacher on a salary of Rs. 150 per month payable from the surplus schooling fees would suffice for the present.

Mr Cowell appears to take objection to the study of the Smṛiti and Vedānta in the college. I am sorry that I must differ from him on this point. These branches seem to me to be quite unexceptionable. In Smṛiti the treatises in use teach only Civil Law such as Law of Inheritance, Adoption, etc. The importance of such study is admitted on all hands and it is therefore unnecessary for me to dilate upon it. The Vedānta is one of the systems of Philosophy prevalent in India. It is of a metaphysical character and I do not think there can be any reasonable objection to its use in the college. Both the branches as at present taught are free from objection on religious grounds. In my humble opinion the discontinuance of these subjects would make the college course very defective one.

I fully agree with Mr Cowell in his recommendation for the continuance of the college on its present footing. His arguments are weighty and fully sustain his position. The Sanskrit college is undoubtedly one of the most useful and important institutions under Government.

Dr Roer recommends the abolition of the college and the application of its funds to the introduction of the study of Sanskrit into Government English colleges and schools. No one is a greater advocate than myself for the introduction of Sanskrit into English colleges and schools. But no one would be more strongly opposed to the abolition of the Sanskrit College and the substitution of this arrangement in its stead. Mr Cowell justly observes that if Sanskrit is to be studied at all it should be studied thoroughly and I very much doubt if it can ever be properly studied in English colleges and schools. Especially when it is a fact that the attempt to teach even Bengali in a proper style has proved a failure in those institutions. The result of the adoption of Dr Roer's plan would be the extinction from this part of India of a language and literature the preservation of which in their full integrity was one of the primary objects of the founders of the Sanskrit College.

The Bengal Government agreeing with the D. P. I., recommended his proposal to the Governor General (25 April 1879), who sanctioned it, with one reservation. In view of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyāsagar stressing the importance of the study of Smṛiti (Hindu Law) the Lieut. Governor was

desired to reconsider his proposal for excluding it from the curriculum\*.

Further reorganization however was to store for the Sanskrit College and this was done during the Lieutenant Governorship of Sir George Campbell who pursued an excessively economical policy. On 30th May 1871 the Bengal Government issued orders to the D. P. I. for making reductions in the establishment of the college as soon as opportunities offered. The first case arose soon afterwards on the retirement of Pandit Bharati Chandra Shrivastava, the Professor of Smṛiti or Hindu Law. The D. P. I. accordingly proposed the abolition of the chair (10 Feb. 1872). The English Department of the upper section of the Sanskrit College was also ordered to be abolished. It was provided that the students of that college, on passing the Entrance Examination should join the Presidency College and study all subjects except Sanskrit there.

But the proposal to abolish the chair of Smṛiti provoked strong dissatisfaction among the educated public and representations were made to the Government against the measure by the Saṁtāna Dharma Rakṣam Savi and the British Indian Association. The Lieut. Governor again took counsel with Vidyāsagar, being anxious to do what he could to meet the reasonable wishes of the native gentlemen who were interested in the study of Sanskrit. The Lieut. Governor invited Vidyāsagar to come and talk the matter over with him after consulting other native gentlemen†.

Vidyāsagar met the Lieut. Governor, but, contrary to his Honour's expectations maintained that the importance of the subject of the Hindu Law demanded a separate chair for it. The Lieut. Governor, however finally passed orders for the amalgamation of the chair of Smṛiti or Hindu Law, with those of Philosophy and Rhetoric. The Bengal Government's order, published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, dated 22 May 1872, stated

The Lieut. Governor having as you are aware at an early stage of the discussion expressed his willingness to consider this matter with reference to the wishes of many members of the Hindu community has had interviews

\* For correspondence on the subject, see *Home Department Circulars* Cons. 20 May 1879 Nos. 16-18 (D. P. I.).

† H. I. Johnson, Private Secretary to Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyāsagar, dated Belvedere the 22nd April 1872—*Education Cons.* July 1872 Nos. A. 27-29.

with Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and the Principal of the College Pra-sanna Kumar Sarradhiar and has taken opportunity of otherwise discussing the matter. He finds the suggestions of the gentlemen whom he has named and of other competent persons to be so moderate and reasonable that he has much pleasure in being able ultimately to comply with their wishes pending further trial of the arrangements now to be made.

The equivocal terms used in the above letter led the Hindu public to conclude that Vidyasagar had assented to the Lieut. Governor's arrangement about the chair of Hindu Law which was denounced as a piece of downright joggery and the Pandit was naturally subjected to a great deal of abuse by his countrymen. This led him to write the following letter to the Private Secretary to Sir George Campbell.

As I was asked by you under instructions of His Honour to consult the leading members of the Hindu community who take interest in Sanskrit studies before meeting His Honour and as it might lead to an impression that the above suggestions emanated from me I think it my duty to remind His Honour that so far as the proposed arrangement for instruction in Hindu Law is concerned it did not come from me. Indeed I told His Honour distinctly that the importance of the subject demanded a separate chair and I still entertain the same opinion. Hindu Law as His Honour is aware is a vast subject—it forms the life-study of a man. It is true that there may be versatile persons who may combine a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit literature with a profound acquaintance with Hindu Law but such versatility is rare. To merge the chair of Hindu Law with other chairs is to give it a secondary rank and to reduce its practical usefulness for a professor who will teach it at his leisure moments as it were cannot be expected to devote that attention to it which the vastness of the subject demands. As it might be inferred from the tenor of the Government letter referred to that I have advised His Honour the proposed arrangement for filling the chair on Hindu Law and as I am consequently liable to be misunderstood by the Hindu community whose feeling is very strong on the subject of the chair of the Hindu Law I would respectfully request that in justice to me His Honour may think fit to remove the erroneous impression which has too generally arisen to my suggestions regarding the reorganization of the Sanskrit College is calculated to produce on the public mind.

The Pandit was completely exonerated as the following reply shows.

My dear Pandit—His Honour has no doubt that you are correct in saying that you did not individually recommend the absorption of the Professorship of Hindu Law. His Honour desires

me to assure you that he proposes to make the Hindu Law the primary and not a mere secondary object of one of the chairs. His Honour thinks that he has been well advised in the orders which he has issued (25 May 1859).

In order to remove the public misapprehension Vidyasagar thought it wise to publish a letter along with the above correspondence in the *Hindu Patriot* of 10th June.

#### VIDYASAGAR'S VIEWS ON SCHOOLS FOR THE MASSES

On 1 May 1859 the Supreme Government asked Mr J. P. Grant the Lieut. Governor of Bengal for his views on the subject of providing cheap schools for the masses and improving and extending vernacular education generally. Before formulating his own views however the Lieut. Governor consulted not only the officials of the Education Department but also several other gentlemen both Europeans and Indians who had either practical experience of village schools or took an interest in the well-being of the peasantry. Among the Indians consulted were Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Peary Chandra Mitra, Shama Churn Sarkar, Debendra Nath Tagore and Rajah Radhakant Deb Bahadur. Vidyasagar's report is quoted below.

In my humble opinion it seems almost impracticable in the present circumstances of the country to introduce any system of education with such limited expenditure as is contemplated by Government at Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a month for each school. Men who are qualified to teach mere reading, writing and a little of Arithmetic with any degree of success however great their attachment to their native villages may be cannot be induced to accept service on such low remuneration.

I have no precise information about the system pursued in the Mulukabundi schools in the North Western Provinces. But presuming that that system has been adopted in the Bihar school I would beg to observe that in many respects it is similar to that prevailing in the indigenous schools of Bengal. The course of instruction in the Bihar schools is I understand limited to letter writing and zamindar and shopkeepers' account and the only difference between them and the Bengal schools is that a few printed books of an improved character are nominally used in the former. If the object of Government be to promote such a system of education in Bengal a small monthly pay to the Gurumohas, the introduction of a few printed books in their schools, and placing these schools under Government inspection would easily secure that object. But I must remark that such education insignificant as it would be will not extend to the masses if by that word is meant the labouring classes for even now both in Bihar and in Bengal, few if any from these classes are to be found among the pupils of those schools.

\* C. Bernard, Off. Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, to the P. P. I. dated 17 May 1859.  
Education Cons. June 1859 Nos. A 16-23



This state of things is to be ascribed to the condition of the labouring classes. It is generally so low that they cannot afford to incur any charge on account of the education of their children. Neither can they continue their boys in school after the latter have attained that age when they become fit for any sort of work which would secure some kind of remuneration, however trifling, it may be. They think and perhaps rightly that if their children learn a little of reading and writing it will not better their condition and therefore they feel no inclination whatever in sending them to school. It is too much to expect that they would educate their children merely for the sake of knowledge when even the higher classes do not yet fully appreciate the benefits of education. Under such circumstances it is needless to attempt the education of the labouring classes. But should it be in the contemplation of Government to try the experiment it must be prepared for giving education free of all charges. It may be mentioned here that experiments have been made by private individuals the results of which have not however been a satisfactory one.

An impression appears to have gained ground both here and in England that enough has been done for the education of the higher classes and that attention should now be directed towards the education of the masses. This impression has evidently been evoked by the too favourable character of the reports and minutes on education. An enquiry into the matter will however show a very different state of things.

As the best if not the only practical means of promoting education in Bengal the Government should in my humble opinion confine it self to the education of the higher classes on a comprehensive scale. By educating one boy in a proper style the Government does more towards the real education of the people than by teaching a hundred children mere reading writing and a little of Arithmetic. To educate a whole people is certainly very desirable but this is a task which it is doubtful whether any Government can undertake or fulfil. It may be remarked that notwithstanding the high state of civilization in England the masses there are no better than their brethren in this country on the point of education.\*

### WARDS INSTITUTION

On 11th November 1861 Act XXVI was passed by the Legislative Council of India for making better provision for the education of male minors subject to the superintendence of the Court of Wards. Reports however still continued to be received to the effect that certain Government wards were still influenced by dependents who taught them no good but rather aimed at keeping them in a state of ignorance. It became necessary, therefore to ensure the proper training of these boys by bringing

them together in a special hostel where they would live under the direct control and supervision of a trusted officer of Government. The Wards Institution was accordingly opened in Calcutta in March 1863, with Dr Rajendra Lal Mitra as its Director on a monthly salary of Rs. 300\*. Only pupils between 8 and 14 years of age were admitted.

Government wished to appoint four or five respectable local gentlemen as visitors for inspecting this institution by rotation. They were also empowered to make suggestions to Government for improving it. The four visitors first selected by Government were Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Rajah Pratap Chandra Sinha, Kumar Harendra Krishna Deb and Babu Ramanath Thakur, each to inspect it for three months in the year.

In the light of the experience gained during such visits Vidyasagar submitted to Government a memorandum (dated 4 Apr. 1864) proposing certain arrangements for ensuring greater progress and proficiency among the wards. On 11th January 1865 at the request of the Board of Revenue, he submitted a report on the working of the Wards Institution for the preceding year from which we extract the following important passages.

I commenced inspection from November 1863. I would beg leave respectfully to suggest a new arrangement for their education.

1. That the institution be turned into a sort of Boarding School instead of being merely the residence of the Wards as at present.

2. That the requisite staff of efficient teachers be entrusted for their instruction.

3. That a separate course of instruction especially directed suited to the necessities of the Ward be framed for them.

I also take the liberty to bring to prominent notice Rule XI of the rules for the management of the Wards Institution. That rule prescribes that corporal punishment shall be resorted to only in aggravated cases. It appears from the Order Book that almost in every month one or more boys have received rattan cuts varying from four to twelve. The instances in which they have thus been punished do not however appear to me to come under the class 'aggravated cases' with the exception perhaps of one which is not sufficiently described. But, irrespective of the nature of the offences committed I would beg leave to observe that corporal punishment should be discarded altogether as a part of the training of the Wards. This punishment is strictly prohibited in all educational institutions on account of its baneful influence. Hundreds of pupils are managed in

\* From Ishwar Chandra Sharma, to Rivers Thompson Esq. Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal dated 29 Sep. 1869—Education Dept. *Proceedings* Oct. 1860 No. 53.

\* The institution was originally located at Rajah Nursing's Garden Chitpur but, in October 1863 it was removed to Babu Srikrishna Sing's Garden Upper Circular Road Manukta.

them without the use of the cane its necessity in the Wards' Institution is scarcely perceptible in my humble opinion on such harsh treatment does it, no means become the inmates of that Institution I have some experience in the training of boys and my firm conviction is that corporal punishment from its degrading effects spoils more than mends the recipients I would therefore have strongly recommended that this rule may be rescinded at once

The subsequent conduct of its pupils did not bring much credit to the Wards' Institution It was alleged in the Indian Press that the Director—Mr Rajendra Lala Mitra—set a bad example to his young charges and as persons against his moral character were publicly made in December 1863 sixty zamindars of Rajbali and the adjacent districts presented a petition to the Government pointing out the defects of the institution They prayed that the minors should not be sent to the Wards Institution before completing the University Entrance Course in the schools of their respective zillas where they would be under home influence and saved from the moral dangers of life in Calcutta In these circumstances the Government at first thought of removing the Wards Institution from Calcutta to a misfeasant but, before doing so appointed a Committee consisting of H Woodrow—Offg D P I T B Lane—Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue L.P., and Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, in report on the constitution and management of the Wards Institution (24 April 1865) The following is the separate report which the Pandit submitted to the authorities on 1st September 1865

The object of the Wards Institution is to give the wards a fair amount of education train them up as useful members of society and turn them out good landlords But the education they receive is scarcely worth the name and they generally leave the institution with a mere smattering of English and with little or no moral training Nor can any better results be expected in the existing order of things To remedy the evils certain suggestions were made by me in my report of the 11th January last I have deliberately reconsidered them since the formation of the present Committee and see no reason to change the opinions expressed in that paper

Great care should be taken in the selection of the teaching staff in case it be determined to convert the institution into a Boarding School They must be well educated men experienced in training up children and youth and free from fashionable vice The management and control of the institution should be vested in the Head Master Under such arrangements, I feel assured that the prejudices entertained against the institution not without reason would be removed and the confidence of the public restored But if otherwise the institution be maintained on its

present footing I shall not be sorry to see it closed at once

The after-career of some of the young men brought up in the institution reflects discredit on it If a comparison were instituted between the retired wards and other young landlords who were not brought up in the institution I believe it will be found that the balance will turn in favour of the latter

As regards the question of corporal punishment, Mr Woodrow did not touch the point in his report while Lane supported the view held by the Director Rajendra Lala Mitra that in the case of the wards it was an absolute necessity, and without it no discipline could be enforced This view was accepted by the Government

The Pandit however did not remain a visitor much longer after this, and 24th March 1865 seems to have been the date of his last visit to this institution The cause of Vidyasagar's resignation is not known to us although it is very likely that some difference of opinion with Rajendra Lala Mitra led him to take this step

#### VIDYASAGAR'S ADVISE ON HIGH SCHOOL COURSE

Vidyasagar's help was again sought by Government In 1863 a Committee was formed including him to consider and report on the extent to which it is expedient to introduce the study of Sanskrit in the Collegiate and Zila Schools with reference to prospective changes in the course laid down by the University for the several examinations in Arts The other members of the Committee were Messrs Cowell and Woodrow, the latter acting as President

On 15th July 1863 Mr Atkinson the D P I, requested the Pandit to be a member of the Committee for the selection of school books—both English and vernacular, as he felt it necessary to secure the help of the best native scholars

The Pandit however declined on the grounds explained in the following letter

As an author I am directly interested in the decision of the Committee and I do not therefore think it right to take a part in their deliberations Besides I am inclined to think that my presence in the Committee may interfere with a free and unreserved discussion of the merits and demerits of the books

\* Vidyasagar's reports on the Wards Institution can be found among the records of the Board of Revenue L.P., Wards Branch as also among the Revenue Department records of the Bengal Government These reports have however already appeared in print, vide S.C. Mitra's *Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar*, pp. 164-69 (2nd ed.)

W.S. Atkinson D.P.I. to Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, dated 29th August 1863

# Iron Smelting in Mysore

By B SUBRAHMANYAM

**N**ATURE has bestowed upon Mysore with no meagre land the hidden gift of mineral wealth not excelled by any other part of India. It is the abode of both precious mineral and useful ones. From gold to granite of the most exquisite types, there are available here good deposits—enough to satisfy the requirements of a commercial enterprise of numerous minerals such as chrome manganese iron kaolin magnesite and asbestos to mention but a few

and favours from the Mysore Government, which act as effective incentives to their efforts.

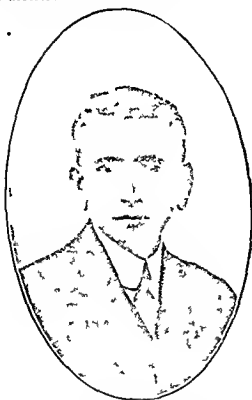
Iron smelting is known to exist from early times in Mysore but naturally the modern methods in the industry have been quite unknown to the people here. Involving as it did enormous sums of money the Government of Mysore itself have started the iron smelting industry which holds out a great promise of prosperity to the future of Mysore.

## II

Iron ore of very good quality has been discovered in various parts of Mysore but the best specimens are found in Kadur district on the Bababudri Hills 6000 feet above the sea level. In its neighbourhood are the manganese mines. Extensive forests rich with fuel and timber lie in the vicinity of these deposits. One has not to go far to fetch limestone and water could be had in plenty here.

All these factors coupled with the convenience of easy railway communication seem to have encouraged the Government of Mysore to contemplate the smelting of iron with charcoal at Bhadravati (or Benkipur as it was formerly known) on the left bank of the river Badra. It is a small railway station on the Berar Shimoga section of the Mysore Railways and is about 150 miles from Bangalore.

At the instance of the then Dewan of Mysore Sir M. Visvesvaraya who initiated a period of industrial renaissance in Mysore the Government of Mysore investigated the matter and in 1916 a definite scheme was formulated under the expert advice of Mr. C. P. Pann the well known metallurgical engineer of Messrs. Perin and Marshall's Consulting engineers of New York. The scheme was sanctioned and the necessary surveys and other preliminaries went on for some time. The actual construction of the blast furnace the wood distillation plant and the forest tramways and other minor structures were however started in 1914 and completed in 1923. The blast furnace was blown in in January 1923 and the retorts for the manufacture of charcoal were put in operation a month earlier and the still house two months later. After some



Sir M. Visvesvaraya

Almost the whole of India's contribution of gold to the world's output is produced in Mysore at Kolar by the gold mining companies which are managed by an English syndicate. Chrome is extracted chiefly from mines in the Tumkur and Hassan districts and manganese in the Shimoga district but they are also to be found in other parts of the State. New industries are now being developed in kaolin magnesite and asbestos. All these are in the hands of private individuals or corporations enjoying certain facilities

time were added the tar plant and the creosoting plant. Recently a small steel plant worked by electricity has been constructed as an experimental measure. The electrical requirements of the works are met by an electrical installation worked by steam power. The question of the supply of cheap electrical power which is perhaps the chief governing factor in the manufacture of steel on a commercial scale in these days is receiving the serious attention of the authorities in Mysore. Plans and projects have already been prepared under the personal guidance and supervision of Sir Visvesvaraya to harness the famous Jog Falls at Gerusoppa about 60 miles from the iron works which lie on the border of Mysore and Bombay Presidencies. Work at the falls cannot therefore be started without the consent of the Bombay Government and the matter is under discussion between the two Governments for a long time now and as soon as a decision is arrived at, the Mysore Government would commence the work of construction at the falls. There is also the alternate suggestion that pending decision about Jog Falls power should be brought from the Covert power scheme at Sirasamudram to the Bhadravati Iron Works. This work is now in progress. With the Sirasamudram power and the power to be produced at Jog Falls, Mysore would be spread over with a net work of electrical wires and every village and hamlet in the State would be scintillating with electric lights.

The central factory covering all these various plants extends over an area of 20 acres and has been built at a cost of about two crores of rupees.

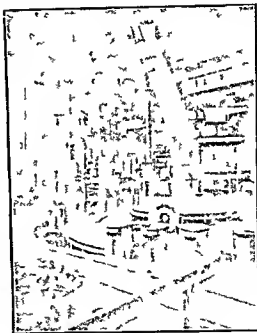
To bring the mines and the forests within the easy reach of the works, 2 ft. gauge tramways have been laid to a total length of about 36 miles.

During the period of construction and for a time after the operations began the Bhadravati Iron Works were under the management of Messrs Tata Iron and Steel Manufacturing Co. and it is now being worked by a Board of Management appointed by the Mysore Darbar. Until the month of October last, when he relinquished the office, Sir M. Visvesvaraya was the Chairman of the board for six and a half years and successfully piloted the institution through the most troublous period of its life. Now the office is occupied by the First Member

of the Executive Council of His Highness Government, Dewan Bahadur M. N. Krishna Rao.

### III

The blast furnace in which the smelting takes place is 60½ feet in height and 6½ feet in diameter and was designed for a daily output of 50 tons of pig iron. Recently the furnace was relined and its capacity has been increased to 80 tons a day. The air or blast that is required is supplied by a Mesta Uniflow Blowing Engine worked by steam and capable of delivering 10,000 cubic feet of air at 4 to 6 lbs. pressure.



The Turn table

normally. The cold air is heated before entering the furnace by three copper stoves.

Chief among the raw materials for the smelting of iron is the iron ore itself. The ore is brought from Kemmangundi, a hill on the Bababudan range about 2½ miles from the plant. The ore lies about 2,000 feet above the surrounding ground level and is brought down by an aerial ropeway three miles long to the terminus of the tramway.

line which delivers the ore direct to the works. Limestone which is used as flux is obtained from places near by. At the works the ore and the limestone are crushed to convenient sizes before they are sent into the furnace.

Charcoal which is another important raw material is manufactured at the wood distillation plant from the wood brought from the forests specially set apart for this purpose. These forests extend over an area of 300 square miles and are worked on a 20-30 years rotation.

Now charcoal, iron ore and limestone are alternately shipped over into the furnace and a continuous current of warm air blown



The Alcohol Refinery

in through the tuyères of the furnace. The ore is gradually reduced and the pig iron collect itself at the bottom of the furnace. The metal is tapped out and led into sand moulds in the cast house. A raised platform about 10 ft. high constructed in front of the mouth of the furnace. It is 50 feet wide and 100 feet long.

The pipe foundry attached to the works is situated immediately below the cast house and has been designed to consume a fair portion of the pig iron produced here. The machinery for the manufacture of cast iron pipes is a turn table the diameter of the circle formed by the moulding boxes suspended to the table being 28 feet 4 inches. The pig iron is again melted into liquid metal here and various kinds of pipes of 2 inches to 16 inches diameter are manufactured according to the British standard specifications. Besides pipes

other castings specially ordered for are also made here. The whole of the cast house was recently rebuilt enlarged and fitted up with the latest modern appliances connected therewith. This new cast house was opened a couple of months ago by the present Dewan of Mysore Sir Mirza Ali Ismail. A good machine shop with all the necessary electrical fittings is attached to this plant.

The pig iron that is not utilized at the factory for purposes of casting, is stocked in the iron yard and is exported principally to Japan and America.

### IV

The wood distillation plant from where the charcoal for iron smelting is obtained is the most important installation after the blast furnace and is so to say the main stay of the works. The numerous by-product obtained from the gases emitted out from the retorts where the wood is converted into charcoal are a source of handsome and steady income to the factory.

Hard wood cut into billets of about 2 ft. long either in the forest or in the wood yard are packed into iron buggies which are capable of holding 4 tons of fuel each. Four such buggies are shunted into each of the twelve horizontal iron retorts and fired from below after the retorts had been made air tight by closing the double metallic doors provided for them. When the wood is reduced to charcoal various gases are given out by it. The uncondensable gases in them being combustible are used for heating the retorts whereas the vapours are condensed into a mixed liquid known as pyroigneous acid or liquor. The buggies containing hot charcoal are gradually cooled in the primary and secondary coolers and then transferred over to the stock bin near the furnace where it would be used for smelting. This process of carbonization generally takes three or four days.

The pyroigneous liquor containing tar, alcohol, acetic acid etc. is transferred to storage tanks where it is allowed to settle. Greater portion of the tar settles down here and is drawn off to settled tar tanks. The clear liquor is then passed through the copper triple effect evaporators. Any tar left over unsettled would be removed during this process. The vapour coming out of this is again condensed and this condensed liquor containing methyl alcohol and

acetic acid is conveyed to lower tubes where it is mixed with slaked lime. Here most of the acetic acid combines with slaked lime forming a precipitate of acetate of lime. After settling and filtering the remaining liquor passes to a continuous still where wood alcohol and oils are removed and stored in tanks. The liquor left over after passing through this is the acetate of lime in solution which after being concentrated in iron triple effect evaporators, is boiled down to a brown mud in the drum dryers. The mud is then dried in hulliard dryers to a dry gray acetate of lime containing not less than 80 per cent acetate.

Now the tar in the settled tar tank is either dehydrated to form the refined tar put on the market as wood tar or subjected to fractional distillation to obtain light oils, heavy oils, wood preservative oil or creosote, special fractional oil and the residual product known as pitch.

In the alcohol refinery again through a process of continual fractional distillation of the crude wood alcohol refined products such as C P methanol (or chemically pure methyl alcohol), methyl acetone and denaturing grade methanol conforming to British specifications are obtained.

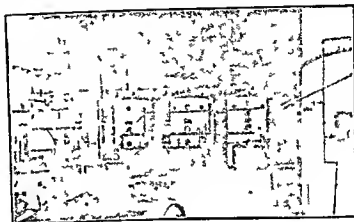
The wood preservative plant or the creosoting plant as it is called has been installed here by the Forest Department. Inferior kinds of wood which deteriorate very soon and are eaten by white ants, when treated with creosote as a by-product of the tar installation is able to stand all the rough uses to which a costly timber like teak is put to. The timber is cut into the various sizes required and packed in a metallic boiler like horizontal container about 80 feet long and the container is closed air tight. All the air inside is exhausted and creosote is let in. The oil gets absorbed into the wood through the cleared and open pores of the wood.

The timber thus treated with creosote becomes very strong and lasting and is used

for sleepers in the railways and for posts for electrical transmission lines and for telegraph wires. Thus many species of timber hitherto condemned as useless have now begun to have great commercial value. The creosoted wood is gradually getting popular as evidenced in the steady increase of demand. The Mysore Railways and the Electrical Department are largely using this kind of timber for their purposes.

## VI

Charcoal pig iron is much superior to coke pig iron and is used in making finer grades of steel. The low phosphorus content



The Distillation Plant

and extremely small percentage of sulphur in Mysore pig should be noted in comparison with coke pig irons. The freedom from iron oxides gives to charcoal iron its high strength combined with great elasticity.

The Bhadravati Iron Works is the only charcoal pig iron plant in India and in the East. The pig iron and other by-products of wood distillation manufactured here are all finding a steady foreign market.

The Iron Works had to pass through a long critical period and today under the able guidance and supervision of Sir M. Visvesvaraya it has become a self-supporting institution. There are here in all grades of service about 5000 people. The superior staff of the works are all Indian, some of whom have received special training abroad.

We have a staff of engineers and workmen who are keen and capable and will be able to make a success of any department of this industry and Sir Visvesvaraya in the last statement he made before relinquishing the office of the Chairman of the Board of Management of the Work. The influence of

in which they all voluntarily agreed to forgo a share of their monthly emolument ranging from 6½ to 10 per cent during the six months from November 1925 to April 1926 the most critical period in the life of the works.

A small colony of houses has been built by the management for the habitation of almost all its employees on a raised ground at a short distance from the factory. The old village of Bhakipur or Bhadrnath is a small one on the other side of the railway line and is rather ill kept. The colony is supplied with good filtered water and electric lighting. The settlement is kept quite healthy by efficient and modern sanitary arrangements. There is a hospital in charge of an assistant surgeon attached to the works. There are beside a co-operative store, a middle school and a social club which latter is a source of great pleasure to the hard worked inhabitants of this lonely settlement.



A general view of the Works

their friend philosopher and guide the Chairman and the patriotic fervour and the spirit of self sacrifice with which these people are working at the iron works are well illustrated by the generous way

## The Eternal Problem

By BHADRNATH GUPTA

On the physical plane the problem of life and death is very simple there was no life before birth life endures only so long as one is being and there will be no life after death. It may be put more tersely man was not man; man will not be. There seems to be no mystery at all.

\*\*\*

The fear of death is both incomprehensible and unreasonable. After death man will be in no worse position than he was before birth. If there was no existence before birth there may be none after death. If existence apart from the present life was possible before birth it may be also possible after death. Either way the relation of life to death remains unaffected.

\*\*\*

The fear of death is in the main a physical fear. It is an apprehension of a

violent wrench wrenching the vital principle from a living organism. A man winces and his skin shrinks at the anticipatory dread of a lash whistling through the air and about to fall on his bare back. Here however the fear is combined with knowledge the man knows that the lash hurts cruelly and he realizes in imagination the pain about to be inflicted upon him.

\*\*\*

The terror of death is the dread of the unknown. Very few persons really and wholly believe that there is a heaven or a hell; believe that is in the sense that the faith is returned to the end and is a shield against the fear of death. The picture of a heaven and a hell is conjured up to fill up the obvious and oppressive blank after death. Heaven and hell are made up of large chunks cut out of the earth. All the horrors of hell are made up of materials that can

The tangible and the palpable must inevitably perish. The hard flesh, the hard possessions coveted by the grosser ambition of man cannot endure because all material is subject to the law of dissolution. Empires with all their magnificence, their turrets and towers and imperial palaces standing proudly against the skyline, all crumble into dust and with the passing of time not a vestige of empire is left and the earth finds its own level just as water seeks its own.

\*.\*

For time flows in a single direction only. There is no ebb and flow, no tidal phenomenon in the current of time. We need not wait for the returning tide of time that will wash ancient Greece and Rome ashore. The anchor can play out the line from his wheel and reel it in again, but the line of time is ever running out and not in such can ever be pulled back.

\*.\*

It is the intangible and the impalpable that last, and therefore Thought endures while the Thing passes. The Aryan kingdoms in India are dead but Aryan thought lives; the Greek and Roman empires have vanished but Greek and Roman thought is still dominating Europe.

\*.\*

Both in outside nature and that other world which is behind nature, the realm of spirit, the strongest forces are invisible and subtle. What is more powerful than the wind, what is more tremendous and terrible than the lightning? Yet both are unpalpable, elusive. So is what we call the soul, subtler, finer, more pervasive than any of the elements or the mighty but nascent powers of nature.

\*.\*

Gross matter may disintegrate and resolve into its original constituent electrons; water may evaporate into its component gases but air and the electric fluid which are subtle always retain the vital principle. There can be no precise analogy between the physical and a higher plane, but as a basis for comparison it is suggestive.

\*.\*

In the undeniable fact that the thought of man may survive for thousands of years, we have the first glimpse of immortality. The brain of man is capable of fashioning objects that may exist long after the body

has perished. Above the intellect however is the spirit that seeks the way to eternal life and therefore the teacher is greater than the creator of things of beauty. The soul shines more brilliantly than the intellect. The Buddha is greater than Valmiki and the Christ is greater than Shakespeare.

\*.\*

The conception of immortality is always relative and the common use of the word is more rhetorical than precise. Immortality comprehends all time and that is beyond the compass of all imagination and speculation. There is nothing like a beginning or end of time and immortality is an abstraction that cannot be realized.

\*.\*

When we speak of a man as immortal we merely imply that he has accomplished something which will live or has lived for a considerable length of time. When we call the poet Kalidas immortal we live in mind only his works and not his soul. The word is almost invariably used in a figurative sense.

\*.\*

Immortality is not the resurrection of the dead nor the breathing of the breath of life into the dry bones lying in the Valley of Death. For the immortal there is neither life nor death nor life hereafter but an immanent consciousness of being co-existent and co-eternal with time itself.

\*.\*

If we are accustomed to spend loosely of immortality we know still less of the identity of the individual for whom immortality is claimed. Every one of us is an egoist for humility is only an effort to combat egoism and yet we know nothing of our own ego nor do we know anything of the real self of the people we meet.

\*.\*

Is the likeness in the mirror a reflection of our true self? We know it is not, and still we admire our faces and features in the glass and there are many Narcissuses who fall in love with their own beauty though there is no banal pool over which they may overbalance themselves and in which they may be drowned.

\*.\*

The eye cannot penetrate the husk of flesh, the mind cannot reach beyond our thought but neither the body nor the mind



holds that by which the self may be identified. We are content with the semblance that is mistaken for self.

\*.\*

The belief in the transmigration of the soul takes for granted the existence of the soul apart from the body. That is the real self. It passes from one body into another in the same manner that we lay aside an old garment for a new one.

\*.\*

The recollection of previous births is a belief that exists in the East and startling instances occur occasionally even in the West. In certain countries in Asia very young children are encouraged and helped to remember their former births. The Grand Lama of Tibet is always discovered as a young child reborn from his previous incarnation.

\*.\*

This may be a superstition but the Buddha, one of the acutest reasoners that the world has ever known, a teacher who emphatically rejected all miracles and who in all things took his firm stand upon reason spoke of hundreds of previous births as calmly and casually as we speak of incidents of yesterday. So prevalent was the belief in previous births among the wise Aryans of ancient India that there is a particular Sanskrit word signifying the peculiar gift of remembrance of past lives. The word is *jatimara*—one who remembers former births.

\*.\*

This is a longer thread than the one on which we string the happenings of a single lifetime. The ego spreads out itself over different births at different time. The line of memory runs out and reels in and lands the stories of other lives lost in the waters of oblivion.

\*.\*

The ancient Egyptians surrounded the dead with the trappings of life and their kings and great ones were buried with all the paraphernalia with which they had been familiar while living. Perhaps the Egyptians believed that the mummies would rise and eat and drink like living men. The careful preservation of the bodies of the dead must have been due to some such belief.

\*.\*

Of a somewhat similar nature is the belief that the dead will rise on the Day of Judgment on hearing the trumpet. The flesh may be devoured by worms and the bones may crumble into the dust, but the spirit abides in the grave awaiting the call to final judgment.

\*.\*

These beliefs identify the self or the soul with the body and they conflict with the other belief that the dead body cannot hold the living soul. The impermanent flesh cannot be the permanent abode of the immortal soul. Apart however from the physical semblance of the body we can form no conception of the indwelling self.

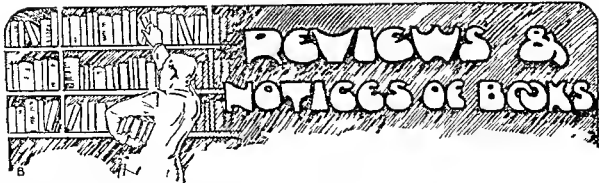
\*.\*

Yet the belief is shared by different peoples of the return to the earth and to a new life of prophets and superior beings who existed before. Particular men have been called divine incarnations and they are said to come again and again. The manifestation of divinity in the flesh is the revelation of certain attributes.

\*.\*

The identification of the self remains as baffling as ever for the ordinary faculties of man are inadequate for the recognition of what can neither be seen nor felt nor comprehended by the ordinary intelligence of the mind. If the Buddha or the Christ were to reappear on earth how would they be recognized?





[Books in the following languages will be noticed Assamese Bengali, English, French German Gujarati Hindi Italian Kanarese Malayalam Marathi Nepali Oriya Portuguese Punjabi Sindhi, Spanish Tamil Telugu and Urdu Newspapers periodicals school and college text books and their annotations pamphlets and leaflets reprints of magazine articles addresses etc will not be noticed The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged nor any queries relating thereto answered The review of any book is not guaranteed Books should be sent to our office addressed to the Assamese Reviewer the Hindi reviewer the Bengali Reviewer etc according to the language of the book No criticisms of book reviews and notices will be published—Editor V R]

## ENGLISH

HYMNS OF THE ALVARS By J S M Hooper  
Heritage of India Series (Association Press  
Calcutta 1929) Pp 106 with 2 illustrations  
Rs 1 4 (paper)

This book in spite of its small size represents the high watermark of the excellent series that we owe to the vision and initiative of Dr J N Lakshminarayanan. The Alvars are a class of Vaishnav bhakti saints and poets whose very name is unknown in Northern India. The work of the Alvars falls into its place between the Gita and Ramanuja. The Alvars provided the soil out of which Ramanuja's teaching naturally sprang and in which later it could bear fruit. He (i.e. Ramanuja) is not really the morning star of the bhakti movement that is a name far more fittingly given to the Alvars (7th-9th centuries A.D.). They made a popular religious appeal through the use of the vernaculars and insisted on an exclusive devotion to one God—Krishna. Many of these popular teachers belonged to non-Brahman caste one was a woman but their songs have been a living fountain refreshing and stimulating the hearts of millions in Southern India. The distinction between them and Ramanuja has been very clearly and convincingly drawn by Mr Hooper in his Introduction the whole of which is a masterly and concise study of the bhakti movement and its philosophy. At the same time our author makes out two very strong points when he says—

As effective as either of them (namely *Jnana Marga* and *Karma Marga*) is the new Way of Devotion to Krishna *Bhakti Marga*. In the love of Krishna time and space sun and rebirth have alike been forgotten. But to those who have inquired how this comforting message can be reconciled with the Upanishad doctrine of an impersonal actionless Absolute the Gita has had no satisfactory answer to give. (Pp 5-6)

And a aim. The type of devotion that we are here considering gives no positive help to the living of the moral life. Karma makes for selfish though self-centred morality but the

bhakti religion may quite well leave morality on one side. The ethical problem is not central in the thought of the Alvars the fervent glow of emotion makes all else seem trivial. (Pp 29-30)

Apart from its shrewd philosophical analysis the chief charm of Mr Hooper's work lies in its admirable style. He is a master of happy phrases some of which cannot be bettered. As when he says

On another note but aiming at the same end of giddy exaltation is the practice of repeating the thousand names of Vishnu and so by a kind of self-hypnotism losing oneself in rapture. (P 26)

The poems range over the various well known moods of the Vaishnav bhakti who imagines himself now a slave now a mistress now a mother of the object of his adoration.

A few quotations will show how admirably Mr Hooper has reproduced the spirit of the bhakti in his translations from Tamil

No inslap with this world have I  
Which tales for true the life that is not true  
For thee alone my passion burns I cry

Rangin my Lord! (Anantavara)  
Slayer of elephant great and fierce of eye  
Vitruva kodu's Lord

Where shall I go and live?  
Sure for thy feet, like a great bud am I  
Which goes around and sees no store and

Back o'er the tossing sea and perches on  
ships' mast!  
(Ibid)

The flying swans and herons I did leg  
Craving Forget not ye who first arrive  
If ye behold my heart with Kannin (Krishna)

Oh speak of me and ask it Sir not yet  
Hast thou returned to her? And is it right?  
(Vammalar)

Our only complaint is that the extracts are too few and a bigger feast should have been placed before the reader whose appetite has been kindled by the masterly general introduction

J SANKAR

**DREAM HORROR AND DREAM HEALTH** By Harishchandra P. Kulkarni. Publishers—Shah & Co. Krishna Bhawan, Khetwadi, Vana Paddi, Bombay No. 4 1929. Price Rs. 3 pp. 105.

The book is written on the model of popular American health books and deals with a variety of subjects such as sleep, diet, metabolism, exercise, vitality, marital relations, breathing, etc. There is an introduction by Dr. S. P. Madan, D.P. (America) who describes himself as the first Indian graduate of the Barnard Medfadden Institute of America. The book contains a good deal of useful information suitable for the lay public. The author has imbibed some of the fads of American writers. He is an enthusiastic supporter of separate beds for husband and wife. The fad of auto-intoxication which was started some years ago by certain surgeons has influenced the writer to a very great extent and he is an ardent advocate of intestinal douches. The price of the book is too high to suit the purse of the average reader.

**A MODERN HINDU VIEW OF LIFE** By Chintu Mukherjee, with a Foreword by the Most Reverend the Metropolitan of India. Price Rs. 1 pp. 92.

This little book is an effort at refutation of Professor Rudhakrishnan's Hindu View of Life. There is a foreword by the Most Reverend the Metropolitan of India. The criticism embodied in this book was originally written for the columns of the *Epiphany*. The author writes with the zeal of a convert and one will find in this book all the stock arguments used by the missionaries to discredit Hinduism. The author has quoted texts from the Hindu scriptures to prove his points.

**THEOOPHY: PAST AND FUTURE CONVENTIVE LECTURES** of 1929. Theosophical Publishing House, Vijay, Madras. 1930. pp. 116.

This book is a collection of the four Convention Lectures delivered in Adyar at the 14th Anniversary of the Theosophical Society in December 1929. The lectures are delivered by Anni Besant D.L., The Rt. Rev. C. W. Leadbeater, J. I. Wedgwood, M.A. D.Sc. and C. Jinarajadasa, M.A. respectively. This little volume will be of considerable interest to Theosophists but to the uninitiated many of the statements such as the idea of Inner Government of the World controlled by Masters might appear amazing. By far the most interesting lecture is that given by Mr. C. Jinarajadasa on "A Year's Travels in Latin America."

**THE SEX FACTOR IN MARRIAGE** A book for those who are or are about to be married. By Victoria Wright, M.R.C.S. with an introduction by J. Herbert Gray, M.D. D. London: Noel Douglas, 1930.

It is a sign of the times that women doctors increasingly large numbers are discussing sex in a quite frank manner. This book is intended to guide the married couple regarding their mutual physical and psychological adjustments so that they may attain the maximum of happiness in married life. The author has carefully avoided the use of all technical terms and has continuously kept in view the requirements of the layman. The book is one of the best written on the subject.

It can be safely recommended to those who are or are about to be married.

G. Bose

**SPIRIT IN EVOLUTION FROM AMOeba TO SAINT** By Herbert F. Standing. D. Sc. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London.

In this book the author has attempted to trace the psychological evolution of the animal kingdom and to show that it runs a parallel course to structural evolution. He has throughout taken for granted that there has been evolution a steady point with which few of his readers will quarrel. But he is ultra Lamarckian in his attitude. He puts forward the view that not only has there been no advance in structural formation in the animal kingdom without a corresponding psychological improvement but he further postulates that each and every advance in complexity of structure is the direct outcome of and results from an ever increasing mental capability. He believes that "the whole evolutionary process is fundamentally a manifestation of Divine purpose and activity and that in the process of organic evolution we have a clear manifestation of the Divine Creative Activity at work through the evolutionary process." There is thus throughout the book as one might have expected from its title, from Amoeba to Saint, a strongly religious bias. The regulative factor in organic development is according to the author not mechanistic but psychic in character and in consequence all progress has been brought about by a creative urge in the organism that has led to the gradual perfecting of the various organs. In this respect there is a close degree of similarity between this creative urge of the author and Bergson's *élan vital*. In order to account for the evolution of the very earliest and next primitive forms of life through such a creative urge, it is necessary to attribute a definite consciousness however dim to the protozoa or to the growing root up in plants and many will consider that in so doing he goes too far though doubtless he will in this respect have the support of Sir J. C. Bose in the final chapters in which he traces the evolution of such concepts as Beauty, Goodness, Truth, etc. His treatment of the subject is interesting but few again will accept his belief in the well-authenticated Phenomena of Spiritualism.

R. B. S. S.

**PETER'S CLAY** By Hilton Brown (Ganesh and Co. Madras 1929).

A collection of stories dealing with episodes from South Indian life both native and European. The stories are rather thin being distinguished more by their manner than their matter. They are told with a keen zest and an unflinching grim humour that make them very sparkling reading indeed.

The Indian stories—which are the more numerous—deal with those odd picturesque elements in Indian life evoked by contact with an alien civilization, which are the quickest to catch the eye of a sympathetic and understanding foreigner. Peter's Clay, the opening story that gives its name to the volume tells us of it.

sudden elation of the oriental temperament catching fire at apparently the most trivial of causes and leading to the most tragic and futile explosions. Reserved Seats dealing with the ludicrous aspects of election campaigns shows with what a keen zest the East has entered into the humour of the game and even bettered the instructions of her Western teachers with touches of indigenous grotesquerie of all the stories. Royal and Ancient goes deepest into native psychology showing how the traditional ways have been broken in upon by the catching innovations of the West with results so curiously ill-adjusted and perverse. All the stories provide very pointed and entertaining reading though the South Indian veneer pertaining more to local scenery than to human figures is rather skin deep and but little of it is likely to stay if one digs ones nail deep enough. The author it must be admitted has his eyes fixed rather on picturesque variations of colour and depth than on the abiding depths of character and that is an obvious limitation.

One of the notes that constantly recur is an alert and eager response to the occult and mysterious elements so pervasively present in the life of the East. The subject, indeed has an inexhaustible fascination for the mind of the author. He returns to it again and again paying in earnest and sincere homage to it wherever found. Sacrifice Rocks. The Good Eye Box. The Ghost Ship are all instances of a sympathetic acquiescence in that faith in miracles the fountains of which have not yet run dry in Indian life.

There are a good many stories dealing with European life out in the (mosses) with its petty official jealousies its futile love-wallings its commendable but rather narrowly conceived efforts at municipal reforms and improvements in the facilities of civil life its glimmering and sometimes we struck comprehension of the romance and mystery of the East. The best of the series is Sentence Commuted where a deserted husband intent on killing his guilty wife and her paramour forges his vindictive purpose with a grim chuckle as he observes the hellish life they are living together. Altogether it is a very light sparkling enjoyable volume and the author is to be congratulated on the happy use he has made of his penning in alien fields.

S K B

a joy is no English at all even in poetry while knowledge of it would care none is an ungrammatical sentence without for Whole to envelope mens favour are not the proper forms We read

Worldly plays are great and small  
Who can see them all in all

The author uses all in all admirably in the sense fully. This is inquestionable poetry and this phrase means of paramount importance. One and all would have served the author's object. The author's style reminds us of our school day composition he writes

Ocean or Sea

What so it be

Changes its face in gale

Which could trouble the whale

A Sportsman who was anxious for dry tiger skin once wrote to his friend similar poetry

In jungle or wood

While tracting on foot

Methought if ruin it would

It might drench my brute

Omura

PEOPLES ORGANIZATION OF INDIAN VILLAGES  
By V. G. Iyengar B Litt (Oxon) Vol II Foreword  
by Hon. V. Ramaswami Iyengar B.A. LL. Member  
Council of State D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co  
Bombay 1929 Price Rs 2 1/2 Pp 9+11+207

Though India is a vast country inhabited by many people speaking a babel of tongues and affecting a bewildering variety of customs manners and dresses there is so far as economic organization and cultural outlook so a fundamental unity if not uniformity throughout the length and breadth of the country. Nowhere perhaps is the unity or uniformity more clearly illustrated than in the matter of India's rural economy. The predominance of agriculture carried on everywhere by primitive methods in uneconomic holdings the wide prevalence of chronic diseases the little or no part played by women in productive work the domination of the moneylender the dependence on the whims of nature for cultivation—all these are features which are to be found in varying degrees all over the country. Of course there are local variations but when due allowance has been made for them the problem is everywhere nearly the same. Yet an attempt at solving India's most pressing problem should be preceded by and based on an intensive study of the actual conditions not wholesale but region by region. The book under review which is a record of such a regional survey deals with the economic conditions of three villages Uppalapad Ikkellapud hakumanna in S India. All manner of details concerning the economic and social organization of these three villages have been given. The collection of these details must have entailed a laborious and patient investigation. Though the scope of this investigation was confined to three villages the outcome of it is calculated to be of value both practical and theoretical to rural workers and students of economics all over the country.

H. S. S. S.

THE THEATRE AND THE SILENT FILM By G. K. Gokhale Maharashtri Press (Maharashtra) 1929 Pp 100 Price 6 annas

The theme of this poem arises out of some Vedic passage. A boy asks his father what is meant by theatre. In reply the father shows him some scenes of nature and life of which God is creator and spectator. The moral is that cinema and theatres are demoralizing.

We are not at all encumbered of the style. Transposition of words has been carried to singular extravagance for instance

Its touch and strong cord, easy as not to grasp the theme "wants to father it to show"  
came and back went smart the father to the smart child came and went back a metrical inversion that transgresses poetical licence great



literature. In going through it we noticed that in certain places corrections and additions have been made evidently in the light of the author's further studies, since the bigger work was published. Chapter 20 giving a survey of the resources, trade and government of the Mughal empire in this reign is altogether new and a very valuable addition. Other new features—not to be found in the larger work—are the long chronology (10 pages) index (11 pages) and a very large map of Central S. and W. India—and these will materially increase the usefulness of book to the reader.

## LENGAI

VRAMAN SMITI (TRAVEL MEMOIRS) By Pannu Pannu Set Minto Press Chittagong 1930  
Price Rs 1 10 0

The writer is a hardy traveller and the call of the road has a mysterious attraction for him. The profession of law has been the grave of so many cultured intellects that a member of the bar like our author who has not allowed success in his profession to engross all his attention has become somewhat of a rara avis at least in Bengal. It was when a Guruprasad Sen a Ambica Chit in Mazumdar or a Akshay Kumar Maitra could turn out work outside their chosen field of a vocation where they won their bread which proved that they had received a really liberal education. Our author is an antiquarian with an ardent love of the past glories of India enshrined in storied urns and animated busts as witness his well known book *The Holy City* (Barrack). His vision is not however limited to his own mother country and in his *Cosmic Dust* he takes in the entire universe within the sweep of his mental horizon. He has now come out in ripe old age with a volume of travels in North Western India (Punjab Kashmir Khyber Pass). The author is a first cousin of the poet Nabin Chandra Sen and possesses a spark of his inspired imagination evidence of which is to be found in all the author's books. A dry as dust diary or guide book has its uses for the busy traveller and while not wanting in detailed information on subjects which any traveller must know the personal quality of the writer shines through every page for it is not everyone who rushes through a country who can be said to have seen it in any real sense of the word. For this sympathetic insight and a broad culture which alone can give a true perspective and sense of proportion are necessary. For the development of these qualities of the mind not only travel but solitude is also necessary where mould the wings which will bear it farther than suns and stars. Solitude takes off the pressure of present opportunities that more catholic and humane relations may appear. The saint and poet seek privacy to ends the most public and universal. This is Emerson's view and we need not quarrel with his conclusion keep the town for occasions but the habits should be formed to retirement. We know that the author turns out his best thoughts from his favourite perch on his native hills and though it is true of a man to quote Emerson

again let him go where he will he can only find so much beauty or worth as he carries, still his rebuke—it is for want of self culture that the superstition of travelling retains its fascination for all educated Americans—applies in a special degree only to his countrymen and not to the home-keeping Indian to whom even in the words of Emerson a foreign country is a point of comparison wherefrom to judge his own.

The author has travelled very largely in India Ceylon and Burma and we hope in the evening of his life he will give us more of his reminiscences of the countries for the benefit of his untravelled countrymen whose ideas will be widened minds liberalized and appreciation of nature and of the arts and traditional culture of their motherland enhanced by a perusal of these glimpses into her ancient past. The book is well printed, and neatly bound and the numerous photographic illustrations will increase its popularity.

DEVAI BANAI JIVABALI (Animal sacrifice in Divine Worship) By Kigalprasanna Chakravarti Personal Assistant to the Commissioner Chittagong Minto Press Chittagong 1930 B S

The thesis which the learned author has sought to develop in this little book is that animal sacrifice in divine worship is a very low form of worship not fit for the educated classes of society that for some unknown reason the Aryans acquired the custom from non Aryans but it has been deprecated in many scriptures and Puranas from the Veda downwards. Many well known Sikhs of modern times have similarly expressed themselves against animal sacrifice. The ideal of God in the form of our worship has been greatly lowered by such sacrifice. These views coming as they do from a devout Sikh, deserve our serious consideration. Meat eaters of the West have, we know, tried to exploit the custom as a proof of our barbarity and unfitness for self government. Yet it is they and not the Hindus the vast majority of whom are vegetarians and followers of the doctrine of Ahimsa who delight in killing and bloodshed. In purifying the meat by sacrifice before a god before eating it not in some case is a check on our meat eating propensities. And by some of our educated countrymen meat eating is advocated not so much on grounds of health as for the help which animal sacrifice is supposed to render to the cause of the preservation of the tiger qualities of the race. These are considerations of policy which we however beside the mark in discussing the ethical aspects of the question. If habituation to bloodshed be necessary for the preservation of the race animal sacrifice before the god whom we consider to be the embodiment of all perfection is not the way to it. If on the other hand it is considered necessary to put a check on it the interposition of the deity between the sacrificial animal and our desire to eat it is hardly a commendable form of restraining that desire. We have all heard of the toothless man who had given up the worship of the goddess Kali because he could no longer enjoy the meat of the goats sacrificed at her temple. The cult of animal sacrifice was prevalent among all the ancient peoples including the Jews and symbolizes a deeper spiritual truth—the sacrifice of the animal passions—before the altar of the divinity. The Christian doctrine of transubstantiation is a relic of

the same symbolism. Those who want to know more would do well to study the late Professor Ramendra Prasad Trivedi's masterly essay on the subject. While the Western writers have given up that cult in the gross literal form in which it is preserved among the educated public opinion in India is also slowly raising its voice of protest, and the State of Travancore, presided over by an enlightened queen, has taken the lead and prohibited such sacrifice in all the temples within the State. To indulge in animal sacrifice is undoubtedly to bring God down to our level instead of raising ourselves to the level of what we worship. The greatest of Moslem countries, Turkey, is now coming into line with the other civilized nations in this respect, as Kemal Pasha's movement for the prohibition of animal sacrifice at the 11 festival shows. On this subject the following extract from a prominent Turkish newspaper (quoted in *Moslem Mentality* by L. Levinson, London, 1925, p. 130) will be found interesting: "A fixed and unchangeable religion is destined to die. Today all religions have changed their forms of a thousand years ago and have taken new form according to the time and need. The tradition of killing sacrifices also is a tradition which has passed to us from other religions. Primitive men have felt the need of offering gifts and sacrifices to gods in order to appease their anger. We find this custom among the Egyptians, Phoenicians and other ancient and primitive people. Later religion prohibited the offering of men as barbarity and have kept only to animal sacrifices. This custom of killing sacrifices at our festival also has come to us from the earliest stages of primitive men and has been perpetuated till the present time. But today we are not in such a low condition as to express our fear or gratitude by offering an animal. All the traditions change in time and so it is time that this tradition also should change. Ten centuries ago men prohibited the sacrifice of men as barbarity in the same manner men have developed today enough to consider such a custom as offering animals as a useless thing also. Our mentalities have changed. We cannot remain bound to the old traditions blindly.

The author has rendered a public service to his co-religionists by drawing their attention to the subject, and his arguments supported as they are by a wealth of scriptural quotations, should make a strong impression on the orthodox section of the community who are the greatest upholders of the custom.

POLICE.

## MARATHI

*Copy of a Marathi (Pooni) Ganesha Puja, 1872, with a map and 12 plates of fine miniature hand-drawn (Bombay Govt Press) 13 annas.*

This is the best printed Marathi book that we have seen. The type is large, distinct and new.

not a letter is broken or imperfectly impressed while the paper is very durable and unlikely to turn yellow with time. The Bombay Government is to be heartily congratulated on its having at long last begun to publish its historical record relating to the Maratha period and publish them in such a handsome form. The editing is ideal and every part the help required.

The 10th campaign of 1760 occupies only 1 page and a half in Grant Duff but all the historical sources in the Maratha State took part in it, more of them.

Forsoothed to slaughter on Panipat plain a few months later. Here we are given the full dispatches of this campaign on the Maratha side, lighting up all the obscure parts of it with a profusion of exact detail. We wish that the Bombay Government would lose no time in printing the records relating to the great Panipat campaign and the various and marvellous of the Marathas during their eclipse of power — even hundreds of contemporary documents, letters, to which two imperfectly known events have been discovered among the Poona and Satara dastars now in Government hand.

J. SARKAR

## BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

A HANDBOOK OF INDIAN TRADE UNION LAW By A. A. Anantha Aiyar

A YAMA MOHANA By Srimat Kuvayasananda

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE BUDHISM By P. C. Devabagis

THE HISTORY OF THE GITA By S. Bhavaramamurthy Achar

THE YOGA STRAS OF PATANJALI By M. A. Divedi

A HISTORY OF TAMIL LAND By K. N. Sivaraja Pillai

GOPAL KARNATA GOWDAL By M. S. Kesore

SOURCE BOOK OF THE MARATHA HISTORY By H. G. Rawlinson

RECIPE FOR HENRI BARBUSS

MIRROR OF INDIAN ART By G. Venkatchalam

RAMA CARITA, NATYADRAMANA, PRABHAKAR BODHIST TEXTS ON LOGIC FROM CHINESE SOURCES, PRAJNAPARAMITAM, Golewad's Oriental Series

RESTRICTIONS FROM MUNICIPAL INDEBTEDNESS By Ward L. Bishop

STORIES IN ANCIENT GLASS By Mary Luella Trowbridge

WELFARE AND CHRISTIANITY By Edwin Bevan  
THE ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS OF THE EAST By G. Courthope

LOVE NORTH LUFFE By Hamilton Fyfe  
BENEFIT OF THE VEDANTA

# Orissa States and British Policy

By Prof P C LAHIRI M A

## III

THE Regulation IV of 1804, by which the Criminal Regulations of Bengal were extended to Cuttack, did not make any mention of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa as included within the jurisdiction of Government nor did even the Regulations VII, XIII and XIV of 1805 (regarding revenue administration criminal and civil justice respectively) include the Mahals because they distinctly laid down all the jungle and hill zamindaries occupied by a rude and uncivilized people as exempted for the present from their application and that these zamindaries were only liable to a certain quit rent or tribute to Government. However in 1801 the Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack received the charge of supervision of the Mahals and in the year 1814 a fresh office was created and Mr Oswald was appointed as the first Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa. The office was constituted expressly to supply in a certain degree the want of more regular establishments and it was not the object of the Government to weaken the influence of the Rajas of the Tributary Mahals over their peasantry\*. He was also instructed to establish such a control over the conduct of the zamindars as may prevent the commission of crimes and outrages. The opinion of Lord Hastings, the then Governor General is however significant, as he remarked that it was only because the nature of the country was inhospitable and the manners and customs of the chiefs and the inhabitants were uncivilized that the exercise of independent authority and powers by the chiefs was permitted. Col Sir William Ridgeway explained the spirit of Lord Hastings's opinion thus: "They merely amount to this—that while the policy of annexation prevailed the Government of the day did not dare or did not care to annex. It was these reasons and not the desire to perpetuate Native

dynasties, which prevented the annexation of all Native States."

The next Superintendent Mr Impey suggested that after minute information about the Mahals had been very well gathered the Regulations could be introduced with certain modifications. Thus in 1816 the Regulation XI providing for the trial of claims to the right of inheritance or succession in tributary mahals was passed. In 1821 the then Superintendent Mr Blunt submitted rules to Government to prevent the perpetration of crimes of magnitude indiscriminately by the Rajas and also to provide for the trial of persons accused of such offences because it was alleged that the Raja of Keonjhar had obstructed the passage of the British troops through his territory and the Raja of Nayaghar had offered asylum to a rebel. A Regulation for the Administration of Criminal Justice in certain Hill Estates of Cuttack exempt from the operation of general laws was accordingly drafted in 1821. But it was not carried into effect.

In 1839 the then Superintendent Mr Ricketts proposed to Government certain rules with the object of introducing "some defined system of management" and submitted a draft of civil and criminal rules. But again the Government disapproved of it as "involving more interference than was desirable and as tending to weaken injuriously the influence of the Rajas over their subjects."† The next Superintendent Mr Moffat Mill revised the rules of Mr Ricketts and modified such portions as involved greater interference excepting laws relating to *Sati* and human sacrifices (which were formally stopped the former in 1842 by an engagement between the Government and the Chiefs, and the latter in 1845 by Act XXI) and again submitted them for the Government's

\* Note on the Status of Orissa Mahals 1853 by Col W. Ridgeway.

† Appendix to Minute on Tributary Mahals by Mr Moffat Mill published in the Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government 1861 No III.

Appendix to Minute on Tributary Mahals by Mr Moffat Mill's Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government 1861 No III.



approval. According to the directions of the Government these rules were again recast, made more precise, definite and short, and were then again submitted in 1810. Here, however, the Government withstood the temptation of formally sanctioning these rules, excepting in the cases of *Sati* and human sacrifices and also of depriving the Rajas of their power of life and death over their subjects and making war with one another; but at the same time the Government advised the Superintendent to be guided by the spirit of these rules. Mr Mills took this opportunity to record a proceeding in December, 1810, and communicate these rules to the Rajas for their information though they were not obviously meant by Government to be so formally communicated.

In 1840, the Government annexed the Tributary State of Banki because its Raja was convicted of murder. Such a summary and drastic decision, which has been alleged to be due to the troubled times of Lord Auckland, does however reveal the spirit of the Government towards the chiefs. In 1847, another small State called Angul was confiscated, because its Raja had attempted to wage war against the British. Next came a series of enactments from the year 1850 which circumscribed the power of the Orissa States still more. Thus in 1850, Act XV was passed for the settlement of disputed boundaries between the Mahals and the areas under the British Government. Other enactments of various description were passed in 1860, 1866 and 1872, the net result of which was that to the public eye it seemed that the administration of the Cuttack Mahals was carried on by officers from the Bengal Government virtually in accordance with the rules and regulations of that province.

On the other hand, the restrictions about sentences which were introduced by Mills in 1810 (along with the rules about *Sati* and human sacrifices) and which were left to take effect under the permission of Government worked under great hardships. For the Rajas could hardly reconcile themselves to any restrictions on their criminal jurisdiction. There was therefore constant conflict between the chiefs, who wanted to continue in their enjoyment of unrestricted criminal powers as heretofore, and the Superintendent who frequently interfered in their work of administration. The matter was represented to Government by the Rajas, which led to an enquiry by Sir Henry Ricketts towards

the end of 1853. The result of the report justified the complaints of the Rajas, and a resolution was passed on the 6th December, 1853 on the above report pointing out again that it was "the duty of the Superintendent to uphold the authority of the Rajas and to protect the people against gross systematic misrule", and that the guiding principle of non-interference should be carefully adhered to and not departed from in any instance without special sanction. The Rajas thereafter tried to evade as far as possible the interference of the Superintendent by continuing to exercise their powers.

As a necessary result of all these enactments, rules and regulations, the status of the Cuttack Mahals later on came to be judicially questioned. And all doubts were set at rest by a full-bench decision in the Calcutta High Court in 1882 in the case of Queen Empress vs. Keshab Mahajan<sup>\*</sup> which declared that the territory of Mayurbhanj did not form part of British India. In connection with this case the Chief Justice, Sir Richard Garth also remarked that the trials of criminal cases by the Superintendents were instances of "friendly aid". This declaration of Mayurbhanj as outside British territory incidentally raised the question about the status of the other Mahals of Cuttack. This was finally settled by the decision of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in 1888 that all the Cuttack States should be treated as not forming part of British India.

It may be remembered that the actual political status of the chiefs of the Cuttack group was already formally recognized by Her Majesty in 1862 when Adoption Sanads were granted to them, in the following terms: "Her Majesty being desirous that the Government of the several princes and Chiefs of India who now governed their own territories should be perpetuated, and that the representation and dignity of their houses be continued".<sup>†</sup> Finally, however, in 1893, the Indian Legislature passed an Act (No. XI) which repealed all references about the Orissa Mahals in the various Regulations applying to British India and this in effect, made a statutory declaration that the Orissa Mahals were not part of British India.

Troubles did not, however, end with this. Already in 1880 an encroachment had been

\* *Indian Law Reports* Calcutta 1882 Vol VIII p 955.

† Atkinson's *Treaties* Vol. I, p. 318.

made upon the rights of the Rajas about the question of catching elephants in their own territories and a declaration was made that the right to catch elephants is reserved by the Government and in future none will be permitted to catch elephants without a licence from the Superintendent. The matter however continued to be agitated by the Rajas till 1908 when the restrictions were modified and the Rajas were expected to consult the Political Agent in regard to arrangements for catching elephants.

As though to counteract the effect of this statutory declaration of the status of the Cuttack group of States the Government in 1889 arranged for a systematic and thorough investigation as to the various ways of restricting the powers of the chiefs. A judicial officer Mr A. E. Staley was appointed for the purpose and he after holding a careful enquiry into the matter submitted his report to the Government. The results of his recommendations have been the basic principles upon which the Sanads of 1894 stand. In submitting his report however Mr Staley distinctly remarked about the illegality of the encroachments and limitations of the internal rights of the chiefs which the Government was then aiming at thus: "It has been due to the meagreness of the terms of the first Sanads (meaning of course the treaties) that the authority of the Rajas has been continually encroached on. Is it likely that the Rajas will accept a body of strict rules instead of vague terms of their old Sanads or that they will look on the bare acknowledgment of semi-sovereignty as sufficient compensation? The Sanad to be now conferred will limit the powers left to the Rajas by the first Sanad granted to them. The Rajas are certainly aware of the decision in the case of Mayurbhanj (i.e. the High Court decision). They must also be well aware that their authority has been encroached upon by the executive authorities. From the date of cession in 1803 to the rules of 1839 the Chiefs had full judicial powers criminal as well as civil within their States and it was never denied that they held powers of life and death. On the introduction of the rules of 1839\* their jurisdiction

was reduced till according to the Report on Cuttack of Mr Ricketts of 1898 they were left without any authority whatever. The position of the Rajas is more dignified now but it is plain that the degree of interference varies with the views of successive Superintendents and that a Raja is still liable to have the orders which he may give in a particular case dictated to him.

The recommendations of Mr Staley were accepted in their essential features by the Government and Sanads were practically thrust upon the States in 1894. These Sanads are so to say a great landmark in the whole history of the Cuttack group of Mahals and constitute a serious encroachment on their sovereign rights. They not only deprived the chiefs of their criminal powers respecting cases concerning Europeans heinous offences like murder torture robbery homicide but strictly restricted their ordinary criminal powers to passing sentences up to two years imprisonment. It even seriously hampered the rights of the chiefs respecting collection of land revenue imposition of taxes excise salt and opium mining forests etc. Nay the chiefs were even bound under these provisions to conform to such advice as the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals might give them.

Between the year 1894 and 1908 when fresh Sanads were granted to the chiefs of the Cuttack group the policy of the Government did not undergo any material change. In 1900 as a result of territorial redistributions the Sambalpur group of States were all brought under the administration of the Government of Bengal. There had been already such redistribution of States and new administrative arrangements in 1832 when the South Western Frontier Agency was created for the Mahals farther from Bengal with Ranchi as its headquarters while in 1837 two States called Bund and Athmalik now belonging to the Cuttack group of States were transferred from the jurisdiction of the South Western Frontier Agency (to which the States of Bonai and Gangpur also formerly belonged) to that of the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa.

The result of all this reshuffling of territories from one administration to another and then to a third was that finally different groups of States with different political status at the beginning and even so during the period of our review were brought under one and the same administration.

As a result we find the status of one

\* The rules of 1839 were however never sanctioned by Government or introduced as such though the rules of 1840 as finally revised by Mr Mills according to the directions of the Government communicated to the Rajas for information.

group (i.e. the Sambalpur Garhjat Mahals) originally enjoying very little political rights gradually rising to very nearly complete internal sovereignty, while the rights and privileges of the other group (i.e. the Cuttack group) were step by step circumscribed.

Besides Ganapnir and Bonai two other States originally belonging to the Chota Nagpur group namely Seraikhela and Kharsawan were also treated as mere zamindaris and their status was at one time such that the Lieutenant Governor used to regard them as "private property to which any adopted son if adopted in conformity with law and family or other local custom having the force of law would have an unquestionable right to succeed". Hence Adoption Sanads which were originally restricted to sovereign chiefs were withheld from them by the Government. But as a result of redistribution of territories Seraikhela and Kharsawan were added to the Orissa Mahals some time after 1905 when the Sambalpur group had already been amalgamated with them. As a consequence the position of Seraikhela and Kharsawan gradually improved and what is still more even Adoption Sanads were granted to them in 1915 in order to place them on the same level as the others.

The criminal powers at present enjoyed by the Sambalpur group are practically unlimited excepting on questions of capital punishments which only require Government sanction. Their Sanads of 1867 again contain less definite provisions for interference by the political authorities in the administration of their States than in the case of the other Orissa Mahals.

Some slight features that distinguish the Sanads of the Cuttack group of Mahals of 1908 (because as regards terms and privileges the clauses are nearly the same as those of 1894) are that the criminal powers of the Rajas were made personal and the Government reserved their discretionary authority as regards extension of those powers. It was felt perhaps that the extension of powers as a personal privilege would be an incentive to administrative improvement.

The granting of the Sanads of 1908 to

the Cuttack Mahals was made the occasion of a speech by the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal Sir Andrew Fraser in a Durbar held in Cuttack on the 17th November. The spirit of the whole speech exposed the policy of the Government towards the Orissa States in its true colours. The principal propositions that emerged out of Sir Andrew Fraser's speech were

1 That the British power maintains the rulers on the *gadi* and prevents them from being set aside by their subjects,

2 That this involves an obligation on the British authorities to secure to the State subjects good government

3 That this obligation necessitates consultation by the Rajs of the views of British political officers and acting in accordance therewith

4 That at the same time the Rajas should be primarily responsible for administration in their State

5 That the Political Agent should go all out among the people and see what they were thinking and understand something of the reaction on which they stood with their chief

6 That the policy of the Government is to allow the chiefs as much power as is consistent with the well being of the States and

That it is not the intention of the policy of the Government to withhold plenary powers of administration of both civil and criminal justice from any Feudatory Chief when the resources of the State and the character of the chief are such as to indicate that he is capable of maintaining an administration calculated to meet the progressive demand of the surrounding British territory

From the above it seems the entire rule of conduct of the British political authorities towards the States of Orissa has in effect been based on the incorrect assumption in the first proposition "The British power maintains the rulers on the *gadi* and prevents them from being set aside by their subjects." Nay the subjection and dependence of the States are sought to be emphasized on every possible occasion.

To turn this political practice into a regular system, a Manual of the Feudatory States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur has been prepared by the Government in 1917 and is practically an elaboration of the Sanads.

\* Report (H. L. No. 529) of Sir J. I. Grant (29th November) to the Government of India on the Despatch of Sir Charles Wood 26th July about the status of the Indian Princes.

under which the powers of the rulers are strictly regulated

The opinion of Sir William Ridgeway on the question of the Government's right to interfere in internal affairs of these States may be usefully quoted here. 'It will be seen that both the Honble Members (Sir Henry Maine and Sir Arthur Hobhouse) based their opinions on the fact that we had several times legislated for the Mahals between 1805 and 1850. If it had not been for this legislation there can be little doubt that both the Honble Members would have accepted our view that the Mahals are not British territory. I invite particular attention to the remarks on the inconsistency of our predecessors in entering into agreements with

the Chief and then legislating for them. We may well hesitate before we accept as irrevocable the policy probably inadvertently imposed upon us by a few officious and short-sighted doings of a bygone legislature. It should be remembered that in those days scanty attention was paid to the political side of a question, our records amply prove this. Things were done more haphazard than they are now, and it is most probable that this department, occupied as it was with wars and conquests, would have been consulted before legislation of this kind was undertaken."

\* Note on the Status of Orissa Mahals 1883  
by Col Sir William Ridgeway

## Comment and Criticism

(This section is intended for the correction of inaccurate errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentation, etc., in the original contributions and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the limitedness of our numerous contributors, no one is always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor *The Modern Review*.)

### Influence of Physical features upon Indian History

Mr N. K. Bhattasali has come forward with a thundering article on the above subject in the August number of *The Modern Review*. It has been held by all historians that the physical features of India are responsible for some of the events of Indian history and explain many characteristic features of the same. Mr Bhattasali's ostensible object is to disprove this view but as that is not a feasible task he has suited his own convenience by stating the *prima facie* case as follows:

It has been sought to be made out that we happen to live in such a luckless country that natural forces are at work emasculating us and we are destined from age to age to bow down before each succeeding conqueror.

To my knowledge such a theory has never been put forward by any Indian historian and can only be found in propagandist literature of the avowed enemies of India. Mr Bhattasali has done me the honour of quoting a passage from my matriculation text book on Indian history but I make bold to say that it contains nothing to substantiate the charge. After referring to the climate and natural wealth of India I remarked:

But it made the people less hardy and active than the mountaineers of the colder regions of the north, who were tempted by the wealth of India and

often made an easy conquest of it. Now would Mr Bhattasali challenge the accuracy of any of the three following statements contained in the above?

- (1) Indians were less hardy than the mountaineers of the colder regions of the north.
- (2) These were tempted by the wealth of India.
- (3) They hardly ever found much difficulty in defeating the Indians.

Mr Bhattasali has discussed at length the general question whether the people of India were less hardy than the average nations of the earth. This is however beside the point. The only question at issue is whether an average Indian is less hardy than a mountaineer of the colder regions of the north. Any one with some knowledge of the people of Turkestan or of the hilly country immediately to the north west of India will not hesitate to give an affirmative reply.

Mr Bhattasali has sought to prove the contrary by an elaborate examination of the hard fight which the Indians of all ages put up against their conquerors. But even assuming that the fight was always a hard one it does not necessarily prove that the people were hardy. Courage and patriotism may often impel a people to oppose a brave resistance to more hardy invaders. Bravery and courage are not the same thing as hardness.

Mr Bhattacharya supposes—the former being a mental and the latter a physical quality.

As to the second statement above no remark has been made by Mr Bhattacharya and I take it that he accepts it as a correct statement of facts.

As to the third statement Mr Bhattacharya has again confused the issues by bringing in the story of conquests by Alexander and Darius. Here again the arguments must be confined to the mountaineers of the north and I hope Mr Bhattacharya will admit that the Sakas the Kushanas the Hunas and the Turks conquered the country without much difficulty. The Hunas were resisted by Skandagupta for a time but as we have got only a casual reference to it in an official record, there is no reason to regard it as of very great importance when we remember the catastrophe which soon befell the Gupta Empire.

The numerous victorious campaigns of Sabuktigin and Sultan Mahmud tell their own tale and in spite of the temporary success of Prithviraj a decisive and crushing defeat followed within a year. I hope the readers would now judge whether I was right in saying that these mountaineers, often made an easy conquest of India.

Mr Bhattacharya has throughout assumed that I have ascribed the defeat of the Indians merely to their want of physical vigour. Far from this being the case I believe that I was the first to emphasize that it is not so much the want of vigour as the want of generalship that explains the repeated defeats of the Indians in the hands of the Muhammadan conquerors. The following passage occurs in the same matriculation text book which has been the subject of attack by Mr Bhattacharya:

"It is generally supposed that the Indians overruled by the climate of the plains were no match for the hardy mountaineers from the north-west. This is perhaps true to a certain extent, but a careful examination of the facts of history shows that the Indian army owed its defeats not so much to the lack of courage and vigour in individual soldiers as to a hopeless deficiency in generalship and military tactics."

It will be seen that Mr Bhattacharya has merely repeated my own observations. I may mention in passing that Mr Bhattacharya's remarks about the fight between Indians and Greeks are merely an echo of what I emphasized, probably for the first time in my book *Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilization* about Alexander and Porus (pp. 129) and about Seleucus and Chandragupta (pp. 137-4).

Next I come to my statement that the vast area of the country and its lofty hills and wide rivers made it difficult for the Indian people to combine together and form one united nation.

Mr Bhattacharya's remarks on this statement are very amusing. He refers to heptarchy in Britain "which had no lofty hills and wide rivers" and adds a note of admiration after this! But does my statement mean that lofty hills and wide rivers are the only causes of disunion so that their absence must mean a united country? Then Mr Bhattacharya refers to the various countries which make up Europe minus Russia and says, if there is nothing objectionable or unusual in the spectacle of these countries falling asunder and maintaining independent existences and even

fighting with one another I wonder why India should be considered different.

Now here Mr Bhattacharya at least admits the fact I have stated above. As to its being objectionable or not, a historian has nothing to do with it. Only the politicians who are avowed enemies of India agree with Mr Bhattacharya in pointing out that India has as much chance of being one united independent state as Europe minus Russia with which they compare it.

Some of the dogmatic remarks of Mr Bhattacharya would have been offensive if they were not ridiculously absurd. Take for instance his *assertion* "Mr Majumdar's statement that the coast of India has good harbours is inaccurate." I should request Mr Bhattacharya to study that little book called the *Templins of the Erythraean Sea*. By an irony of fate the same number of *The Modern Review* which contains his article also publishes an interesting note on this subject on pp. 244-5. Mr Bhattacharya might well profit by it.

This note is already long enough and I do not propose to make it longer still by further comments on the many half truths or inaccuracies with which Mr Bhattacharya's article abounds.

R. C. MATHURAN

### Editor's Note

The question of the influence of geographical environment on man's physical, psychic and social evolution like the allied question of the influence of race has been the subject of so much loose thought tainted in addition by national prejudice that we offer no apology for not adding our own incompetent share to the sufficiently large and mischievous volume of inexpert opinion already current. At the same time we do not think we should be advancing any claim for original superiority for ourselves if we were to confess our feeling that to our mind, neither Dr Majumdar nor Mr Bhattacharya seems to have taken the discussion to that plane of scientific exactitude in which alone any contribution of real and permanent value can be expected to be made to the subject. Dr Majumdar's description particularly of the Sakas the Kushanas the Hunas and the Turks as hardy mountaineers of the North hardly suggests a specialist's knowledge of the habitat of these peoples and the geographical features of the Central Asiatic background of Indian history. But we might be mistaken about the exact shade of Dr Majumdar's meaning and we should not like to do him any injustice.

But there is no harm at any rate in stating that the whole problem is one for experts—Biologists Geographers and Anthropologists—to solve and the less a purely literary historian meddled with it, the better it would be for his own reputation and the interests of science. We know of course that he does not maltreat truth out of set purpose. He does it sometimes in sheer ignorance of the difficulties and the complexities of the subject which tempts him to generalizations of excessive simplicity and more often as a matter of mere routine which require that a text-book of history should contain in its introduction some platitudes about the geographical features of the country and their influence on the character and institutions of its inhabitants.

Fortunately for historical science competent historians of today are weaning themselves more and more from this pernicious legacy of the past. They are growing daily more sceptical of the past ideas, disputable laws, and pontifical, pontifical pronouncements which formerly writers like Bodin or Linné advanced. They are coming to realize that the delicate questions cannot be solved by intuition. In a way all this has been for the good. But in another direction. The Bodins, the Montesquies and the Taines, however mistaken and premature their conclusions, might be had at least acute minds, and were in their own light, conscientious. They took good care that their views should not be secondhand rehashing of third rate ideas. That in itself was something to prize. The abdication of the general thinker in favour of the specialist in this field has simply let loose the predominance of amateur thought upon us.

To take but one instance—a very widely held opinion which has found a glorious munimination in the ordinary school text book—that of the effect of climate on the physical vigour of men is it not generally believed that heat has an enervating effect on the human constitution. Yet we find M. Lucien Febvre writing in his fine book on the influence of geographical factors on history. For a long time general considerations were used sometimes abused on the toxicity of

different climates. Heat debilitates, enervates and makes the human organization languid. Cold renders it duller, slower, but also more robust and concentrated. Commonplaces have been developed a thousand times since Bodin who stated them boldly and have been refuted also a thousand times by the most elementary facts. The ambition of scholars like M. Febvre is to go further both in extent and depth and to free their subject from the grip of popular beliefs, disguised in pseudo-scientific garb.

Not from all men of course is this intellectual asceticism to be expected. But we do not want Indian scholars who write histories for our schools and colleges to be quite ordinary men. They owe it as a duty to themselves and to their readers and in a country ruled by foreigners, where persistent attempts are being made every day to make us believe and acquiesce in our national inferiority, they owe it doubly as a duty to their country to write with a sense of responsibility, and if they cannot help science by discovering the truth themselves, not at least to help our rulers by spreading half-truths which nobody takes seriously as science and are very harmful in their practical implication. That is all we would ask, not only Dr. Majumdar but all Indian scholars and historians in all humility to remember—  
Editor M. R.

## Economics of Rural Bengal

By H. SINHA, Ph.D.

The Bengal Banking Committee have produced a useful report giving us facts and figures in place of theories and conjectures with which economists in Bengal had so long to be satisfied. For them the Census Report for 1921, the Settlement Reports of the various districts and the Report of the Agricultural Commission are the main sources of information but all of these are not of equal value, nor are they drawn up with the same care. In any case, some of them are now quite out of date. Information gleaned from them without much discrimination fails to give a true picture of Bengal as she is today. The Bengal Banking Committee have supplemented the available literature with intensive village surveys and the evidence of officials and non-officials with considerable rural experience. Unfortunately there seems to be a desire on the part of the Committee to represent the economic condition of Bengal as better than it is in reality. In chapter II on the 'Economic Features of Bengal' for instance the cost of production of cleaned rice is put down at the unduly low figure of Rs. 47 per acre, entirely omitting the cost of manufacturing cleaned rice from paddy. Not only this the profit per acre of paddy land as estimated by the Committee cannot be reconciled with their own estimates of the value of the produce at Rs. 89.2 and of the cost at Rs. 47, for obviously the profit then becomes Rs. 32.2 and not Rs. 32 as arrived at in the Report. As rice is the principal crop in Bengal representing Rs. 170 crores out of a total annual value of Rs. 244 crores for all the crops, it is no wonder that this manipulation of figures for rice

has led to too rosy a picture of the economic condition of Bengal.

Nor is this all. The year 1925-29, which has been chosen for giving the areas under different crops is not an average year. If the Committee had selected the year 1927-29 instead, they would have found that the area in the case of almost every crop less. A true estimate can be obtained only by averaging the figures for a number of years. Thus, the per capita surplus of Rs. 6 arrived at by the Committee is purely illusory. It did not occur to them that the failure of Bengali debtors to repay their debts punctually might not be due to their want of conscience in the matter as suggested in the Report but to their scanty and precarious income.

In the next chapter on 'Existing credit Agencies' there seems to be a disposition to shield Europeans in their vested monopolies. The Committee quote figures to show that the Bengal Circle of the Imperial Bank made Cash Credit advances to Europeans up to an aggregate of Rs. 723 crores and to Indians amounting to Rs. 365 crores only, whereas it had deposits on the same date from Europeans totalling Rs. 396 crores only and from Indians as much as Rs. 753 crores. If it is argued that Europeans receive twice the Cash Credit advance granted to Indians because they have better credit than Indians, why is it then that the former deposit only half the amount deposited by the latter? The Committee have failed in their obvious duty in not pursuing the figures to their logical conclusion.

It is equally surprising that there is no word

is clearly revealed in the table of audit classification of Rural Societies quoted in the Report. The table itself has not been drawn up with care. In the last column Societies not yet ripe for audit have been omitted for the first two years but included for the last three years. C Class Societies are spoken of as normal societies but they are officially defined as Societies in which the general condition is promising but members are in arrears, and the general working is not satisfactory and in which more supervision is necessary. The Committee do not apparently realize that the C, D, and F Societies are multiplying at a much faster rate than A and B Societies. The growing percentage of overdues has not also received sufficient consideration at their hands.

The description of the Purchase and Sale and Joint Sale Societies is inaccurate and misleading. The table of figures quoted to show the working of Joint Sale Societies indicates a trading profit of Rs. 67 '32 but the Committee have refrained from mentioning the figures giving the results of net working. It is true that they have not been able to conceal the fact of heavy losses completely but they have failed in their obvious duty of showing the true position. Full details about the working of Joint Sale Societies are not separately available in the published reports of the Co-operative Department. But the following summary table shows that the entire paid up capital and reserve fund of all the Purchase and Sale and Joint Sale Societies in Bengal (including Joint Sale Societies) have been lost during the last three years.

Year	Paid up capital Rs.	Reserve fund Rs.	Net loss for the year Rs.
1920-27	3,22,990	23,897	54,918
1927-28	4,09,071	20,713	4,20,093
1928-29	2,68,641	53,802	1,84,579

The position revealed is really serious and calls for immediate action.

The Nagoran Ganga Cultivators Society which is held out as the most conspicuous example of a production and sale society thrives because of the monopoly of the produce and does not furnish a proper model for the working of such societies. The reasons why Artisans Societies have degenerated into purely Credit Societies have not been analysed. Concessions proposed by the Agricultural Commission have been recommended for co-operative societies in Bengal but the fact that there has been some alteration in the situation since the publication of the Report of the Commission has been ignored. For instance with the growing deficit in the Post Office it is not difficult to recommend a rebate of 7 per cent in the money order commission on the remittance of funds between Primary Societies for that must lead to still higher rates for postal services for the public, high as they are already. It is surprising to note that the Provincial Co-operative Bank has not yet been able to command sufficient credit

in the Calcutta Money Market to be trusted with clean advances from the Imperial Bank.

The recommendations about registration of money lenders will fail to achieve their purpose there are as there must be far too many loopholes for evasion. It is curious that the Committee having lawyers as their members have entirely misapprehended the nature of equitable mortgages and recommended their registration.

The next chapter on Indigenous Banks and Bankers is prefaced with a learned historical account dating from the Vedic age. The description of indigenous banking at the present time is careful and accurate. The recommendations made for reform although not heroic, cannot be improved upon. Unfortunately here also it is proposed to extend equitable mortgages outside Calcutta, provided the interest of second and subsequent mortgages are safeguarded by the registration of equitable mortgages.

This is followed by a very short chapter on Other Indigenous Credit Agencies. The next chapter on Loan Offices is probably the best written chapter in the whole of the Report. It is full of detailed information and bears ample evidence of reasoned analysis. The recommendations are sound. But at the present time loan offices are passing through such a severe financial crisis that unless some relief is immediately forthcoming many of them will not be in existence to profit by the proposed measures of reform. The next two chapters deal with sundry matters and call for no special remark. The Committee are in error in supposing that the cheque habit is confined to Anglo-Saxon countries. This might be true for the years before the War but at the present time cheques are being increasingly used in Germany, so much so that German banking has been obliged to adopt more and more the methods and technique of English deposit banking.

To sum up the report fulfils its purpose of giving a systematic description of the economics of rural Bengal in spite of the lines pointed out above. The most serious defect however is that it shows signs of undue haste, leading to some errors in conclusions and a few discrepancies in statements made in different chapters. The Committee have relied more on available literature than on the facts obtained from intensive village surveys and other information which might have been secured from official sources. There should be some difference between the report of an officer specially deputed for the purpose and that of a Committee of eight persons representing diverse interests in Bengal.\*

\* Report of the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929-30 Vol. I Report Calcutta 1930

# The Martial Races of India

By NIRAD C CHAUDHURI

## Part II

### I

THE first part of this article published in *The Modern Review* for July 1930 was more in the nature of a reconnaissance than an attack on the main position of the theory of the martial races of India. It attempted nothing more than to give an exposition of the theory as far as possible in the words of the brass bands themselves and in all its pristine and uncomplimentary glory uncomplimentary to our selves that is and to point out in this connection certain features of the Indian Army arising out of its class composition which seemed to furnish a key to the back shop of military thought in these matters. With the knowledge thus gained of the hinterland of the military mind or if a psycho-analyst will forgive a layman's unorthodox but expressive phrase making of its sub-conscious political *libido* we can now turn to the question of the composition of the Indian Army and its possible relation to a theory or fact of the martial races of India which is the main question before us.

Now the elements of the problem are not really so simple as the Simon Commission would have us believe. Here is the Indian Army before you composed more than 60 per cent of Punjabis and Borderers 20 per cent of hillmen and less than 20 per cent of the most select tribes and castes from the rest of India. Millions and millions of her teeming population thousands of square miles of her wide area do not furnish a single soldier to it. To what can this amazing fact be due if not to the still more amazing fact that out of the three hundred millions of her inhabitants the number which even by any stretch of imagination can be deemed fit material for soldiers is so ridiculously low and even this number cannot be drawn in equal proportions from the whole of India?

In contrast with the Simon Report with the self-governing Dominions and in contrast with almost the whole of the rest of the world India presents to an observer an astonishing admixture not only of

competing religions and rival races but races of widely different military capacity. The contrast between areas and races in India that take to soldiering and those that do not has no counterpart in Europe. Whereas the most virile of the so-called martial races provide fine fighting material other communities and areas in India do not furnish a single man for the Regular Army.

The very simplicity of the demonstration takes one quite by storm!

But of course it is wholly deceptive. Affected simplicity is a sort of delicate mapature and the over-sophisticated La Rochefoucauld we do not know if any of the seven Statutory Commissioners subscribes to that subtle dictum. It deserves at any rate to be inscribed as a motto on the title-page of their report. There is on every one of its pages that authentic stamp of a juggler's eloquence whose suggestion of an almost cloying blandness at times repels us so in the smiling portraits of Sir John Simon. But it is possible to overshoot the mark of persuasiveness.

And that is exactly what has happened here. The fatal defect of the argument of the Simon Commission with regard to the military capacity of India lies in its assumption of the very thing which has got to be proved the assumption that is to say that the Indian Army, as it is recruited and organized by the British authorities today represent the true military potentialities of India. This is a point upon which we know the Simon Commission holds rather pronounced views. It has nothing but contempt for the idea that policy had anything to do with the composition of the Indian Army and it would point to the figures of war time recruiting in support of that contention.

What relation the war efforts of different parts of India bore to their subsequent representation on the Indian Army we shall have occasion to discuss in its proper place. The only thing which we want to emphasize here is that the question whether the Indian Army of



today serves as an adequate index to the military capacities of the different parts and peoples of India is not an issue which can be settled by mere argument and counter argument. It is a question we should say not of opinion and law but of fact.

The composition of the Indian Army has never remained static. It has changed widely from period to period so that peoples and areas which once were predominant in it, no longer furnish soldiers to its ranks while other areas and peoples which formerly gave it few or no recruits at all have come now to supply the bulk of its fighting personnel. The significant thing to note about

these changes is that they have never been slow and unconscious as we might naturally expect transformations following the law of supply and demand and the growth and decline of military capacity to be but always abrupt and deliberate and almost invariably the result of a specific Government order. A glance at the following table will show that the decisive changes in the composition of the Indian Army since 1856—which taken as a whole tend towards an increasing Punjabization and barbarization of the Indian Army—have centred about three epochs 1856 1858 1883 1893 1903 1919 1930

TABLE I

Showing the approximate proportion of soldiers furnished to the Indian Army by different parts of India at different epochs, and illustrating the changes of composition of the Indian Army from 1856 to 1930. The figures given are mainly based on the proportions in the Indian infantry.

	1856	1858	1883	1893	1903	1919	1930
I Punjab N.W.F. less than Kashmir	less than 10 p.c. (a)	47 p.c.	4 p.c.	3 p.c.	47 p.c. (b)	16 p.c.	58 p.c.
II Nepal Garhwal Kumaon	negligible (c)	6 p.c.	1 p.c.	24 p.c.	15 p.c. (b)	14 p.c.	22 p.c.
III Northern India excluding I & II	not less than 90 p.c. (d)	47 p.c.	1 p.c.	73 p.c.	23 p.c.	23 p.c.	11 p.c.
IV South India	(e)	2 p.c.	(f)	(g)	16 p.c.	12 p.c.	75 p.c.
V Burma	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	17 p.c.	3 p.c.

Each of these three epochs corresponds to a period of crisis or reorganization of the Indian Army in which the whole question of its composition and organization came in for a thorough and searching enquiry, as a result of which definite principles were laid down and Government orders embodying them issued.

What these principles were we cannot forestall our conclusions by expiring at this point. But whatever their nature it is not really necessary to confine oneself to conjectures and hypotheses about it. The facts connected with each stage of the

change are there—embedded in the innumerable official and non official publications which preserve like geological beds treasuring their fossils layer upon layer according to their dates the rich deposits left behind by the ebbs and flows the successive changes of wind and the edifying somersaults of military opinion.

It is a vast but fascinating subject, and an indispensable preliminary to a study of the main power question in India. No one who wants to understand the true relation of the composition of the British organized Indian Army to the real military potentialities

(1) Exact figures are not available for the pre-Mutiny Army. But the proportion given may be accepted as substantially correct.

(2) The columns under 1856 1858 1883 and 1893 do not include the figures for the Bombay and Madras Armies, which if included would slightly reduce the proportion under the other heads.

(3) The apparent decline in the proportion of Punjabis and Gurkhas is due to the inclusion of the figures for Bombay and Madras armies now (1930) amalgamated with the Bengal Army. Actually there was an increase in the number of Punjabis and Gurkhas after the Kitchener reorganization of 1903 though of course the proportions were kept well within the margin of safety.

of India and gauge the for reaching repercussions of British military policy on the military capacities of Indians can afford to neglect it. It serves also as a corrective to a too rigidly enunciated theory of the martial races of India. For it exhibits classes and tribes highly ennobled for their military qualities and eagerly sought after as recruits suddenly going out of fashion in the Indian Army coming again into favour, and passing out finally from it under the influence of some invisible pressure. To ordinary minds and ordinary reasoning the fluctuations of fortune seem difficult of explanation upon purely military considerations. But perhaps the *bizarrie* of the Indian environment is limitless and unaccountable and who can tell that the martial quality of Indians is not, like radium or uranium, an unstable element, for ever frittering away its precious substance to be converted into a baser metal.

## II

In connection with our discussion of the club company system which has thus far remained the fundamental pattern upon which all purely Indian units of the Indian Army are organized we had occasion to note the decisive influence exercised by the Mutiny over the thoughts and plans of British military authorities in India. No less decisive was its influence in an allied sphere on the question of the future composition of the Indian Army.

The pre-Mutiny army of Bengal was essentially a Brahmin and Khattriya army of the Ganges basin. All the three Presidency Armies of those days as we have stated in the first part of this article were in a sense quite representative of the military potentialities of the areas to which they belonged though none of them could strictly speaking be correctly described as national armies of the provinces concerned as there was no attempt to draw upon any but the traditional martial elements of the population. But they all got their recruits mainly from their natural areas of recruitment, viz. the Madras Army from the Tamil and Telugu countries the Bombay Army from Western India, and the Bengal Army from Bihar and the U. P. and to a very limited extent from Bengal. There was no official restriction on the enrolment of men of any particular tribe or caste or region provided they were

otherwise eligible. Leaving aside for the moment the practice of the Bombay and the Madras Armies, the only exception to this general rule in the Bengal Army was that which applied to the Punjabis and Sikhs, who in spite of their magnificent military traditions were not given a fair representation in the army of Northern India. Their recruitment, on the contrary, was placed under severe restrictions by an order of the Government which laid down that "the number of Punjabees in a regiment is never to exceed 200 nor are more than 100 of them to be Sikhs." It was only the revolt of the Hindustani regiments of the Bengal Army that gave an opportunity to the Punjabis to rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of the British authorities. Till then they remained suspect and under a ban and the Bengal Army on the eve of the Mutiny was mainly recruited from

the North and South Bihar especially the principalities Shahabad and Bhogpur and the Ganges and Jumna and Rohilkhand. The recruits from these areas were divided into men Brahmins of all denominations, Rajputs and Khirs. The average proportion in which the classes were enrolled in the regiment was (1) Brahmins 7/11 (2) Rajputs 4/11 and (3) Musalmans 1/11.

To this army, the area which now a days furnish the greatest number of soldiers—the Punjab, Nepal, the Frontier Province, the hill tracts of Kumaon and Garhwal, Rajputana—furnished very few recruits or none at all. There was practical exclusion in it of all the famous fighting castes of India—Sikhs, Gurkhas, Punjabi Musalmans, Dogras, Jats, Pathans, Gorkhals, Rajputana Rajputs, Kumaonis, Gujars, all the tribes and septs, in fact, which are looked upon today as a tower of strength for the Indian Army. A single year and a single rebellion was however to change all this. The Mutiny which broke out in 1857 blew up the old Bengal Army and brought into existence a Punjabized and barbarized army resembling the Indian Army of today in broad lines and general proportions of its composition.

Though the actual transformation of the Bengal Army did not take place till after the Mutiny, even before that catastrophe its character was causing grave anxiety to the

\* Section XVI CL of the General Regulations of the Bengal Army published in 1855.

† Parliamentary Papers 1859 Vol. VIII, p. 37.

§ *Ibid.* p. 36.

\*\* *Ibid.* p. 33.

authorities. The danger which they anticipated, it should be emphasized here, did not arise out of the inefficiency and the indiscipline of the Bengal Army as some writers with the wisdom that comes after the event have asserted\*. The inefficiency and indiscipline some of which really existed was due not so much to the practice of recruiting high caste men in the Army, as to defects of organization want of energy and capacity in the British officers who were either too old or too much wedded to routine and in some cases to genuine and just causes of grievance. With energetic and able commanders who could combine firmness with tact, caste was not a cause of indiscipline in the Army†. The real defects of the Sepoy Army were political. It lay in the exclusive dependence of the British Government of India on the goodwill and loyalty of the Sepoy who had gradually become imbued with the idea that he was indispensable and in the absence of any element of national strength on which it (the Government of India) can fall back in a country where the entire English community is but a handful of scattered strangers‡.

Lord Dalhousie whose words there are had a clear notion of the elements of danger in the situation. As far back as 1853 he wrote to Sir Charles Wood

I should hope that the old jealousy of additional troops being raised by the Company would now find no place in our mind. I cannot believe the Queen's Government would diminish the comparatively small European force in India without reference to the Government of this country. Our Raj is safe from risk but only while we are strong. We must be strong not only against the enemy only but against our population and even against possible contingencies connected with our own native army. Again I assure you not to allow us to be weakened in European infantry."

The reforms that he proposed were (1) an increase of the European force in India (2) the raising of volunteer corps from the English residents of the country (3) the reduction of the Native army and (4) more

extensive enrolment of hillmen and Gurkhas. These proposals were embodied in nine famous minutes, of which the sixth, dated the 3th Feb 1856 was devoted to the "Native Army of Bengal Infantry." In it he proposed to strike 200 men off each Indian regiment, opportunity being taken for making additions to the Sirmur, Kumaon, Naxos and Arakan local battalions so as to bring them up to a strength of 800 men apiece. The three Gurkha regiments were at the same time to be increased and armed with the best rifles\*.

But in the prevailing atmosphere of unsuspecting confidence in the fidelity of the Sepoy Lord Dalhousie's minutes were duly pigeon holed by the Home authorities, and his term of office drew to a close. Next year Lord Canning came out to India as Governor General. Before he would take any steps towards counteracting the danger, the storm cloud of the Mutiny burst over India and automatically brought about a change in the composition of the army.

The gap created by the revolt of the Hindustani regiments were at once filled up by Sikhs and other Punjabis, and hillmen eager for revenge and for the loot of the cities of Hindustan. They had all been conquered and subjugated by the British with the help of the Hindustani soldiers and in their ignorance they regarded the Hindustanis rather than the handful of British as their real enemies. This enmity was magnificently exploited by the British authorities in suppressing the Mutiny. When the news of the enlistment of Gurkhas reached Lord Dalhousie in England he expressed great satisfaction and wrote to a friend. Against the Oude Sepoys they may confidently be expected to fight like devils.† And after the Mutiny, General Mansfield the Chief of the Staff of the Indian Army wrote about the Sikhs

It was not because they loved us but because they hated Hindustan and hated the Bengal Army that the Sikhs had flocked to our standard instead of seeking the opportunity to strike again for their freedom.

They wanted to revenge themselves and to gain riches by the plunder of Hindustani cities. They were not attracted by mere daily pay it was rather the prospect of wholesale plunder and stamping on the heads of their enemies. In short we turned to profit the *esprit de corps* of the old Khali Army of Ranjit Singh in the manner which for a time could most effectually bind the Sikhs

\* Field Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood *The Percott in Hindustan 1857-59* p. 7. Sir John Fortescue—*The History of the British Army* Vol. XIII p. 238 ff.  
† See General Mansfield's remarks on the influence of caste in *Persia Report 1859* Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence p. 9.  
‡ Letter dated 13th Sept 1854 quoted in Lee-Warner—*Life of Lord Dalhousie* Vol. II p. 27.

\*\* Letter dated Aug. 1, 1856 quoted in *Ibid* pp. 271-2.

\* *Ibid* pp. 271-2.

† *Baird—Private Letters of Lord Dalhousie* p. 383.

to us as long as the active service against the old enemies may last.

The relations thus established were in fact to last much longer. The services rendered by the Sikhs and Gurkhas during the Mutiny were not forgotten and henceforward the Punjab and Nepal had the place of honour in the Indian Army.

### III

The actual extent of the Punjabization and barbarization of the Army of Northern India at the close of the Mutiny is not difficult to ascertain. Describing the composition of the Bengal Army in 1858 Lord Canning wrote

Exclusive of the disarmed corps the Bengal Army now amounts to about 80,000 men and if the militarily organized police be included it amounts to about 1,00,000 men that is some 11,000 men more than at the time of the outbreak at Meerut of these 1,00,000 men, about 7,000 are Europeans and of the Europeans probably 23,000 are Sikhs. The difference between our position in 1857 and in 1858 is that there is now a larger native force and that the bulk of it instead of being drawn from Oude is drawn from the Punjab.

The proportions of the various classes in the Army (excluding the militarily organized police) on April 1 1858 are shown in greater detail in the following table which has been prepared from a return of castes and tribes submitted by the Adjutant General's office on August 13 1858.

TABLE II			
Composition of the Army		Bengal Army in 1858	
Proportion of various		tribes	
HINDUS		Others	
Sikhs	13.33	Brahmins	11.55
Punjab Militia	3.84	Kshatriyas	1.53
Other Indians	1.4	Other Hindus	4.15
Afghans &c.	16.0	Hindus & Militia	4.15
		Total before the Mutiny	
		Muslims	14.1
		Christians	3.75
		Low-caste Hindus	8.85
		Other tribes	10.75
		Total	
		34.44	37.00
		Total classified	
		49.16	77.13
		unclassified	29.91
		Total 80,000	

This gives an approximate percentage of 47 to the Punjabis and Northerners in the Army which quelled the Mutiny and it is interesting to compare this figure with those of later and earlier years. The pre-Mutiny proportion was certainly not more than 10 per cent. The pre-war (1914) proportion was 47 per cent the same that is to say as that for 1858 while the proportion for 1930 is 58 per cent. So far therefore as the actual "Punjabization" was concerned, the period

of the Mutiny is the most decisive epoch in the process, the seventy years that have followed bringing only an actual increase of 11 per cent in the proportion and of course a theory to round off the practice. That the theory did not immediately spring forth full grown and in full personality like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter that it did not come till twenty years later may cause some surprise to many but it was no more than natural. To the officers who shrank for the Punjabization and barbarization of the Indian Army immediately after the Mutiny that catastrophe was too recent and too harrowing an experience for them to hide their feelings about it. Cool theorizing might do for quieter times. What they did then was to send forth a wail of suspicion and disillusionment.

\* Appendix to the Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on the Indian Army, 1858, p. 17. Cf. also General Hancock's evidence before the Select Committee. The feeling of the Punjabis and the heart with which they served was partly owing to this sort of national or quasi-national feeling on the part of the Punjabis against the Hindustani people they had no compunction in plundering their cities and working against them. Cf. Evidence p. 17.

One of the most distinguished of these officers wrote

I am strongly of opinion that recruiting should cease in Oude the Doab of the Ganges and Jammu in Shahdol and Bhojpur and in Kohat and in Baluchistan that no soldiers from these districts should remain in the regular army of Bengal.

That recruiting from the Punjab Sikhs Punjab Muslims hill tribe of Kumaon Ghurwal Sirmoor Bawal Chamba Lahool the Doras of the lower Cashmere hills men from the hills of Wazir the Hazara hills even the wider tribes of Kohat Khyberes Mohmands and the hillmen of Daman Koh the tribes that herd cattle on the Punjab river the Jats of Wazir Kohat the Dard Pootras of Bhawalpur the inhabitants of the Shikhar country the Rajpoots of Rajpootana the Bhochees—all might be entertained for the regular army.

No more Brahmans no more Mussulmans of Hindu origin proper to be entertained in the Regular native force \*

This passage is taken from the evidence of General Hearsey the Commander of the Presidency Division before the Peel Commission which was making a searching enquiry into the question whether there were any races tribes or castes hitherto neglected from which recruits might with advantage be drawn for the infantry of the Bengal Army and we already hear in it the splendid roll call of names of the British patronized fighting castes of India. No less straightforward was the evidence of other military officers. In summarizing the recommendations of fourteen high military officers of the Indian Army including the Commander in Chief that recruitment for the Bengal Army should be extended to Rajpoots of Rajpootana Gujars Jats Ranghars Mahrattas Muhammadans of the Punjab Pathans of the Border tribes Mewatis Burmans Karens and others Colonel Dorand the Agent to the Governor General wrote "There was no difference of opinion as to extending enlistment over such a comparatively little worked field as the foregoing." The point is well worth noting. The military authorities in India have never been quite averse to taking a leap in the dark where only the military quality of a particular class of recruits was concerned. But as regards its political reliability that was a question which in their opinion did not permit of the hazards of experimentation.

#### IV

In spite of the emphatically stated opinions however there was no attempt

in the post Mutiny reorganization to give to Punjabis a higher ratio in the Indian Army than what they had already come to hold automatically owing to the destruction of the greater part of the Sepoy army in the Mutiny and for reasons which have to this day remained one of the fundamental principles of the recruiting policy of the Indian Army.

This may without any attempt at putting too fine a point on the matter, be described as the principle of treating all Indians as potential enemies. In official language it was described in more euphemistic language as the theory of equilibrium between the different races and regions that furnished the recruits to the Army. The earliest and the most strident note on this subject was struck by one of the very officers who urged the case for Punjabization before the Peel Commission. Major-General Sydney Cotton Commanding the Peshawar Division wrote to General Mansfield

The newly raised troops of the Peshawar and Wooten frontiers and of the adjacent countries and bordering on our territory who have so well served us in our difficulties and by adhering to or espousing our cause saved us at a most critical moment, are no more to be depended on than any others. Already do they feel their importance as the saviours of our tottering Government. Already do they feel the power which we have placed in their hands and they have before their eyes the baneful example of rebellion which has been shown them by their Hindustanee neighbours tending to prove that our Government has hitherto been placed on an insecure foundation.

In the post Mutiny consolidation of the class composition of the Indian Army therefore a kind of tripartite balance of power was set up between the Panjabi upper class Hindustanis and low class Hindustanis with the Gurkhas as an additional safe-guard. These low caste Hindustanis had never before been enlisted in the Bengal Army and had no fighting traditions of their own. But their antagonism to the Brahmans and Khattris was a valuable factor of safety and this made them for a time quite fashionable recruits. The experiment turned out however to be an utter failure and these classes were wholly eliminated from the army by Lord Roberts.

\* Peel Report (Papers) 1859 p. 121

† As laid down in Adjutant General's Circular No. 117 N dated the 9th September 1864

\* Peel Report (Papers) 1859 p. 169

These arrangements remained in force till 1856 the only increase in the proportion of a particular class of recruits during these years being to that of the Gurkhas and Pathans. But even the enlistment of Gurkhas was not as immune from risks as is popularly believed to be the case. The population of Nepal is divided into nine castes, of which three, the Brahmins, the Thakurs and the Khas are the three upper classes, representing the intelligence of the country. They were, as a rule not recruited for the British Indian Army, which drew its Gurkhas from the Magars and the Gurungs, two lower and more or less savage castes. The characteristics of the different castes of Gurkhas and the principle of British recruitment from them are thus summarized in a classical handbook of the Indian Army.

"The Brahmins and Thakurs may be considered the aristocracy of the country, and together with the Khas, represent its ruling race. The lower castes are, as a rule, ill-educated and somewhat inferior. Magars and Gurungs are generally soldiers or agriculturists; they are far and away the best classes from which to select. The Gurungs are the least civilized and least Hinduized of all Gurkhas. They eat both beef and pork, which the Magars and others do not. The Khas are more or less under Brahminical influence and more national than the Magar and Gurung, and therefore less suited for employment in the British Army."

To this fairly outspoken confession we might add the following extract from a letter written by Colonel R. Sale Hill of the 1st Gurkha Light Infantry, to the Adjutant-General in India on 20th May 1879:

"I consider that Gurkha battalions should be maintained almost entirely from the 'Magar and Gurung' classes and that the more pure a regiment is in this respect, the more efficient it is likely to be for active service and in trustworthiness to the state."

These views were already time-sanctioned. For as far back as 1832, Brian Hodgson had written: "The Khas are more devoted to the house of Gurkha as well as more liable to Brahminical prejudices than the Magars or Gurungs, and on both accounts perhaps somewhat less desirable as soldiers for our service than the latter tribes." Commenting

on this opinion of Brian Hodgson, the compiler of the official class hand book for the Indian Army on Gurkhas says: "Thus was written in 1832—namely, only sixteen years after our war with Nepal and it is on that account that Brian Hodgson says the Khas are somewhat less desirable as soldiers for our service—not for want of bravery or soldierly qualities." \* In the Nepalese army almost all the officers above the rank of Lieutenant and below the rank of Captain are Khas. In the Nepalese "Rifle Brigade" which consisted of picked men of all classes were to be found members of Khas of over five feet eight inches in height and over with magnificent physique. All Khas were temperate, hardy and brave. They were very national in feeling, intensely proud of their traditions, and they looked down upon the Magars and the Gurungs. A Khas who ran away in battle became an outcast and his very wife refused to eat with him.† Yet this class was not, as a rule, enlisted in the Gurkha regiments of the British Indian Army. The prohibition was somewhat relaxed in later years. But it was not till the great war of 1914-1918 when the British Empire was in dire straits for men that the Khas got their chance of as Candier puts it, dissipating the suspicion of inferiority.‡

No less interesting are the ups and downs in the enlistment of the Pathan, another formidable fighting element of the Indian Army, who, according to many British officers, has more in common with the Englishman than other sepoys. "He is a gambler and a sportsman, and a bit of an adventurer, restless by nature, and always ready to take on a new thing. He has a good deal of *jote de vivre*. His sense of humour approximates to that of Thomas Atkins."\*\* In spite of his advance and cruelty and his proneness to almost every kind of rascality, this much is certain that he has the power of prejudicing Englishmen in his favour, and there are few brought into contact with him who do not at least begin with an enthusiastic admiration of his manliness.†† But all this has not exempted him from the profound

\* Karrow—Sepoy Officers Manual (2nd edition) 1887, p. 100.

† Appendices to the Report of the Special Committee Appointed to report on the Organization and Expediting of the Army in India 1898 Vol. IV, p. 1201.

‡ Hans books for the Indian Army—Gurkhas by Lt. Col. Eden Vassantart (1906) p. 73.

\* Ibid p. 73.

† Ibid p. 71.

‡ Candier—Sepoy pp. 22-23.

\*\*\* Ibid p. 63.

†† Notes on the Pathans of the Pathan Recruiting Districts by Capt. G. P. Ranken 1893, p. 8. The above remark is made with reference especially to the Afghans.

suspicion of the Army authorities in India introduced originally as a counterpoise to Sikhs the Pathans had come by 1879 to hold a very important position in the Indian Army when some insignificant and isolated incidents of the Second Afghan War somewhat destroyed their credit. During a flanking movement which Lord Roberts was executing by night, two Afridi privates of the 29th Punjab Infantry suddenly fired two shots whether designedly to warn their kinsmen or by accident it was never settled beyond doubt. One of the men however was sentenced to be hanged by a subsequent court martial and the other given the benefit of doubt. There was also during the same campaign some desertion among the Pathan soldiers who disliked service against their fellow tribesmen. The question of the dependability of the trans border Pathan therefore came as a subject of enquiry before the Special Army Committee appointed by the Viceroy in 1879. In the despatch that embodied the views of the Lt. Governor of the Punjab on this matter it was stated that

The policy of enlisting men of independent tribes with whom hostilities are not improbable has been sometimes questioned and recent experiences during the late war with Afghanistan have called some doubts to arise with regard to the usefulness of the Afridi as a soldier in the ranks of the Bengal Army. Opinions are divided on this subject but His Honour having regard to the good service rendered by the men of this class sees no sufficient reason for excluding them from the Army or for mistrusting them. Among the Native Officers of the Army are to be found some Afridis who have by their loyalty and courage established for themselves a reputation \*

The Army authorities however were not prepared to take any risks. By a Government order of 1882 the enlistment of Afridis was severely restricted to only five regiments of the infantry nor was any more extended enlistment of Afridis encouraged until 1890 when (Indian Army Circulars Clauses 81 151 and 201) the formation of extra companies of Afridis was ordered in the 21st 24th 26th 27th and 28th Bengal Infantry and the 1st 4th and 5th Punjab Infantry as a temporary measure only†. The reputation of the trans frontier Pathan rose considerably during the frontier wars of 1897 when Afridi soldiers of the Khyber Rifles held

their posts against their own kith and kin without having British officers to encourage them and when overpowered by numbers made their way to the nearest British garrison\* to be absolutely destroyed again during the great war and the frontier operations of 1919. Their unfaithfulness on these occasions has resulted in their complete exclusion from the Indian Army of today. No trans frontier Pathans are now enlisted in the Army and the field of cis frontier recruitment has also been considerably restricted. While formerly all the clans of the Afridis held a place of honour in the army of today enlists only two—the Mahludia and the Kamber Khels out of the eight clans of Afridis. Other Pathan tribes who were formerly liberally enlisted have also been eliminated and the recruitment is now confined to the Khattaks the Yusufzais the Orakzais the two clans of Afridis mentioned above and a few Bangashes. These are still trusted but who can tell that another frontier war will not produce another unexpected rise and fall in the sensitive barometer of British confidence?

All these doubts and suspicions in fact have never and perhaps can never leave the minds of the military officers of the Indian Army. Their uneasy conscience is always conjuring the vision of the fragile vessel entrusted to their charge escaping the Scylla of military inefficiency only to run into the Charybdis of political unreliability. The two sides of the dilemma were most neatly put in a questionnaire circulated by the Special Army Committee of 1879

If an efficient and available reserve of the Indian Army is considered necessary for the safety of the empire it asked should it not be recruited and maintained from the parts of the country which give us best soldiers rather than amongst the weakest and least warlike races of India, due regard of course being had to the necessity of not giving too great strength or prominence to any particular races or religions and with due regard to the safety of the Empire (Itakes ours)

In order to understand the rather precariously balanced state of mind of the framers of this question it is well to remember that by this time (1879) the theory of the martial races of India was just coming into fashion though it had not become fashionable enough to convert any but the young bloods yet. The senior officers of the day were all for the good old theory of

\* App. Vol. I p. 270

† *Sketch of the Services of the Bengal Native Army* by Lt. F. G. Cardew revised and edited in the *Military Dict. of the Government of India* 1883 I. 101

\* Forrester—*Life of Lord Roberts* I. 180

equilibrium. In their opinion the safety of the empire was not so nicely distributed on both the sides of the problem. They still believed in their Mutiny-generated fears and refused to let go the sheet anchor of *divide et impera* for the sake of what they considered a problematical gun in military quality. Lt-General H. J. Warre, Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army, therefore, wrote

"I consider it is not possible to recruit the reserve of the Indian Army altogether from those parts of India which are said to produce best soldiers without giving undue strength and prominence to the races and religions of those countries."

And his opinion was shared by others. The Commander-in-Chief Sir Frederic P. Haines, said

Distinct in race language and interests from the more numerous Army of Bengal it is in my opinion eminently politic and wise to maintain these armies (the Madras and Bombay Armies), as a counterpoise to it and I would on no account diminish their strength in order that a reserve composed of what is called the most efficient fighting men whom it is possible to procure may be established. If by this it is meant to replace Sepoys of the Madras and Bombay by a reserve of men passed through the ranks of the Bengal Army and composed of the same classes of which it is formed I would say that anything more unwise or more impolitic could hardly be conceived.†

The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab also said that he was "opposed to having one recruiting field for the whole of the armies in India. It will be necessary," he added for political reasons, to prevent a preponderance of one nationality. The fighting classes are scattered all over India and from these alone should enlistment be made"‡

It was reserved, however, for Lord Roberts, who became Commander-in-Chief in 1883, to combat these old-fashioned and out of date ideas.

In former days he wrote when the Native Army in India was so much stronger in numbers than the British Army and there existed no means of rapid communication, it was only prudent to guard against a predominance of soldiers of any one creed or nationality but with the British troops nearly doubled and the Native Army reduced by more than one-third with all the forts and arsenals protected and nearly the whole of the artillery manned by British soldiers, with railways and telegraph communication from one end of India to the other with the risk of internal trouble

greatly diminished and the possibility of external complications becoming daily more apparent circumstances and our requirements were completely altered.

But argue as he might, neither Lord Roberts nor the Army chiefs who followed him, were prepared to go beyond the margin of reasonable safety. Lord Roberts did not immediately 'Punjabize' the Madras Army, and when in 1903 Lord Kitchener undertook the transformation by converting fifteen regiments of Madras into Punjabi regiments, he immediately furnished a counterpoise to the Sikhs and Punjabi Musalmans by raising the proportion of Gurkhas and Pathans. As Sir George Arthur his biographer says

The Government mindful of the lesson taught by the Mutiny was alive to the danger of allowing any one element in the Indian Army to preponderate unduly. An increase in the Punjabi infantry had as its necessary sequel a further recruitment of the valuable Gurkha material and the enlistment of more trans-border Pathans in the Frontier Militia.†

But the trans-frontier Pathan, as we have already seen turned out to be a very broken reed when the hour of trial came.

However that might be, for the moment Lord Roberts was determined to push on the work of Punjabizing and barbarizing the army. He was a keen advocate, almost the creator of the theory of the martial races of India. The new idea had dawned upon him when he was the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army.

"Each cold sea on," he wrote in his reminiscences "I made long tours in order to acquaint myself with the needs and capabilities of the men of the Madras Army. I tried hard to discover in them those fighting qualities which had distinguished their forefathers during the wars of the last and the beginning of the present century. And I was forced to the conclusion that the ancient military spirit had died in them as it had died in the ordinary Hindustani of Bengal and the Mahratta of Bombay, and that they could no longer with safety be put against warlike races or employed outside the limit of southern India."‡

The theory of the martial races was already born though it had not exactly the form then which it assumed later. Now a days it is asserted that none but Punjabis and some other selected tribes and castes have the military virtues. Lord Roberts, faced with the necessity of explaining the past

\* Robert's *Forty one Years in India* pp 531-533

† Arthur—*Life of Lord Kitchener* Vol II p 126

‡ Roberts—*Forty-one Years* p 499

Appendices to the Report of the Special Committee of 1879 Vol I p 141

† *Ibid* p. 120

‡ *Ibid* p 218



achievement of the armies drawn from Madras, Bombay and Hindustan, confined himself to stating that it had died out in them, the cause of this decline being the "well-known and incontrovertible fact that those natives of India who pass their lives in ease and prosperity, secure from outside incursions and war alarms do unquestionably lose the qualities that make a good soldier" \*.

About this "well known and incontrovertible fact" we shall have something to say in its proper place. For the present it is sufficient to note the gradual shiftings of position of military thought. As was to be expected, therefore, the subject came up for a good deal of discussion when Lord Roberts became the Commander-in-Chief in India in 1885. The first step to be taken towards increasing the efficiency of the Indian Army was in his opinion,

To substitute men of the more warlike and hardy races for the Hindustani sepoy of Bengal, the Tamils and Telugus of Madras and the so-called Maharrats of Bombay, but I found it difficult to get my views accepted, because of the theory which prevailed that it was necessary to maintain an equilibrium between the armies of the three Presidencies. †

Fortunately, Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy, and General Chesney, the Military Member of the Viceroy's Council, shared his views. In a Note dated the 11th May, 1886, Lord Dufferin wrote

"In view of the necessity of increasing the fighting efficiency of our Native armies without increasing our military expenditure beyond a certain definite amount, the question arises whether reductions might not be made with advantage in the numbers of the present forces in the Madras Presidency, and to a more limited extent in those of Bombay and Bengal. I imagine it will be generally admitted that it would not be safe to oppose certain categories of our existing regiments to a European enemy. If this is the case it is advisable to keep up a number of battalions who cannot be trusted to withstand those who are more likely to attack us."

With the conquest of Burma the cycle of our collisions with inferior races is probably closed. In future the function of our armies both British and Native will be confined on the one hand to maintaining the supremacy of our rule within India itself and on the other, to repelling invasions by a European foe either along our north-western or south-eastern frontier or at our seaports and the accessible points on our coasts. To these possibilities there may eventually be added the

contingency of an inroad by the Chinese who in time may prove very formidable foes. Under these circumstances it appears to me desirable that we should get full value for our money, and that we should not spend a shilling upon a single man who cannot be regarded as a satisfactory soldier" \*.

As a result of discussion thus started, three new Gurkha battalions were raised in 1886, and in the following year three new Sikh battalions, one Dogra, and one Garhwali battalion were added to them, certain classes were also eliminated from the existing regiments of the Bengal Army, and some class regiments formed. But the main question of the reorganization of the Madras and Bombay Armies out of which, as we have seen, the whole discussion arose, was left undecided at the time, and it was not till Lord Kitchener became Commander-in-Chief that any far-reaching changes in the composition of these armies were undertaken. The reason for this was the reluctance of military officers to do away with the factor of safety that lay in the different racial composition of the southern armies. Lord Dufferin quite appreciated these reasons, and wrote in a minute dated December 8, 1888

Here also there is a great deal to be said against the proposal to reduce them. I have brought this question several times to notice, but hitherto my military colleagues have not seen their way to effect any reduction. Undoubtedly there are many considerations besides those of economy which present themselves in discussing this question. Although some of the regiments of these armies are not well adapted for severe campaigns it is considered by some that they are sufficiently good to act as the police and garrison of the country, and that it would be a mistake to trust entirely to the best fighting classes in India, while it would certainly be dangerous to allow any great preponderance of one particular class †.

By the time that Lord Kitchener came out to India, some measure of reform was considered imperatively necessary, and in the reorganization scheme of 1903 among other changes, fifteen regiments of the Madras Army were converted into Punjabi regiments, though, as we have seen, with the safeguard of an increase in the number of Gurkhas and Pathans. The changes carried out between 1903 and 1914, with the exception of the raising of two additional battalions of Gurkhas in 1907, are negligible.

\* These words are Lord Kitchener's—Sir George Arthur, *Life of Lord Kitchener*, Vol II, p. 126.

† Lord Roberts—*Forty-one Years in India*, pp. 331-22.

\* Colley—*Armies of India during the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin*, p. 19.

† Colley—*The Armies of India*, etc., pp. 20-21.

## VI

As the period between 1886 and 1901 is the only period during which even professedly military reasons had anything to do with the changes in the composition of the Indian Army, it is necessary to subject the extent and the reasons of the so-called reforms to a closer analysis. It will have been observed that the doubts with regard to the military quality of certain recruits applied principally to the Madras Army and to a more limited extent only to those of Bengal and Bombay. It will be convenient to take the case of each of these armies separately.

To take the Bengal Army first. The following table shows the proportions of the different classes in the Bengal Army in 1883 and in 1893 when the reforms considered necessary by Lord Roberts had been carried out.

TABLE III

Showing the proportions of different classes in the Bengal Army in 1883 and 1893

Reason and Class	Number of Companies 1883	Number of Companies 1893
I Punjab etc.		
Sikhs	100	131
Pathans	34	42
Persians	32	45
Punjabi Musalman	41	49
Total	212	270
II North India excluding I		
Brahmans	25	16
Rajputs	47	56
Jats	10	16
Hindustani Musalmans	36	32
Other Hindus	20	nil
Total	153	123
III Hillmen		
Gurkhas, Garhwals etc.	75	122
Total	75	122

Of the increase of Punjabis (I) and Hillmen (III) nearly the whole is accounted for by the raising of the new Sikh, Dogra, Gurkha, Garhwali, and Punjabi Musalman units (the 34th, 35th, 36th, and 37th Sikh regiments, the 38th Dogra regiment, the 39th Garhwali regiment, the 33rd Punjabi Musalman regiment, the 9th Gurkha regiment and the five extra battalions of the five Gurkha regiments), while the brunt of the reduction under head II (Hindustanis) fell upon the miscellaneous classes included as "Other Hindus," the net reduction

of high-caste Hindustanis being only four companies or about five hundred men in a total of about twelve thousand. This was hardly the result to be expected from Lord Roberts' sweeping assertion that the fighting spirit had died out in the ordinary Hindustani. The whole thing, in fact, was the result of a rather naive confusion of thought. The decline in the efficiency of the Hindustani sepoy to which both Lord Roberts and Lord Dufferin referred was not due to the decline of the martial quality of the ordinary Hindustani sepoy who fought so gallantly for the British both before and after the Mutiny and again during the great war of 1914-1918, but to the inclusion after the Mutiny, out of political consideration and as a counterpoise to the high caste soldiers of unsuitable low class men such as Pasis, Dhanniks, Lodhis, Chamars and Mehtars who had never before or after served as soldiers. The proportion up to which high-caste Brahmans and Rajputs could safely be enlisted in the Indian Army safely from the political point of view that is was definitely fixed after the Mutiny. But the authorities did not dare to fill up the gaps that remained with more Punjabis than they had already enlisted. So these low caste men were taken in as a counterpoise both to the Punjabis and the Hindustanis and it was they who turned out to be very unsatisfactory soldiers. In 1882 four regiments of these low class levies were abolished, and they were finally mustered out as a result of the reforming activities of Lord Roberts. It was the reduction of the 29 companies of these men which reduced the proportion of Hindustanis from 35 p c in 1883 to 24 p c in 1893.

We can now proceed to consider the cases of the Madras and the Bombay armies. With regard to the disparagement of the Mahrattas by Lord Roberts it is hardly necessary to say anything except that their soldierly qualities were brilliantly vindicated during the last war when for the first time in two or three generations they again saw held service, and in this connection we might also quote the following opinion of General H J Warre who was Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army in 1879:

"History has proved," says General Warre "that the whole of the western coast of India is a military country producing a warlike population. The southern Mahrattas have proved themselves in former days, and are still equal to any other race

in India a fighting people. Their power has been broken and their military ardour quenched by an almost total disarmament but they are still a hardy people in a mountainous district inured to toil and especially good at tracing their steps over the rough and impractical Ghats. What more can we require to make soldiers?

But the Madras Army will require a little lengthier treatment. This army it will be remembered was the descendant of the famous Coast Army which conquered Southern India for the British. It was recruited principally from the Tamils, Telugus, Madras Muslims, Marayans and Christians of the Madras Presidency. Its fighting record was very fine. But for nearly two generations after the close of the Mahratta wars it practically saw no service and was maintained principally as a reserve for the Army of Bengal. This was its position when Lord Roberts became its Commander in Chief and was convinced of its unreliability as a fighting machine. He was right in his detection of the relative inefficiency of the Madras Army—which by the way had been recognized many years ago—but not in his diagnosis of its causes which were very clearly pointed out by General Sir Neville Chamberlain in his reply to the questionnaire of the Special Army Committee of 1879.

"I admit General Chamberlain said that some Madras Infantry regiments do not come up to the proper standard but this is not because of any inherent deficiency or defect in the material available. It has been because of the regiments being badly commanded partly arising from a rigid adherence to the claims of seniority partly to the British officers having been constantly changed and partly to a loss of feeling of *esprit de corps* created by large reductions and a flood of supernumeraries and partly because the army has not had its fair chance of field service."

In this opinion General Sir Frederic P. Haines at that time Commander in Chief in India whole-heartedly concurred.

It has been customary he said "to declare that the Madras Army is composed of men physically inferior to those of the Bengal Army and if stature alone be taken into consideration this is true. It is also said that by the force of circumstances the martial feeling and the characteristics necessary to the real soldier are no longer to be found in its ranks. I feel bound to reject the above assertions and others which as the comparative inefficiency to Madras troops. It is true that in recent years they have seen

but little service for with the exception of the sappers they have been specially excluded from all participation in work in the field. I cannot admit for one moment that anything has occurred to disclose the fact that the Madras Sepoy is inferior as a fighting man. The facts of history warrant us in assuming the contrary. In drill training and discipline the Madras Sepoy is inferior to none while in point of health as exhibited by returns he compares favorably with his neighbors. This has been manifested by the sappers and their followers in the Khyber and the sappers are of the same race as the sepoys."

This was very truly said. The contention that the relative inferiority of the Madras Army was due to lack of field service was admitted indirectly even by Lord Roberts when he said that the sappers were a brilliant exception to the rest of the Madras Army. If an explanation of this exception were required it could easily be found in the fact that the sappers had always been employed on field service while his comrades in the infantry had seen none. In 1898 when he could not abolish the Madras Army Lord Dufferin also suggested that it should be given its share of field service in order to keep up its fighting spirit.

The fact is the whole attitude of the British authorities in India in favour of the men of the North was due to a historical circumstance the circumstance that by 1880 due to the growth of the Russian menace the North Western Frontier had become the principal theatre of operations for the Indian Army. Not only did this fact make it more convenient for the authorities to recruit their soldiers from classes who were near at hand easily available and familiar moreover with the terrain but it also gave the army of Northern India the ablest and the most energetic officers who were most fitted to bring out the latent qualities of their men by training and organization. All this as Sir George Arthur says in his life of Lord Kitchener,

Tended to damp the zeal and mar the efficiency of the Madras and Bombay armies and not a little to foster jealousies between them and the Bengal Army. Nor did the post-Mutiny reorganization of the Indian Army do anything to allate these heart burnings and service in the other Presidencies became increasingly unpopular. Young officers who were ambitious or could wield influence staffed every nerve to be posted to the Bengal Staff Corps with the result that the Madras and the

\* App. to the Special Army Committee Report Vol. I, p. 10.

† See for example the minutes of Lord Mayo re 12d San. 11st dt. 1 10 18 0 and 1 1 18 0 re 12d San. 11st dt. 1 10 18 0 and 1 1 18 0  
§ Hist. Vol. I, p. 11.

\* App. to the Report of the Special Committee Vol. I, p. 120.

† Roberts—Forty-one Years, 170.  
‡ Allen—Of Cdn., pp. 28-21.

Bombay Staff Corps were always considerably under strength \*

The evil was so serious that it was one of the most weighty reasons which induced Lord Kitchener to decide upon the final

\* Arthur—*Life of Lord Kitchener* Vol II  
p 196

abolition of the Presidency system But before that was done the more energetic and naturally, the more vocal officers of the North had branded the men of the South—not the officers they were British—with a permanent stamp of inferiority

(To be concluded)

## Great Britain's Social Services]

By WILFRED WEILLOCK M P

On many occasions I have described the growth of the British Labour Party and the British Trade Union Movement, thereby revealing some of the struggles which have resulted in placing the workers of this country in the strong economic position they now occupy. That progress has demanded unexampled heroism on the part of a large number of courageous souls and keen and often prolonged suffering on the part of the masses of the people. Those two qualities have together succeeded in building up some of the strongest and most effective working class movements in the whole world movements embracing a powerful Trade Union organization which no Government can or dare ignore and a Labour Party which is now strong enough to hold the reins of Government, and ere long will hold a majority of seats in the House of Commons.

That is a great achievement and records the struggles of many decades being indeed the culmination of a long process of development, which in truth goes back many centuries and which in the more definite form of our modern Trade Union and Labour Movements goes back well over a century.

But it will naturally be asked what has been the actual value to the workers of the country of all this struggling and organizing over so many decades. What benefit have they derived and do they feel that all this struggling has been worth while?

No question could be easier to answer in a general way and yet it is a very difficult question to answer as the benefits derived are so numerous, varied and far reaching.

In the first place, the struggle has been worth while if for no other reason than that it has increased the dignity of the workers. All the servility the bowing and scraping to the rich once so common among the masses of this country and still is in some districts has now almost completely been swept away. Generally speaking the workers of today have dignity and social standing and in all but the backward areas—politically backward I mean—positively refuse to kowtow to the rich in any way. Now owing to the revelations regarding the sources of the wealth of the rich and the manner of their lives, these now command little respect among the working classes. The result is that the latter quite definitely look upon the country as a democracy and think of its wealth and its resources no matter how these may at present be distributed from the standpoint of national well being.

In the second place the workers have far more security of tenure in their employment than formerly while their wages and conditions, owing to Trade Union organization and Factory legislation are incomparably superior to what they were even twenty years ago not to speak of sixty or seventy years ago.

But it is not about these matters that I desire to write in particular in the present article. I want to deal specifically with the social amenities which have followed from what we call "Social legislation Acts of Parliament" whose aim is to develop and protect the lives of the workers and their children in all sorts of ways. These social services are now so numerous so vast and

far reaching as to strike the imagination when one looks at them in their totality. Many of them indeed were instituted long before Labour came into political power as we normally understand power. But it was not until the Labour Party made its appearance and showed signs of becoming a national political force that the workers' demands began to be taken seriously and that entirely new avenues of social legislation began to be opened up. When, just before the World War, the Labour Party had secured 31 seats in the House of Commons, the other parties saw what was coming and realized that unless they listened to the demands which Labour was making they stood to lose an increasing number of working class votes. So they went forward with their social legislation, but despite all they did they could not keep pace with Labour's demands. Consequently they have suffered defeat after defeat.

Anyone with the least insight was bound to recognize that the changed social conditions due to modern industrialism were bound to carry with them vast changes in social organization if that is the workers were to be saved from economic impotence and the very worst forms of industrial slavery. We all realize of course that the normal condition of the world is a state of flux, change being the law of life, human beings and social organizations being no exception to the rule.

But although this knowledge is in our hearts it is often so deep down that we forget it and even at times deny it instead of facing the bold facts of life and endeavouring to meet changed conditions by policies which spring from well thought out principles and ideals. A new method of industrial organization may carry with it the necessity for organizing a new order of social relationships and thus the creation of a new social philosophy and a new social ethic.

It may have seemed a very ordinary and trifling thing to discover the power of steam, but that simple discovery made in a tiny workman's cottage has probably caused more social upheavals broken down more social conventions and religious systems than any other single event in history. It led to the abolition of small or individual ownership in industry. Instead of a man belonging to his loom or other tool as heretofore he must now work for an

employer, and to some extent be at the mercy of such employer. Workers were thus segregated together in large and increasing numbers, and as these units of manufacture grew in number and size, giving place later to the Limited Company, and later still to the Trust and Combine, the impotence of the worker increased. If he were turned out of his employment he was now almost helpless, while if owing to the results of mass production and over-production work should be scarce he would be completely stranded with nowhere to turn for help and succour except to charity, which he strongly resented. It is this development in the industrial world which led to the great struggles including strike, lock-outs, revolutions, etc. of the last few decades.

Happily our working-class organizations have developed with sufficient rapidity to be in a position to secure for the workers by means of legislation etc. a reasonable amount of social insurance in the way of widows and old age pensions, sickness and unemployment insurance, relief in case of destitution, the feeding of and medical attention for school children, etc.—a no mean achievement although we rely no means satisfied as the record of the present Labour Government will no doubt show.

As the result of our Health Services, for instance, statistics reveal that while the population of Great Britain rose from 29½ millions in 1881 to 44 millions in 1927, the death rate fell from 19.5 to 12.5 per 1,000 of the population in the same period. That in itself is a remarkable testimony to the effectiveness of these services. Maternity and child welfare centres are being established all over the country at the present moment. They are under the charge of Local Government Authorities and are supported by State grants. A recent Act of Parliament has made the setting up of these centres compulsory and has placed upon the County Councils the duty of seeing that adequate accommodation for dealing with maternity cases is provided within their area. Moreover, medical inspection in schools has now reached a high standard of efficiency, over 2,000,000 children being medically examined last year.

Furthermore, an extension of culture and the raising of the standard of life among the workers has tended to raise the value of human life to the worker and thus to

reduce the size of families, parents now preferring to bring up two or three children well than to bring up badly and unhealthily a large family. Thus, whereas our birth rate was 32.6 per 1000 of the population in 1881 in 1927 it was 17.1. The average attendance of children in elementary schools is 5,061,000—a very high percentage indeed considering our population.

Now let us look at our insurance schemes. Nearly all our workers are compulsorily insured both for sickness, widows and old age pensions and unemployment. A certain sum is deducted from their wages each week, while a similar sum is paid by the employers and a third a similar sum by the State. An adult worker receives 10 per week for himself with allowances for wife and children when he is sick and a larger amount when he is unemployed. He also gets free medical attendance, medicines, etc. In most cases he may also receive free dental treatment, including free artificial teeth, etc.

Thus the country now spends some £40,000,000 a year on Unemployment Insurance. But a considerable number of our workers are not yet covered by unemployment insurance while a great deal of poverty has other causes than unemployment. Hence we spend about £55,000,000 a year in Poor Law Relief as compared with £9,000,000 in 1881.

These are colossal figures but they only serve to show the degree of suffering which would have entailed upon our people by the existing industrial system had this legislation not been passed. There are approximately 12,000,000 insured workers in the country today and of these about 10 per cent are unemployed.

In addition the State spends over £30,000,000 a year on Old Age Pensions to people over 70 years of age who receive some 10 each per week. Besides these pensions which are non-contributory pensions are given to all insured workers, and to the wives of insured in hand when they reach the age of 60. This is a new scheme and is costing about £10,000,000 per year.

To pay for all these insurances etc. somebody has to be taxed and pretty heavily taxed at that. But we in England say that the super-rich derive most of their wealth from the sweat and toil of the poor and thus that the State has both a right and a duty to tax them in order that the toilers

may live in reasonable comfort and security. It is not so long ago that a tax of 9d in the £ upon all income over £100 per year was considered excessive. But, shales of Gladstone and Disraeli! this is considered a more sensible today. What would those politicians think of taxation today? Income tax is levied at the rate of 4 in the £ on all incomes above £180 in the case of unmarried persons and above about £250 in the case of married persons. In addition a special super tax is levied on all income above £2,000 per year.

Then we have heavy Death Duties. This duty is levied on the estates of the rich, and the rate varies with the size of the estate being very heavy in the case of the super-rich. The other day a millionaire died whose estate was valued at £1,000,000. He had to pay over £200,000 in death duties.

Thus the estimated income from these sources for the current year reach the following staggering figures:

From Income-tax	£ 239 00 000
Super tax	54 000 000
Death Duties	81 000 000

I will conclude this survey by giving the comparative sums in £ millions or fractions thereof for the financial years 1914-15 and 1927-28 quoting the original estimates in each case) spent on the social services by the State:

	1914-15 £ millions	1927-28 £ millions
Payments to Local Authorities	8	14½
New Contributions to Local Authorities	—	15½
Educational Services	16½	41½
Subsidies for workers Houses	2	4½
Reformatory Schools and Mental Detention	—	1½
Grants for Employment Schemes	—	0
Old Age Pensions	10	12½
Pensions for Great War Victims	—	3½
State Contribution to Widows Pensions	—	4
State Contribution to Health Insurance	5½	6½
State Contribution to Unemployment Insurance	4	12
	41½	97½

and yet we are only at the beginning of this important branch of social development.

# American Imperialism in the Caribbeans

By MALCOLM DOUGLASS

**T**HROUGHOUT the world the activities of imperialism have been marked with utter contempt for the civilities of international law and with the grossest kind of cruelty towards the oppressed peoples but nowhere on the face of the earth has the progress of imperialist domination been marked with such barbarity and high handed tyranny as has been the case in the spread of American rule in the former republics bordering the Caribbean. In its relentless search for markets for the expansion of its economic power Yankee aggression has taken several well marked forms although the result has been one and the same in every case. There are the out and out colonies like Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands, the protectorates over Haiti, Santo Domingo and Nicaragua, the regulation of Panama and the political and economic suzerainty over the nominally independent Republic of Cuba.

The Caribbean region is of peculiar importance to the American Empire because of its proximity because it is a source of raw materials unobtainable within the country and as a market for manufactured goods. From a military standpoint it is particularly important as the gateway to the Panama Canal. Thus from every viewpoint it has been considered necessary by those interested in American economic expansion for the United States to gain complete sway over this region.

One of the most effective methods has been that employed in Santo Domingo, Haiti and Nicaragua—financial intrigue followed by armed intervention supposedly in the interest of law and order. American interest in Santo Domingo started over fifty years ago during the term of President Grant but it was not until 1893 that the programme of financial penetration actually got under way. In that year the San Domingo Improvement Company an American concern with offices in New York bought the debt of 170,000 pounds sterling which a Dutch company had loaned to the Dominican Government, and with it went the right to collect customs revenues to support their

claims. And in 1899 when the President of San Domingo appointed a board of his own to collect the customs the company appealed to the Washington Government which in turn brought pressure on the Dominican Republic to purchase the company's claim for four and one-half million dollars and forced her to agree that in case this sum was not paid the United States could appoint its own man to supervise customs receipts. Three or four years later the local government encountered financial difficulties, and pressure was again brought to bear so that President Morales of San Domingo had to invite the United States to take over the customs houses. In 1903 and again in 1907 President Roosevelt of the United States concluded agreements with the Dominican Republic which established the right of collection of the customs by the United States and also prohibited the local government from contracting additional debts or lowering its taxes without the consent of the American Government. Moreover according to the treaty of 1907 a loan was arranged by which certain American bankers were to lend twenty million dollars to San Domingo this loan being guaranteed by American control of the customs.

However serious this interference into the financial affairs of the country might be it proved to be merely the entering wedge for a far more serious interference with the political life of the republic. The President of the island republic was shot in 1911 and certain amount of political unrest ensued so President Taft sent an American commissioner to investigate. He was accompanied by a large detachment of marines and although he interfered to the extent of asking the provisional president to resign the political turmoil grew in extent. In 1913 President Wilson sent an American warship and instructed the American minister to supervise the elections which were held in that year. Finally the true nature of American activities in San Domingo were revealed in May 1916 when United States marines were landed under the cover of the

demands came they proved to be so much more drastic than those previously offered that even he could not consent to them so additional pressure had to be brought. The American naval forces seized all the customs houses and refused to allow any of the revenues to pass into the hands of the Haitian Government. Then under the direct threat of establishing a military dictatorship as was done in San Domingo the Haitian Government finally capitulated and signed a most humiliating 'treaty'. Ratification however, was secured only after the most direct threats had been publicly made that U.S. military control would be maintained until such an action had been completed. The ratification did not terminate the period of American military control in Haiti however, and that control was utilized to secure a number of additional concessions. In 1918 a new constitution was forced upon the republic which among other provisions ratified and confirmed all the acts of the American military government. Several significant changes in the original agreement were also forced through by the American financial adviser—an appointee of the National City Bank—which greatly strengthened the hold of the latter institution upon the financial resources of the country. Finally a loan for \$40,000,000 was floated by the National City Bank and allied interests—this step always marking the successful termination of an adventure in imperialist practice. This loan is of course secured by American control of all the financial affairs of the republic.

The record of military control in Haiti has been one of the blackest pages of all history. A Congressional investigation in 1924 brought out the fact that during the period of occupation no less than three thousand Haitians had been murdered by American marines. Very few of these were killed in open warfare although a number of revolts against the American rule did occur. Many, if not most of those killed were murdered in cold blood. The writer of this account happens to have heard certain American marines boast of the number of Haitians they had killed—invariably in quarrels over women. For some reason the Haitians seemed to have resented the wholesale appropriation of their wives by the marines with the result that hundreds of them are now dead for the

crime of trying to protect their wives' honour. Many others were murdered simply for sport, and there is no record of any marine suffering severe punishment for such indiscriminate killing. A 'nigger's' life is of no value to the imperialist shock-troops.

And the period of armed intervention is not yet over for Haiti. In the last part of 1929 riots broke out as a result of strikes at the customs houses and a marine patrol killed five Haitians and wounded twenty more. Immediately the local commander of marines sent out in appeal for more marines to be sent to Haiti but these precautions proved not to be necessary. General Russell who is at present in charge, has forced President Borno to announce that there will be no elections in 1930. It has now been thirteen years since the Haitian Senate was dissolved for refusing to assent to the new constitution even though it had ratified the treaty which has proved so obnoxious.

It has been much the same story in Nicaragua. First there were American investments, this was followed by direct political interference culminating in a military dictatorship fighting between American marines and local patriots and after a complete American victory new loans were negotiated which saddled the Nicaraguan people indefinitely with an economic burden which makes them virtually the slaves of the Wall Street bankers.

The United States not only has the usual economic and political interest in Nicaragua—interests which it is especially easy to pursue under the cloak of the Monroe Doctrine—but she is especially concerned because Nicaragua offers a possible alternative route for a trans-oceanic canal to supplement the Panama Canal.

The government of President Zelaya opposed attempts on the part of the United States to extend its control over Nicaragua by obtaining Fonseca Bay and a canal route as well as attempts of American business interests to establish themselves in the republic. In 1909 a revolution against Zelaya broke out which was financed by Adolfo Diaz who at the time was drawing a salary of \$1,000 a year as an employee of an American corporation. Although he was not known to have any other resources he advanced over half a million dollars for the revolution. The American Consul at Bluefields knew about the revolution in advance and



from his father a wealthy landowner of the liberal party. As a young man he had been driven out of his home and even from his country by the oppressive measures of the pro American conservative party. Gradually he had come to realize that there was no salvation for his native country as long as it was held under the domination of American imperialism. So in 1927 he returned to his native country in Mexico and threw himself whole heartedly into the fight against the American invasion. His story of this struggle is one of the most thrilling tales of heroism against overwhelming odds ever recorded. For practically a year (Sandino) with only four or five hundred devoted followers not only held off but actually defeated the well equipped military forces of the United States. At one time there were over five thousand marines—the cream of the U.S. fighting forces—in Nicaragua and even then Sandino with the whole country side behind him was able to hold his own in the numerous battles which occurred. The Central American soldiers had hitherto been looked upon as a joke. They were almost entirely untrained and undisciplined and virtually unequipped. Sandino had very little equipment except what he captured from the marines but they made up in courage and determination for their lack of guns and although hundreds were killed Sandino had no difficulty in securing new men to take their places. He took his men deep into mountains where they alone were at home and by rapid moves would attack the marines first at one place then another. The North Americans, burdened by their heavy artillery and handicapped by their unfamiliarity with the territory were continually being taken off the guard. Nor could they ever catch the Nicaraguan patriots when they attempted to concentrate to their forces so as to crush them by sheer force of numbers. Thus the struggle dragged on for months to an indeterminate ending and might be still continuing had not political changes put a new face to the situation.

Early in 1928 President Coolidge sent Colonel Stimson now Secretary of State in the Hoover cabinet to Nicaragua to try to arrange some compromise whereby peace could be restored. After a confabulation all the principal liberal leaders agreed to suspend hostilities upon the payment of a price except Sandino. It was agreed that the United States should supervise an election and that all parties would abide

by the result. After the wholesale bribery and corruption in the elections of Chicago and Philadelphia the suggestion that American marines were capable of such supervision seemed like the shrewdest hypocrisy, but it passed unchallenged. As the result of this agreement the struggle of Sandino although maintained for many more months became more and more futile and although he was never defeated his movement ultimately lost its power.

The elections were held, the liberals were returned to office by an overwhelming vote but no sooner had they come into power than negotiations were entered into for the floating of a new loan and talk began to revive about the building of the canal. The independence movement had been defeated and Nicaragua was once again safe for American imperialism—thanks to the American marines. Incidentally although the agreement called for the immediate removal of the marines upon the conclusion of the election they still remain in Nicaragua.

Thus we have seen the path of imperialism in the small republics of the Caribbean. First the investor then an American instigated revolution, then intervention and military control until an agreement has been reached which places all the political and economic power in the hands of the North Americans and finally loans which ensure a permanent period of economic servitude to the North American masters.

In Cuba American control has been even more direct and more effective. In theory the United States restored Cuban independence after the Spanish American war in 1898 but the Platt Amendment restoring supposedly this independence made specific provision for American military intervention for the preservation of law and order and that all acts of an American military government during such a period of occupation should be recognized by the government of Cuba. On four different occasions the United States has despatched military forces to Cuba on each occasion to protect certain political groups that were deemed to be friendly to the United States. The final result has been that at present Cuba is ruled by a dictator who has practically destroyed every vestige of political freedom in the island but who is eminently satisfactory to the United States. During the past twenty years the economic penetration of the country by

American capital has proceeded at an almost unbelievable speed. The sugar industry which is the source of the country's wealth is almost entirely in the hands of Americans. In all over a billion and a quarter dollars are invested in Cuba, two thirds of this in sugar. The government of Cuba has also been brought under the direct control of American capital by means of the usual loans and even American paper money has been forced upon Cuba as the national currency. The result of these steps has been the impoverishment of the islands in spite of the vast amount of money which has been made in sugar—by the American owners.

In conclusion the Caribbean policy of the

United States might be summarized in these terms: American interests shall be regarded as predominant in countries north of the equator not only against European nations—which is the basis of the Monroe Doctrine—but also as against all other American countries—especially against the desires of the countries themselves. The workers and peasant farmers of those countries are producing an important share of the world's wealth and by combined political and economic aggression the bankers of Wall Street have seen to it that every available cent of this wealth shall flow into the pockets of American financiers and capitalists—for the poor uneducated native would not know what to do with such riches.



Two Scenes of the Carnival Day Procession in Bogota

# Indian Womanhood



Srijukta Asoklata Das  
Condemned to four months imprisonment



Srimati Santi Das M.A.  
Joint Secretary Hari Satyagraha Samiti Calcutta  
Condemned to four months imprisonment



Srijukta Giribala Ray  
Condemned to four months imprisonment

Of all the provinces of India Bengal can lay claim to the distinction of having the highest number of women imprisoned for political activities. At present the number of her daughters and adopted daughters in jail exceed fifty and this figure is being added to almost every day.

This is a sufficiently eloquent testimony to the patriotism and the spirit of sacrifice of Indian womanhood which fostered for generations in the performance of a selfless rôle in their homes have shed its tender glamour over the sufferings the miseries and the sordidness too of a political struggle.

We publish in this issue the portraits of three ladies who have been recently condemned to imprisonment for their political activities. They are SRIJUKTA ASOKLATA DAS her daughter SRIJUKTA SANTI DAS M.A. the Joint Secretary to the Hari Satyagraha Samiti of Calcutta and SRIJUKTA GIRIBALA RAY.

Advocate General it was not likely that Mr Mitter's claims would be summarily overlooked. Sir Edward Baker carried out his promise of asking the Government of India for a revision on the lines indicated above. But the Finance Department of the Government of India, which meant Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson would not give way and the result was that after nearly a year Sir Edward Baker reluctantly informed Mr Mitter that he had failed. Be that as it may, the question of appointing a successor to Mr Kenrick came up in the early spring of 1916 when Mr Kenrick retired. Meanwhile there had been a change in the Chief Justiceship of Bengal. Sir Lawrence Jenkins, keen and unerring judge of men, had retired and his place had been filled by Sir Lancelot Sanderson. The latter on his way out from England in October, November 1915 took care to visit what had then become the Imperial city of Delhi before taking charge in Calcutta of his duties as the Chief Justice of Bengal. Sir Lawrence Jenkins had never been liked by the Government of India and the India Office and it was widely believed that venomous criticisms of Sir Lawrence Jenkins had been instilled by the India Office into the ears of Sir Lancelot Sanderson before the latter left England. But that is another story and I must reserve that for another occasion. The question of the appointment of a successor to Mr Kenrick whose retirement was impending was discussed between the Government of India and Sir Lancelot Sanderson during the latter's stay in Delhi and it is reported that Sir Lancelot Sanderson assured Lord Hardinge, who was then the Viceroy, that he had in his mind a capable English barrister who might well be invited by the Government of India to come out from England and accept the position of Advocate-General of Bengal.

influenced by Sir Lancelot Sanderson was not prepared for the strong attitude taken up by Lord Carmichael and he telegraphed to Lord Carmichael to see whether Sir Lancelot Sanderson would consent to the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha. Sir Shamsul Huda who was then the Judicial Member of Lord Carmichael's Government, was deputed to see Sir Lancelot Sanderson. The interview took place at No. 7 Middleton Street. Sir Lancelot Sanderson hummed and hawed but at last observed that of course Sir S. P. Sinha was a very distinguished barrister and he could not oppose his appointment as Advocate-General of Bengal. As soon as Sir Lancelot said that Sir Shamsul Huda asked him whether he would be good enough to record his opinion on the official file, Sir Lancelot agreed and the record of his opinion is still in the Bengal Secretariat. Lord Carmichael telegraphed to Lord Hardinge about what had happened and recommended that Sir S. P. Sinha should be appointed permanent Advocate-General of Bengal. The Advocate-General of Bengal occupies that position for a period of five years and when Lord Carmichael recommended that Sir S. P. Sinha should be made Advocate-General he certainly contemplated that the latter would hold office for a period of five years. But unknown to Lord Carmichael other influences were at work and when Sir S. P. Sinha's Letters Patent of office as Advocate-General of Bengal signed by His Majesty the King came out from England to him and Lord Carmichael's surprise it was discovered that he had been made Advocate-General of Bengal for a period of one year only! Lord Carmichael was furious and he wanted to know from the Government of India who was responsible for this. In passing it may be noted that no previous Advocate-General had ever been appointed for a period of one year. When the Letters Patent arrived from England in October 1916 Sir S. P. Sinha was in Simla, assisting the Committee which was engaged in considering the amendments to the Criminal Procedure Code. Sir George Lowndes who was then the Law Member of the Government of India, had also been taken aback, it was soon discovered that Caesar in the person of the Secretary of State for India (Sir Austen Chamberlain) had been appealed to from India by a *melody* and thus it was that Sir S. P. Sinha's period of office as Advocate-General of Bengal had

been limited to one year. So that as it may, Lord Carmichael, thorough gentleman that he was, would not stand nonsense and he induced Sir S. P. Sinha after a few months to leave the Bar and become a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal in succession to Sir Shamsul Huda. Sir S. P. Sinha left the Bar but before he could be installed in office as Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal he was called upon by Lord Chelmsford to proceed to England as a Member of the Imperial and War Conference of 1917. It was then that, at the instance of Sir Lancelot Sanderson, Mr. T. C. P. Gibbons was brought out from England as Advocate General of Bengal in supersession of the rightful claims of Sir B. C. Mitter. Sir B. C. Mitter, who had been holding the position of Standing Counsel from 1910 to 1917, resigned office at once and held undisputed sway at

the Bar. He was never offered the permanent position then or at any subsequent time, and it is not correct to say that he declined the office of the Advocate General because of the reason put forward by the Times.

Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, when he came to know Sir B. C. Mitter in 1919, expressed his deep regret that Sir B. C. Mitter's claims to the Advocate-Generalship of Bengal had been scandalously overlooked and was about to appoint him as Chief Justice of Allahabad when the eleventh hour intervention of Lord Reading in favour of Sir Grimwood Meers prevented Mr. Montagu from carrying out his original intention. I was not in England at that time but ask Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani for the full details of that transaction.

## FINANCIAL NOTES

### The Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Report

The report of the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee which concluded its labours more than two months ago was at last released for publication on the 12th of August. The report is in three volumes. Volume I presents the survey and recommendations of the Committee, volume II records that part of the evidence which was collected as replies to general questionnaire and volume III gives the replies to special questionnaire, notes and memoranda and minutes of oral evidence.

The main report, as embodied in volume I, is divided into eight parts. Part I deals with introductory studies comprising economic features of Bengal and the existing credit agencies; part II is on credit for agriculture, minor industries and internal trade; part III gives the study of Co-operation in the province; part IV is on legislation etc. as affecting economic life and credit institutions; part V deals with indigenous finance including banks, bankers, money lenders and loan offices; part VI takes up other miscellaneous subjects like banking practice, negotiable instruments etc.; part VII is on investment habit and attraction of capital and part VIII gives a summary of the entire report, paragraph by paragraph.

The summary of the principal findings of the Committee have been published in various dailies and weeklies and hardly any useful purpose will be served by repeating them here. We shall, therefore, make an attempt to bring out and critically examine the special features of the report and shall go into details on subjects that have not drawn adequate public attention.

The basic features of the Bengal Banking Enquiry Report seem to be in the following:

(a) A thorough enquiry into the economic life of the province and a more or less complete economic survey of past and present conditions as affecting credit requirements have been made.

(b) The real cause of agricultural indebtedness and of the peasants' improvidence has been discovered not to lie so much on social and religious ceremonies as on their precarious existence on account of extreme poverty.

(c) The effective solution of the problem has been sought both in relieving the present burden of indebtedness as well as in devising means to augment agricultural capital.

(d) The only way to provide for both these requirements is considered to lie in the wide extension of the Co-operative movement.

(e) Emphasis is laid on the need for improvements in marketing of agricultural produce and organization of markets for different commodities with standardized weights, measures and quality in order to create and foster further credit. The establishment of licensed warehouses and the introduction of trade acceptances for setting free commercial credit are two essentials in this connection.

(f) Protective legislation on the lines of the Punjab Land Alienation Act, restricting free transfer of land by an agricultural tenant is not considered necessary.

(g) Legislation for the regulation of the activities of money-lenders and their registration is considered desirable but it is recognized that the solution of the problem of usury must lie not so much in legislative restrictions as in the establishment of suitable credit institutions which will render usurious activities impossible.

(h) Finally, it is noted that the problems of credit and banking in the province are closely dependent on wider financial situation of the country as a whole. Solutions must be sought, therefore, with due regard to all India problems. Viewed from this point the primary requirement for the expansion of banking organization in the country is a well organized money market with a central bank at its head to control credit as well as the currency policy.

The Committee deserves our congratulation if not for any new and attractive scheme for revolutionizing the economic life of the people, at least for the collection of much valuable data and their presentation in a most useful form for future workers in the field of economics of rural Bengal.

The Committee discovers that the fertility of agricultural land in Bengal is deteriorating steadily on account of the absence of manure and the yield of the different crops

has become less and less during the last five quinquenniums. There are hardly any peasant proprietors except in the *thas-mahal* estates and innumerable intermediate tenures have grown up between the proprietor and the cultivator in almost every estate. Agricultural holdings are found almost in all cases to be very small, the settlement records of eighteen districts giving the average area as between 61 to 282 acres. The Committee, however, noticed some discrepancy between these findings and the estimates given in some of the older Government reports and after a series of assumptions concluded that the average area of a holding for each agricultural family is 521 acres. One fails to understand why the Committee grew so apologetic in recording their findings of fragmentation of the soil, and of the increase of uneconomic holdings in the province. To make the study of holdings useful what was needed was a classification of different holdings into groups showing the number of holdings of different size in the province. Mere average on the total is more misleading than informative.

Each holding is divided into a number of fields or plots, which are often scattered over considerable distances and are hardly ever contiguous. The average area of these plots is only about a quarter of an acre. This affects the credit of an agriculturist, for he can rarely get a loan from anybody other than a neighbour.

The following table shows the average profits of cultivation per acre of the principal crops in Bengal, which a gentleman farmer who hires all labour, human and cattle, and uses methods employed in Government farms, can expect to make in an average year. This is particularly of interest as showing the possibilities of agriculture as an occupation of the vast number of our unemployed young men.

Name of crop	Average cost of production	Normal yield per acre		Harvest price per maund in 1928-29		Value of produce per acre		Profit
		Rs	lbs	Rs	As	Rs	As	
Rice (cleaned)	17	1022	124	6	10	52	2	37
Other food crops (wheat)	13	721	9	6	0	54	0	21
Oil seeds (rape and mustard)	42	1731	162	9	0	144	12	51
Castor sugar (p. r.)	11	183	58	8	12	50	12	18
Castor sugar (p. r.)	74	1011	72	8	9	715	8	12
Tobacco	108	1007	122	20	0	241	0	76

banks can venture to interest themselves. The experience of co-operative jute sales societies in Bengal during the last three years does not encourage us to support any new field of co-operative activity so long as real and active co-operation cannot be secured. Mere belief in co-operative principles and their successful application in other countries are no grounds for our looking up to co-operative methods as the only panacea for most of the evils in our rural life. The loan offices of Bengal which have built up quite independently an amount of credit almost equal to that of the co-operative societies are likely to be of greater help in the reconstruction of the country side so long as the people are not sufficiently advanced in education to manage their own institutions without the help of professionals.

Valuable suggestions have been made by the Committee for improving the marketing of agricultural produce. The most important of these is that on the establishment of licensed warehouses. We are entirely at one with the authors of the report in emphasizing that no real improvement in the economic condition of the agriculturist can be effected without the establishment of warehouses which will not only teach the peasant prudence but will also secure for him reasonable prices for his products. The proposal for encouraging local *aratis* to adapt themselves to the conditions of licensed warehouses is our support.

Mention should here be made of the preference given to Europeans by the jute mills as discovered by the Committee. The Indian merchants in the Calcutta jute market find much difficulty in disposing of their stock to the mills. Their names or marks with rare exceptions are not recognized by the mills in utter disregard of their proved integrity and their financial position. They are compelled to sell through European firms of brokers who are in most cases merchants themselves. They take advantage of the best market to sell their own goods first and the Indian clients get their chance only when they are no longer sellers themselves. The Indian merchants again has to pay a brokerage of 1½ per cent, while the European merchants dealing directly with the mills have not to pay any brokerage at all. With a few exceptions the mills do not allow the Indian brokers to call on them to sell jute. This direct sale to the mills is practically closed to Indian merchants. This is a position

serious enough and calls for immediate cure. But in vain do we search the pages of the report to find suggestions for an effective remedy.

Regarding credit for internal trade including the distribution of imported goods the Committee find existing facilities to be extremely limited and negotiable instruments seldom used. The accommodation required by wholesale dealers of Calcutta is obtained generally by borrowing on *hundis* i.e. on personal credit. These merchants also grant credit to their clients in the same way. In the movement of the products to the exporting centres credit can similarly be obtained only on personal security. In rare cases the bill of lading can be used as security for discounting the *hundi* drawn on the Calcutta agent. All other transactions in the internal trade are on cash basis. For goods sold on credit the Committee urges the introduction of trade acceptances. Although there are obvious practical difficulties in inducing our creditors to draw bills and our debtors to accept them we welcome this experiment. This will at any rate provide new field of work for the loan offices in the mofussil which are anxiously looking out for the development of commercial bills in the interior.

Speaking of industrial credit the Committee notes that Bengal contains a large variety of middle sized industries mostly in and around Calcutta. These have to depend in many cases on borrowed funds as the initial capital is almost always exhausted in setting up the factory with the necessary equipment. A special type of industrial banks should be organized to help these concerns which for want of suitable financing agencies are greatly handicapped today. The Committee must have noticed in this connection that only the Bengalee banks in Calcutta came forward to help in the building up of Bengali industries. The attitude of the Imperial Bank the Exchange Bank and even of the non Bengalee Indian banks carrying on extensive business in Calcutta on the question of encouragement of industries in Bengal is highly to be deplored.

Part V dealing with indigenous finance is perhaps the most useful portion of the report bringing to light many things not hitherto known. The Committee hopes that some measure of co-ordination between indigenous bankers and other credit institutions will be secured but it is not quite sure how to effect this co-ordination. The loan offices

of Bengal have been thoroughly examined by the Committee and numerous valuable suggestions have been made for improving their working. We find this section extremely useful and we commend it to all who are interested in the administration and establishment of loan offices in the province. We are no lovers of legislative control or guidance of credit institutions however, and therefore we feel that the Committee has gone rather too far in its reliance on statutory reforms. A Federation of Bankers in Bengal can surely do a lot to bring about necessary improvements and we trust that our loan offices will try voluntary methods before the activities of some of them may call for legislative interference generally.

#### How the Boycott Tells

After all that is said and all that is done it is necessary to examine how far the efforts directed towards the boycott of foreign cloth so vehemently urged for the last seven months, have had their adequate return. The following statistics of movements of cotton twist and yarn and of cotton piece goods are given to help our readers to form their own judgment.

#### IMPORTS

##### A COTTON TWIST AND YARN

(i) During week ending August 9 1930  
and Corresponding Week of 1929  
(In thousand lbs.)

Into	1930	1929
Calcutta	230	327
Bombay	84	333
Madras	21	227
<b>Total</b>	<b>335</b>	<b>887</b>

##### B COTTON PIECE-GOODS

(i) During Week ending 9th August, 1930 and Corresponding Week of 1929  
(In thousand Yards)

	Grey		White		Other kinds	
	1930	1929	1930	1929	1930	1929
Calcutta	6158	18020	3185	2852	3867	2964
Bombay	727	4932	716	2464	969	5011
Karachi	12		151	764	180	324
Madra	30	354	23	710	21	352
Rangoon	449	320	716	848	1513	1763
<b>Total</b>	<b>7350</b>	<b>23,626</b>	<b>4791</b>	<b>7,676</b>	<b>6556</b>	<b>10,437</b>

(ii) During last three months, April  
to June, 1930

(a) Grey (in thousand lbs.)

	Apr	May	June	Jan-June
United Kingdom	932	661	17	4,511
Japan	710	749	379	2,686
Other Countries	880	1,091	978	6,011
<b>Total (1930)</b>	<b>2,022</b>	<b>2,301</b>	<b>1,872</b>	<b>13,268</b>
1929	3,410	2,982	2,342	17,142
1928	1,108	2,274	2,276	10,408

(b) White (in thousand lbs.)

United Kingdom	372	427	273	2,170
Japan	10	39	77	240
Other Countries	4	—	2	9
<b>Total 1930</b>	<b>386</b>	<b>466</b>	<b>432</b>	<b>2,419</b>
1929	682	79	596	3,219
1928	348	412	391	2,103

(c) Coloured (Cotton Twist and Yarn)  
In thousand lbs.

United Kingdom	142	191	180	1,930
Japan	—	—	4	4
Other Countries	38	16	27	452
<b>Total 1930</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>217</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>1,692</b>
1929	303	418	122	2,511
1928	210	277	310	1,948



(u) During last three months, April to June 1930  
(a) Grey (in lakhs of Yards)

	April	May	June	Jan to June
United Kingdom	442	285	140	2 141
Japan	298	441	227	1 893
America	—	2	1	4
Other Countries	1	—	1	19
Total 1930	741	628	379	1 357
1929	1 016	711	352	4 701
1928	818	463	331	3 350

(b) White (in lakhs of Yards)

	April	May	June	Jan to June
United Kingdom	426	348	259	2 255
Other Countries	40	48	33	279
Total 1930	476	396	292	2 537
1929	596	794	344	2 742
1928	593	662	466	3 213

(c) Coloured printed or dyed (in lakhs of yards)

	Apr	May	June	Jan to June
United Kingdom	285	200	153	1 373
Continent	21	22	19	162
Japan	105	75	82	796
Other Countries	9	10	8	4
Total 1930	420	313	262	2 305
1929	515	442	306	2 457
1928	451	474	366	2 603

From the above figures for imports it will be seen that in cotton twists and yarn the decline on the total figures for January to June 1930 has not been very marked in comparison with the figures for corresponding periods of the last two years, 1929 and 1928. Imports during the week ending 9th August however shows a sharp decline and it may be presumed that the effects of the boycott have now begun to be reflected on this trade. Further, it is probable that those local consumers of imported cotton twists and yarns who could not adapt themselves to new conditions immediately after the inauguration of the boycott are gradually getting themselves adjusted to the demand in the country.

In the case of cotton piece-goods however, the decline in imports during the last few weeks has been remarkable. During the week ending 9th August, only 7,380,000 yards of grey piece-goods were imported, the corresponding figure for last year being 23,626,000.

Attention should here be drawn to the fact that mere import figures are not indicative of the trade in foreign yarn and piece goods that is going on internally in the country. We are aware, that a large proportion of these imported goods are lying stocked in various ports for want of up-

country buyers. The following figures for despatches by rail will throw considerable light on the question how far the boycott has affected the actual sale of imported cotton yarn and piece-goods.

### DESPATCHES BY RAIL

A COTTON TWIST AND YARN (IN CWTs.)

(i) During Week ending 9th August, 1930

	Foreign	Indian	Total
Calcutta	391	3,126	3,520
Bombay	643	1,694	5,337
Karachi	—	2	2
Madras	680	1,180	1,860
Total	1,717	9,002	10,719
	50 647	251 450	302 097

B COTTON PRICE GOODS (IN TONS)

(i) During Week ending 9th August, 1930

	Foreign	Indian	Total
Calcutta	135	210	345
Bombay	33	695	728
Karachi	—	1	1
Madras	112	149	261
Total (tons)	280	1,075	1,355

In examining the net effects of the boycott a study should be made of the conditions reflecting in Great Britain in this connection. The position there in the textile industry has continued to be gloomy for some years past, and the blow that the anti-British movement in India has dealt to that industry can easily be imagined. In the review of foreign trade of the United Kingdom for the month of June, we find that the textile trades made the poorest showing among exports during the month. Shipments of all classes of cotton goods were smaller than in May last or in June, 1929. Compared with that month the exports of grey yarn were 1,215,000 lbs. smaller, shipments of grey piece-goods fell off by 18,808,000 square yards, bleached piece-goods by 27,370,000 square yards, printed piece-goods by nearly 5,500,000 square yards, and dyed piece-goods by some 11,700,000 square yards. The main reason for these declines was the fact that the "Eastern" markets showed the greatest decrease in takings.



## Industry and Research

The importance of research to industry has been fully recognized both in America and Europe. But India still lags behind in this respect, and therefore, the remarks of one of the contributors to the *Scientific Indian* are very timely.

One of the greatest drawbacks of Industrial India is that the manufacturers cannot afford to maintain a well-equipped laboratory or engage the services of qualified chemists for regularly testing their products and for suggesting improvements upon them. And even if they could afford they would not. Because the necessity of employing a chemist or maintaining a laboratory is hardly realised in this country. Indian industrialists think it wasteful to spend money for such a purpose. Yet industry owes a great deal to Research.

In the industrial West it is customary well high to house a laboratory in the plant and include a chemist on the staff. The expenses incurred are gladly borne and in the long run amply repaid in many ways. Research helps industry in improving the quality of products in lowering manufacturing costs in preventing wastes in utilizing its products. Above all it guarantees purity and maintains a standard upon which alone lasting goodwill is built. The simple mention of the Kodak Laboratories of international fame will suffice as an instance in point. The popularity of photography the world over is indubitably linked with the research carried therein.

The remarks apply particularly in the case of India now that she is witnessing another phase in her much needed industrial renaissance. If she intends to make abiding progress she must adopt some of the methods pursued by Western industries.

Few manufactures in this country can boast of a laboratory as an annex to their workshops. The manufacturing process is left in charge of laymen who have little or no knowledge of industrial chemistry and certainly without any vocational training. One lamented result of such a procedure is that swadeshi articles often acquire a bad reputation being immature products of an amateur experiments.

## Old Age Pensions and Insurance

Mr Leroy A. Lincoln writes in *Indian Insurance* on the place held by insurance in national business structure and points

out in this connection, one of the neglected aspects of insurance.

One more product deserves mention here. Perhaps it might be called the complement of life insurance. I refer to pensions—annuities of course in our parlance. American business has but lately come to realize that the human machine like its other machines will become old worn out obsolete. The spirit which now pervades our employers forbids the scrapping of the human machines which have given faithful service in their useful years. But recognizes that these machines wear out. Instead then of scrapping the machines far seeing employers are through pension funds preparing in advance to substitute old age pensions for wages. How shall they be organized and managed? What shall they provide? These are questions which are occupying a prominent place in the minds of keen students of sociological problems in public and private life. Leaders in government are alive to the question. Individual States are considering the subject through their legislatures. Life insurance companies have been developing group pension programmes available to employers desiring to make old age pension provisions for their employees. There is much for us to learn much for the public to learn. But it is rapidly becoming apparent that some vehicle, public or private must be found for organizing and managing systems of old age pensions which shall be purely pensions without those frills which so materially increase the cost. Our companies must meet this problem and meet it squarely if we do not wish to see it taken out of our hands by government. Surely the institution of life insurance in this country will be alert to devise and present appropriate means of satisfying the growing demand for this sort of protection on a basis which, both in cost and in administration, will be superior to any service which government may be expected to provide.

## The Governor General in the Dominions

A great change has come over the position of the Governor General of the Dominions during recent years so that their rights and powers as laid down in the written constitutions have become more or less antiquated. The whole subject is dealt with by Mr St. Nihal Singh in *The Indian Review*.

The written Constitutions of the other Dominions are more or less antiquated documents containing all the formulas that appear to make the Governor General supreme in legislation.

Ministry but lack the provisions whereby those formulae are reduced to legal fictions all legislative power residing in the Legislature and all administrative power being exercised by the Ministry responsible exclusively to the Legislature.

A Governor General may be able to exercise a measure of influence upon the course of legislation and administration through offering sage advice to the Ministry but the Ministry may choose to disregard his counsel and refuse to pay heed even to his warnings. The responsibility is the Ministry's and not the Governor General's. As the constitutional representative of a constitutional monarch the Dominion Governor General must in the last analysis follow the advice tendered to him by the Ministry, whether he may deem it wise or no.

Not quite half a dozen years ago the Governor General of Canada (the Viscount Byng of Vimy) chose to set an example upon one occasion instead of dissolving Parliament as he was asked to do by the Premier (Mr. Mackenzie King) he on his own initiative and at the suggestion of a conservative statesman (as it was openly said in Canada) sent for the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Arthur Meighan) and charged him with the task of forming a new Government.

At the election that followed some months later and witnessed by me on the spot it was apparent that the majority of the voters in the Dominion did not favour any such innovation. Mr. King and his Liberals headed the polls. The Conservatives were beaten. Mr. Meighan was personally defeated and resigned his leadership and returned to his legal practice.

The verdict of the electors was plain to any one who had the eyes to see. It is to be doubted that any other Governor General of Canada will try again to rule of his own initiative instead of following the advice tendered to him by his constitutional advisers.

Shortly after his triumphal return to power Mr. King crossed the Atlantic and attended a session of the Imperial Conference from which emanated a document designed to reduce to writing the more important innovations introduced in Dominion practice since their creation as self-governing nations. The importance of the part that the Canadian Prime Minister played in those deliberations has never been understood at anything like its true worth.

### Indian Women of To-day

In her special address on India which Mrs. William Graham, the wife of the President of the British Board of Trade delivered before the British Women's Conference in London she referred eloquently to the Indian women of to-day. Her speech has been quoted in full in *Strindham* from which we quote the following extracts.

To the women whose love for freedom is insusceptible, we owe a debt which no political or other loyalty should effect. There are women in this country who throw up their hands in horror at India's social evils and without asking: What can we do to help Indian women? Indian women are

quite equal to helping themselves, if only we will let them work out their own salvation. The women of India are Indians first and women afterwards.

They are in the forefront in social reform; they are organised. The Women's Indian Association is a powerful body. I am glad to be able to have read at this Conference this afternoon a message from its Vice-President who until recently was the Deputy Speaker of the Madras Council—a place which she has held for nearly a decade and to which she has been unanimously elected and re-elected. We have with us Mr. Meighan, its President-founder and Mrs. Hannah Sen its London representative. I have also met on different occasions its secretaries and other

Indian women through this and other Associations have accomplished what to me seems stupendous tasks. In education in child marriage reform in the abolition of untouchability in temperance in the abolition of evil customs, and in every other department of national progress the women of India are taking a full share. Our task is not to lecture them on feminism but to remove such restraints as are imposed on them by us. If we do that we have done all that we need do. If we fight shy of that we lay ourselves open to doubt regarding our sincerity. You cannot work for equality or freedom for Indian women without giving equality and freedom to India herself. I leave this thought with those of you who are engaged in securing equality of citizenship for women in the British Empire. It is not the men of India, but we, who are keeping the women of India in an inferior status of citizenship.

The women of India have no need for our lip sympathy. They are truly in earnest about their country. Their influence in the national and domestic life in India is unbounded. Some of them are to-day in prisons but no prison will hold all India's daughters. If we can sell our goods and nurse the glory of our Empire only by keeping the women of India in prison let us make our choice to divest ourselves of the Empire.

### New Turkish Literature

Dr Julius Germanus, who holds the chair of Islamic studies endowed by the Nizam in the Visva Bharati writes in *The Visva Bharati Quarterly* on the modern movements in Islam in course of which he gives an account of the new movement in Turkish literature.

In the half a century which has elapsed since the works of the young Turkish writers first appeared Turkish literature has traversed a long road. The sonorous phrases, even of Namik Kemal, *Vizir Pasha* or *Abdul Hak* Hamid appeared cumbersome and gave way to the purer language of the people. Turkish nationalism liberated itself from the bondage of the past. The Arabic tongue no longer occupied a sacrosanct position, conglomerations of foreign words without any meaning became obsolete. The Turkish language again became a means to express thoughts and not to conceal them. The older literature grew more and more alien in spirit to the Turks and were enjoyed less and

less. *Enzeli Nedim* and *Baki* were often referred to by modern writers but were scarcely read like the venerable old arm chair in the corner uncomfortable to sit in the older writers were shoved into the background. The changing times created new ideas and new forms. Instead of the *ghazel* with its monotonous theme European poetry with its great variety warmed itself into the hearts of the people. *Bedriyade Ekrem* was a pioneer of European poetic form and at the same time a master of the tenderest tones in the Turkish style. Dramatic literature produced a genius of extraordinary ability. *Aldul Ilaki Hamid* who in his prose dramas soared to the level of immortality. French literary movements readily influenced the Turkish poet, and the impressionistic school soon found imitators in *Tevfik Fikret* and in that most ingenious writer *Denab Shizab Fidin*. Prose literature found a new vehicle in the Turkish novel. It led the national novel (*milli*) because it dealt with social problems and a number of writers contributed to create the typical Turkish novel of the present day. A symbol of romantic and melancholy story. Humorous literature also developed rapidly as being most congenial to the Turkish spirit. All these literary productions reflect the slow but sure awakening of the Turkish spirit from its slumber of centuries. Every new literary work was a step forward in the liberation of the language from its foreign shackles and also marked from day to day the advance of the Turkish people in their struggle to get free from both Asiatic and European despotism. Poets began to sing the songs of their own hearts in the language of the people. Novelists to describe in a popular form the lives of men of the people and Turkish politicians began at long last to act in the interest of the people. Time-honoured words and expressions from the classics familiar and cherished as they were to older ears and tastes were rudely brushed aside to give place to the words of the peasant of Anatolia. A new Turkish literature was created for the Turks in the language of the Turks.

### Social Hygiene in Britain

Dr B C Oliver writes in *The National Christian Council Review* on the progress of social hygiene in Britain. The work of promoting this work has for some years past been carried on by the British Social Hygiene Council, which is an influential body including many distinguished scientists, educationists and statesmen as members. The educational aspect of this work of which an account is given by Dr Oliver and quoted below, is one of its most important sides.

The British Social Hygiene Council during the last twelve years has placed the educational aspect of its work in the forefront of its programme recognizing that it is a changed attitude of mind on the part of the public that will lead to the prevention of venereal diseases. In their educational programme they have passed beyond the negative

idea of prevention and are striving to lay the foundation for a healthy social life. In their statement of aims and objects more than half are directly concerned with the positive aspect.

1 To preserve and strengthen the family as the basic social unit.

2 To promote educative and social measures directed towards the development of control of the racial instinct.

3 To emphasize the responsibility of the community and the individual for preserving and improving by educative and social measures the quality of future generations.

4 To further social customs which promote a high and equal standard of sex conduct in men and women.

5 To co-operate to secure these ends. The major educational associations are represented on the Social Hygiene Council.

It is recognized that arrangements would have to be made for a programme for schools and for the public. The schools must be reached through the teachers and through the educational authorities. Conferences of school teachers in secondary education have been called, summer schools and instructional courses of lectures have been provided, addresses have been given to many educational associations.

### Muhammadian Waterworks

Love of running water was very strong with the Muhammadian rulers of India and it led them to provide for tanks and reservoirs in their buildings. This interesting subject is dealt very interestingly in the *Indian State Railways Magazine* by Mr E K Alant.

A love for the presence of water—especially of running water—is characteristic of Muhammadian design whether it is of royal or of a more modest domestic interior or of a formal garden around tomb or shrine. In this respect Muslim taste is in sharp contrast with the Hindu preference for large expanses of still water exemplified by unmarable tanks and wells.

The marked fondness for ornamental water which can be observed quite as well in Muhammadian domestic design of to-day as from the monuments and gardens which remain to us from Moslem genius of the past is not only one of the most pleasing conventions in Saracenic architecture but in garden planning is the element that has probably done more than anything else to stereotype the form which to Muhammadian feeling the ideal garden should take. It has been said that a garden whether it contain flowers or not must in Islam contain trees and running water in its composition in order to become a satisfying work of art. Whether this be so or not—and many doubts will doubtless be raised on a question that is the skillful use of running water confined and conveyed by a system of masonry work and relieved by sometimes a very restrained quantity of vegetation. Muhammadian garden planners have often succeeded in creating delight.

sequestered oases of refreshment in the most unpromising corners of a parched and thirsty land.

It may well be that this predilection for decorative water which was so generally evinced by the Moghul invaders of the Punjab was the expression of an inborn taste that could but rarely be indulged in the barren desiccated regions of High Asia from whence they came. To a people accustomed to the forbidding inhospitable uplands of Turkestan all watered at last and often mere desert, descent into the verdant plants of the Five Rivers must have seemed the entry into an earthly Paradise. In the midst of the cultivated fertile and shady groves of a scene that contrasted so strikingly with the sterile wastes which they had left behind they lost no time in ministering to a desire for luxuriant ease once the stern business of conquest was accomplished. And the abundance of water gave them an opportunity of using it lavishly in the building activity that quickly followed success in the field. Together with the erection of palace fort and mosque went the layout of garden and court and in all provision was made for water—precious alike for its life giving refreshment its cool soothing beauty and its symbolism.

### Unity of Indian Trade Unions

Mr R S Rinker President of the G I P Railwaymen's Union pleads for unity among Indian trade unions in *The Indian Labour Review*. After referring to the present split in the Indian trade union world and the unemployment problem Mr Rinker goes on to say

But what has been the lead that we have given to the various trade unions in the country, to-day we stand as scattered sheep and our common enemy is steadily gaining ground. The G I P Railway strike was suppressed by the Government's eviction of strikers from their quarters by hundreds of prosecutions against most peaceful and innocent railway workers and in some cases against their leaders too and thousands of strikers are still being kept out of employment on the G I P Railway. The workers asked for bread and received a stone.

All this is due to our ranks being hopelessly divided. The time has really come when an earnest effort ought to be made to present a united front to our common enemy. The necessity for presenting such a united front is more urgent because of the grave political crisis through which India is passing today. The Simon Commission the forthcoming Round Table Conference in London the most phenomenal non-violent movement inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi all these questions require the closest attention from every Trade Unionist in the country. Labour in India can no longer afford to shut its eyes to the glorious fight for freedom which is being fought today in India. But unfortunately there is no strong central organisation which can give a clear lead on these burning questions which vitally affect the future of the Trade Union movement.

It is more easy to state the problem that confronts us than to find a satisfactory solution for it. I make my humble suggestions for what they

are worth. I quite agree with the editor of *The Indian Labour Review* that violence of any sort has to be ruled out of consideration whether it emanates from Moscow or England. We do not want a policy of violence dictated from Moscow nor do we want slavish submission to a foreign rule based partly on violence. So long as the British Trade Union Congress and its political counterpart the British Labour Party headed by Mr Ramsay MacDonald and Mr Wedgwood Benn endorse a policy of ruthless repression and rules by ordinances Indian workers cannot very well accept the lead of the British Trade Union Congress.

The Indian workers situated as they are, must chalk out their own economic and political programme without caring for the frowns or favours of Geneva or the jeers and gibes of Moscow. Indian Trade Unions must refuse to be dictated to either by Geneva or by Moscow. It is the slavish imitation of either Geneva or Moscow which has been the root cause of all our troubles and meaning less fights. We must brush aside the docile trade unionist who subordinates the interests of thousands of starving Indian workers either to the dictates of the British Trade Union Congress or those of the Geneva school of thought. We must equally give up the meaningless imitation of Moscowite programmes which only mean disaster to the Indian working class.

### Hindu Religious Thought and Western Mysticism

That Hindu religious thought has things to learn from Western mysticism is not perhaps commonly realized. In the series of articles which M Romyn Rolland has been contributing the *Prabuddha Bharat*, he pointed out the three lessons which Hindu religions thought might be interested to learn from the West.

To sum up the following in my opinion are the three chief lessons that Hindu religious thought should be interested to learn and to take from European Mysticism.

1. The architectural sense of Christian metaphysicians I have just described it in the work of Demis and his sovereign art is to be found throughout the Middle Ages. The men who raised the cathedrals carried into the construction of the mind the same genius of intelligent order and harmonious balance that made them the master builders of the arches linking the infinite to the finite.

2. The psychological science of the Christian explorers of the Dark Night of the Infinite. In it they expended a genius at least equal (sometimes superior) to that which has since been devoted into profane literature through the theatre and the novel. The psychology of the mystic masters of the sixteenth century in Spain and the seventeenth century in France foreshadowed that of the classical poets and modern thinkers who imagine that they have discovered the subconscious have scarcely reached the same level. It goes without saying that their interpretations differ. But the essential point is not the interpretation

the name given by the mind to what it sees—but what it sees. The eyes of Western mysticism reached to the limits of the inaccessible.

3 The formidable energies that Western mysticism uses to achieve Divine Union in particular the passionate violence of the European accustomed to battle and action. It devoured Ray-broek so that his Bhakti (Love) sometimes took on the guise of the Seven Deadly Sins: 'Implacable Desire', the fury of mortal 'Combat', the 'torrent of delights', and the embrace of carnal possession, and the colossal hunger of the Epicurean. Similarly the *Inscrivible* of Eckhart whose 'Soul being identical to God's' cannot bear anything above it, even God Himself, and so seizes Him by force.

In these three directions I believe that Indian Mysticism might find sources of enrichment.

### Modern Cynicism and its Remedy

In the same paper are quoted some remarks of Mr Bertrand Russell in modern cynicism and its remedy.

Russell shows how religion, country, progress, beauty and truth have lost their old influence on men. Religion is intellectually unsound—the God of most moderns is a little vague. Patriotism no longer attracts—it is obvious to all intelligent young men that patriotism is the curse of our age, and will bring civilization to an end if it cannot be mitigated. Similarly of progress, beauty and truth. Myself when young accepted this view (that truth was absolute, eternal and superhuman) and devoted a mispent youth to the search for truth. But a whole host of enemies have risen to stir truth-pragmatic behaviour in psychology, relativity physics. It is difficult to worship a merely human and relative truth.

Not these alone. There are also other reasons for cynicism. The effect of mass production and elementary education is that stupidity is more firmly entrenched than at any other time since the rise of civilization. The work of the intellectuals is ordered and paid for by governments or rich men whose aims probably seem absurd if not pernicious, to the intellectuals concerned. But a dash of cynicism enables them to adjust their consciences to the situation. Thus then is the reason. Intellectually we are fine but by action and mode of life gross. The conflict is at the foundation of modern life.

What is the remedy then according to Russell? The cure will come only when intellectuals can find a career that embodies their creative impulses. I do not see any prescription except the old one advocated by Dr. Rich. Educate our masters. The intellectuals are to change the tastes of the stupid rich who are now holding the stage. 'How pleasant a world would be in which no man was allowed to participate on the Stock Exchange unless he could pass an examination in economics and Greek poetry, and in which politicians were obliged to have a competent knowledge of history and modern novels. Civilization in the modern world is more complex and remote in its ramifications than it ever was before, owing to the increase of large organizations but these we control these

organizations are ignorant men who do not know the hundredth part of the consequences of their actions.

### Federal India

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer subjects the proposals of the Simon Commission with regard to federal constitution for India to a thorough examination in *New India*. After referring to the proposals of the Simon Commission Sir Sivaswami says:

There are a number of admissions in the Report of the Simon Commission which tell against their own recommendations. They concede that the conditions necessary for the development of the Federal Government do not now exist in India. They admit also that the present structure of the Government of India is one of the Unitary type, but what they say is that the present structure of the Government must be destroyed and broken up and new political entities must be called into existence. The tendency of a Federal Government this I observe, is towards greater and greater centralization. Even in the United States of America, the tendency has been to increase the power of the Central Government. When that is the tendency even of a Government of the Federal type does it not look strange that when we are on the road towards that better type of Government the Simon Commission should express a desire that we should pull down the existing edifice?

There are some arguments put forth by them in favour of a Federal system which they seem to consider as having immense force. Let us consider British India. They say that the areas and populations of the different provinces are so vast that it is not possible to have a system of direct election to the Central Assembly. As regards the Provincial Council they seem to think that the difficulties do not exist. But the number of voters for the Provincial Legislature in some districts is nearly a lakh and this number is sufficiently large to cause difficulties. I think the problem will be serious even for the local Legislative Councils. They think that the method of indirect election will solve the difficulties. But at what expense? It is observed by the Simon Commission themselves that the essential condition of any representative Democracy is that there should be contact between the voter and the member. Even as it is, it is difficult to secure any such contact under a scheme of indirect election. The result will be that the voter will not be trained at all to make his wishes known to the country at large. The voter would never think impartially and would never be trained to do so. America adopted a system of indirect election to the Senate but within the last 20 years or so the system has been abandoned and now there is direct election to the Senate. This experience of America carries with it a lesson.

The difficulties arising out of the size of electorates would be considerably reduced if as in England and other countries the party system is properly developed in India. It is conceded that in this country one party at any rate has fairly organized itself and has got sufficient influence—and in the

eyes of some perhaps too much influence—and it is actively working. In the same way if other parties come into existence and establish their organizations we can surmount the difficulties created by the vast population and area of each constituency.

Another absurdity which one would have believed the members of that Commission were incapable of perpetrating is that the same individual could a member of the local Council as well as the Imperial Legislature at the same time.

In a truly Federal Government so far as fitness of the States for entering into the Central Government is concerned they must all have a certain level of capacity: the assumption underlying this being that the various States ought not to be interfered with in their internal administration. But the Commission seem to think that such areas as the Imperial Tracts of Ganjam and Orissa and Baluchistan are to be brought within the scope of the Federal Government. Do they contemplate that they are all fit for the exercise of complete internal autonomy? The Central Government would necessarily have to pay special attention to the internal management and administration of these backward areas and therefore they could not possibly have that internal autonomy which is the fundamental postulate of any type of Federal Government. That seems to me to be the *reductio ad absurdum* of this argument of the Simon Commission which is based on the existence of backward areas. The Commission opine that during the march to the goal of responsible government maintenance of the peace and safety of the country must continue to be an important concern of the Central Government. But I would ask the question: Would it cease to be a matter of Central concern after India had reached the goal?

I can see only one advantage in all these recommendations from the point of view of the Simon Commission. It is the inestimable advantage of putting off the transfer of responsibility to the people. The Commission has said that it is necessary to take a long view of the development of Indian Self Government. Altogether their view is so long that Indian Self Government cannot be realized within any measurable distance of time.

#### Art and Industry

Mr O C Ganguli the veteran Bengali art critic pleads eloquently for the

introduction of artistic standards in the industrial productions of the country in *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*.

Under the stress of the Swadeshi Movement the fields of Industrial Arts have been made to yield all manners of home-made products and articles 'made-in-India'. But these indigenous products arts and crafts are woefully devoid of any taste or any sense of beauty. Objects of daily use—articles of furniture, textiles, potteries and domestic utensils etc.—acquire a new value when illuminated with the glow of taste and the polish of beauty. Industrial products lacking in artistic finish and in quality of design as a rule lag far behind in all competitive markets. In Europe, America and in Japan—in the fields of education as of commerce—*Application of Art to Industry* is a favourite slogan and an inevitable article of faith for economic salvation. Ruskin's well known dictum—*Industry without Art is Brutality*—became long ago an article of economic faith in all phases of industrial development in Europe. It is a well known fact—well recognised by people of shrewd commercial sense—that crafts and industrial products with a touch of artistic finish or a novelty of design are best sellers in international markets. All manners of Japanese arts and crafts, chiefly objects of daily use—by virtue of their novel ideas of design and the touch of their peculiar racial aesthetic flavour—captured the markets of Europe and America many decades ago. The output of Japanese export trade—in art wares, e.g. pottery, screens, matting, toys, etc.—runs into formidable figures. In woeful contrast the figures of export Indian trade in art wares and industrial products display every year a steady tendency to a depressing downward course. The much vaunted Wembley Show proved to be an absolute moonshine and has failed to afford Indian products any decent foothold in the markets of Europe. The reasons for this may be more than one but the most obvious reason is the poverty of design and finish in all forms of our modern Indian art crafts. Unless Indian producers can brush up their aesthetic taste, revise their quality of design and stamp their wares with the peculiar mark of Indian genius, Indian products have very little chance in the competitive markets of Europe to-day. Art as a factor in industrial fields has yet to be recognized by Indian traders and industrialists.





## England in Palestine

British policy in Palestine has perhaps been vitiated by the fundamental error of trying to reconcile the irreconcilable—the Jewish and the Arab claims that is. This defect, as Mr Vincent Sheean points out in *Asia* strikes at the very root of a sound system of administration for Palestine.

The position of England in Palestine is not a pleasant one for those Englishmen who have the good name of their country at heart. Both the Arabs and the Jews feel with a fair show of reason, that Britain has betrayed them and to the observer who is not Arab nor Jewish nor English it must seem that the British have put themselves into a situation in the Near East from which there is no escape with honour. The individual British officials in Palestine appear to do their best at all times, but they are defeated by the impossible regime they are pledged to serve. In this minute and barren country they are obliged to facilitate the establishment of a new nation without detriment to the rights of the nation which already lives there—a strange endeavour which rends their consciences so that they become naturally divided into two groups: those who emphasize the first part of their duty and those who emphasize the second. That is to say they become either pro-Jewish or pro-Arab and a large part of their intellectual energy is dissipated in an effort to conquer the inevitable tendency to favouritism. Underneath this effort which may be stated in other terms as the attempt to deal justly and honorably with Palestine is the troubled consciousness that England's site is not clean that England has not been really fair either to the Jews or to the Arabs and that the Near East is strewn with England's broken pledges. Good government is difficult indeed under such circumstances.

Even those who most thoroughly dislike the theory and practice of British imperialism must admit that the British possess as a race the genius for government no other Western people has ever done so well in the equitable control of the East. But in Palestine the fabric of British imperial tradition breaks down. It is not possible to be uniformly just in this country where the whole basis of government is injustice. As a result instead of impartial and inflexible rule what we see in Palestine is a vibration between two opposed policies. The British are just to the Arabs one day and to the Jews the next—which is to say unjust to the Jews one day and to the Arabs the next. No other course is possible, since experiment has abundantly shown that

justice to both Arabs and Jews cannot exist under the Balfour Declaration.

After this Mr Sheean goes on to sketch the history of the British occupation of Palestine and summarizes his conclusions as follows:

To sum up the British made a series of solemn but contradictory pledges during the war promising Palestine to the Arabs, the French and the Jews in succession while the country still was part of the Ottoman Empire. At the end of the war Britain bought off the French by giving them Syria and the Hauran. Since then a British civil administration has tried to govern the country justly but is handicapped at every turn by the effort to be faithful to conflicting commitments. This situation arises from, and was produced by the double pronged Balfour Declaration, one prong of which imposes a Jewish nation on the Arabs and the other prong of which forbids this new nation to disturb the "rights" of the same Arab. The process has now continued with a few sanguinary interludes arising from the reluctance of the Arabs to be so bandied about, for ten years. How long can it endure?

The answer to our final question is more likely to be found in India than in Palestine. It is obvious that so long as India remains in the British Empire its defeences (among which Palestine is important) must also remain. When India goes the whole edifice goes with it. Palestine is now too organically woven into the whole system of Imperial defence to gain its freedom without a terrible struggle for which the Arabs are not prepared. The present regime with all its inconsistency and weakness is valuable to the continuance of the British Empire.

## The Futility of Wars

President Lowell of Harvard and President Angell of Yale have both spoken emphatically for the cause of pacifism. Their views are quoted and summarized in *Unity*.

President Lowell of Harvard in his emphasis in his recent baccalaureate address on lack of "wisdom" as perhaps the most salient defect of our day puts his finger on a sore spot. The majority of our people do not want intemperance nor crime nor war. They want to get rid of them, but they do not know how and in their action they are swayed by their partisanship and their passion. This is glaringly evident in the current discussion of Prohibition and President Coolidge's the present "chaotic condition"



matter. He also took up the so-called crime wave, the mournful revelations lawlessness and the attitude of the public to this problem. He then concentrated his attention upon the "lack of wisdom in the nations in dealing with the war system. The folly and futility of war are now recognized by all sane and sensible men and they have been brought home to us with startling new emphasis by the awful calamity of the World War, the most disastrous war in human history nineteen centuries after Christ. The united wisdom of the world should have been sufficient to prevent it, and should be able to ensure the world against a recurrence, but the wisdom of the world was not united and was not brought efficiently to bear.

The abolitionists for each belligerent explain that their side was not responsible and did not want it and probably a majority of the people in every country engaged did not desire the war. Certainly a very large majority everywhere today lament the conditions that made it unavoidable. Yet there was not wisdom enough in the world to prevent it. President Lowell's wholesome moral was that the nations ought to apply their hearts unto wisdom and apply more definitely and obediently the wisdom which they have. Wars need not occur if there were wisdom enough to direct the course of human conduct.

By a impressive coincidence this execration of war was the chief burden of President Aogell's inaugural address at Yale at the same moment. He approached the subject from a different angle but put the issue sharply up to the people of the United States.

Of all the nations of the earth (he said) we are the most powerful and have least at stake in any sheer question of armaments. On us above all others therefore it rests to take generous and liberal attitudes disregarding the pettifoggery efforts to match with other nations inch for inch on the length of our guns and pound for pound on the tonnage of our vessels. To see our rulers haggling huckster with over such issues fills one with a sense of national shame.

He sharply exposed the grotesque futility of war as a means for the just settlement of international issues and its utterly irrational waste of life and treasure. The time is rapidly approaching he added when even the hectoring politician must hesitate to advocate armed struggle. With the League of Nations and the International Court, from two of which our timid nationalists shy, war should be made humanly impossible. But this would not be unless the international generation of scholars so decree.

### The State Shops of Moscow

All business and big stores in Moscow are owned and managed by the State. There are no private shops. Herr Heinz Pol of *Die Weltbühne* a radical weekly of Berlin gives an interesting description of daily life in Moscow in his paper. The following account of the great departmental stores of that city are quoted from the translation given in *The Living Age*.

Here is a little catchword for visitors to Moscow. Everything in the Soviet capital is just like Berlin except that it is completely different. Let me explain this strangely comic paradox. The business for instance. The stores look like ours and are decorated in the same way though of course always in the style that is foud in the vicinity of the Stettin Station. Every line of business exists. There are photograph shops, flower shops, wine shops, a considerable number of confectionery shops in short everything you desire. The centre of the city is filled with department stores, whose entrances many people are standing. These buildings have big show windows like those in our own department stores and even if they are less elegant, they are decorated with real taste. When you go into such an establishment you find standing behind the counter a young man or woman who will ask you what you want, pack up your goods and hand you your package.

If you want to get about Moscow taxis may be had and the streets are also teeming with new American automobiles exactly like those in Berlin. There is however this tiny difference. All these fine shops, warehouses, taxis, Buicks and Packards do not belong to firms or to individuals but to the Russian State, to the city of Moscow and to trade unions. *C'est la petite difference qui fait la musique.* Ninety nine per cent of the business in Moscow has been taken out of private hands and only a few little shops down side streets are run by private individuals. Most of them shoemakers, tailors and the like. The bulk of the business is done by trusts. Three or four big buying and selling trusts own four-fifths of all the stores and business houses in Moscow so that one keeps seeing the same names on the signs. The trust for the development of agricultural products, known as the Moseleprom, has about five hundred shops in the city in which meal—chocolate, cakes, beer, vodka, cigarettes and every kind of household commodity is offered for sale. Another group, known as the Konsumar, owns nearly as many stores and sells suits, dress goods, shoes, many hats and so forth.

The distinguishing characteristic of these selling societies can easily be explained. All goods are standardized, yet a tremendous variety of goods is on sale. Prices of course are standardized too. The result is that there are no good or bad purchases and no cheap or expensive places to buy. In some shops of course there is a greater choice of wares than in others, but you do not pay more for the same thing in the city than you do in any suburb. There is a tremendous number of book stores. Most of these are huge affairs with two or three show windows decorated in the most modern manner. Perhaps this is why so many people cluster about them. But it is also true that books in Moscow are really cheap. A new series of novels issued by the state publishing house costs about twenty cents a volume and the smallest editions in this series run to fifteen thousand copies. One thing however is missing. There are no beer parlours, cigar shops or cafes on any of the streets. There is only one very small refreshment shop just off of the Neglinnaya in an obscure

and street, where one can buy a cup of coffee and eat a piece of cake but acid from the there are literally no cars in Moscow and no d-still less either. Prohibition has really been put through here but it is a special kind of prohibition. Only the sale of single drinks is forbidden and you can buy a much wine beer or vodka by the bottle as you wish in the Government wine shops. It is forbidden however to drink anything in these shops or on the street or any where in public. One can drink only at home.

This has, it should in passing be observed, resulted in the decline in the consumption of alcohol in Moscow by two thirds. During his stay in Moscow Herr Pol did not see a single drunken person.

### Swadeshi in Japan

Mr M. Onchi, a Japanese writer puts forward an eloquent plea for the consumption of Japanese goods by the Japanese in *The Japan Magazine*.

It is highly regrettable to note that the Japanese people, being mentally relaxed, have been much frivolous and extremely extravagant, blindly valuing foreign articles and not being awakened to the seriousness of the economic depression and the national economic crisis. At this juncture we Japanese ought to co-operate and go ahead for the purposes of promoting the development of domestic productive industry and encouraging the use of domestic products so as to increase the wealth and power of the Empire as one of the leading powers in the world. It may be mentioned with reverence that if the Emperor keeps this point specially in mind, is pleased to use Imperial household requisites etc made in Japan and wishes the Court to follow the example. This is a great stimulus to using domestic made articles among the people at large which must be their determination.

This does not mean the use of all Japanese products however inferior in quality and the rejection of all the foreign products. It aims mainly at the production and use of fine qualities. The demand for domestic products has been restricted hitherto chiefly by the fact that they were inferior in quality to the imported goods so as to make them unsuitable for the consumers' purposes. More especially it has been almost impossible to get among domestic made machines and chemical products anything quite strong, accurate and safe as needed by consumers. The question of domestic products is essentially a question of economy and it is not feasible if it is advocated to use domestic made articles without due consideration of quality and price. It is to be desired therefore that Japanese manufacturers should look into the question of price as well as that of quality so as to see how to cheapen their products to meet foreign competition. As for the consumers they taking into consideration that eventually domestic products will win over foreign

products in rivalry as to quality and price and the national wealth and power promoted by it should use as much as possible domestic products even at a temporary sacrifice and then enthusiasm co-operation will succeed in multiplying the output of fine domestic products as much as is desired at present.

In this way the question of using domestic products in preference to foreign articles is advocated and discussed seriously now by the Government and people willing to get through peacefully the existing economic crisis by carrying the proposals into practice.

### Temporizing with India

This is the heading under which *The New Republic* devotes a leading article to the second volume of the Simon Report. After observing that its publication is a crushing blow to those who had hoped that it might have an important effect in ending the terrible situation which exist in India, the writer goes on to say

As we have already said concessions which might have meant something five or ten years ago are meaningless today. Twenty four hours before the second volume of the Report was made public, Mr. Neelley Farson, correspondent in India of *The Chicago Daily News* called to his paper a description of last Saturday's riots in Bombay from which we quote a few sentences.

Heroic bearded Sikhs several with blood dripping from their mouths, refusing to move or even to draw their *karpans* (sacred swords) to defend themselves from a shower of *lathi* blows—

Hindu women and girls dressed in orange robes of sacrifice flinging themselves on the bridles of horses and imploring mounted police not to strike male volunteers as they were Hindus themselves—

Stretcher bearers waiting beside little islands of prostrate unflinching immovable *Satyagrahis* who had flung themselves on the ground, grouped about their women upholding the flag of *Satyagrah*—

These were the scenes on the Maidan Esplanade today.

Dark faced Mahatma policemen in their yellow turbans marched along in column led by English sergeants across the field toward the waiting crowd. Crash! Whack! Whack! Whack! At last the crowd broke. Only the orange-clad women were left standing beside the prostrate figures of crumpled men.

A minute's full and then with flags flying another column of volunteers marched on to the vast green field. A column of Mahatmas marched to meet them. They clashed and again there was the spectacle of the green field dotted with a line of fallen bodies. Here sat a little knot of men, their heads bowed submitting to a rain of *lathi* blows—refusing to move until completely laid out.

I stood within five feet of a Sikh leader as he took the *lathi* blows. He was a short, heavily muscled man. The blows came—he stood straight. His turban was knocked off—he closed his eyes

to the blows fall—until at last he swayed and fell to the ground. No other Sikhs had tried to shield him; but now shouting defiance they wiped away the blood streaming from his mouth [Restored to consciousness] the Sikh gave me a smile and stood up for more.

In this episode of a single day in a single city five hundred men stood and let themselves be battered into unconsciousness by the police without lifting a finger in self protection. They did this because they believe in non violent non co-operation. Their action is a sufficient indication of the depth of the passion for freedom which the British are now combating. We wonder how many readers of *The New Republic* there are who care deeply enough for any cause to suffer for it what these Indians did?

Now lay is the answer to the Simon Report. India today demands in Gandhi's phrase substantial independence—not necessarily in the form of complete freedom but with nothing less than genuine Dominion status. The Simon Report gives her no such thing now or in the near future.

### Stalin as the New Lenin

In the same paper is to be found a very interesting account of the policy and the personality of Stalin.

The defeat which Stalin Secretary General of the Communist party inflicted on the leaders of the Right Opposition at the Sixteenth Congress of the party in Moscow, must be viewed with peculiar irony by the exiled Trotsky. Less than three years ago the Fifteenth Congress of the party denounced the views of Trotsky and his associates, spokesmen of the Left Opposition as incompatible with membership in that party today a verdict couched in identical terms is directed against the Right Opposition. In 1927 as in 1930 the men brought to the bar of Communist justice were found guilty of deviations from the party line—the policy which Lenin had formulated and of which Stalin the master's self appointed disciple has constituted himself the sole official interpreter. The revolutionary drama maintains the classic unities. The detractors of the Right leaders, however have saved them from Trotsky's fate. Rykov remains a member of the Central Committee of the party while Bukharin and Tomsky have been re-elected to its Central Committee. Stalin has apparently found it expedient to deal more generously with political opponents who are either less dangerous than the Left Opposition or enjoy a greater popularity with the rank and file of the party. For the present at least Stalin has refrained from effecting the political shake-up predicted by reports from Moscow as a result of which it was claimed he would emerge from his relatively obscure position to assume the office of President of the Council of People's Commissars once held by Lenin and now occupied by Rykov.

Had it been predicted that Stalin would have merely donned the outward trappings of a power he has exercised since Lenin's death in 1924. A professional revolutionary described by Lenin in his political testament as "cruel and

narrow minded" Stalin was brought up in the hard school of underground revolutionary activities where he became a shrewd judge of character and learned the secret of utilizing the loyalties of men of lesser ability for his own ends. He played no spectacular part in the November revolution. With great patience and by methods which to the moralist would appear highly unethical he succeeded in so enlarging the scope of the originally unimportant office of secretary general of the party as to make it the stepping stone to dictatorship. He has created a pyramid of power in which the Communist party which numbers less than two million members guides the destinies of the dictatorship of the proletariat, wielded in turn by three million industrial workers over some one hundred and twenty five million peasants. Within the party itself he has established the undisputed control of a small steering committee the Political Bureau over whose decisions by means of manipulation and judicious expulsions, he rules like an eastern despot. The government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics functions in the shadow of and at the mercy of the party hierarchy and the actions of even the highest government officials such as Kalinin and Rykov are subordinated to the policy of the party. The secret of Stalin's success in maintaining the dictatorship of an infinitesimal minority in the teeth of opposition both from the Left and from the Right appears to lie in his ability to gauge the exact degree of strain which the country is able or willing to bear to alter his course suddenly in order to meet new exigencies and to adopt the methods advocated by his defeated opponents when he considers it opportune.

### A Plea for Philippine Independence

It is a well observed fact that all imperialistic powers think and act alike. Nobody should therefore be surprised if the arguments by which United States seeks to deny the Philippines their freedom bear a family resemblance to the arguments of the British in India. Mr Manuel Roxas the Speaker of the Philippine House of Representatives attempts to answer some of these in course of an article contributed to *Current History*.

It is affirmed that the Filipinos are not ready to govern themselves that they lack the experience for self government. Against these assertions the Philippines offer their record in the government of the Philippines for the last thirty years. The period of greatest popular autonomy during the administration of Governor-General Harrison has seen the greatest progress in education, sanitation, public improvements, trade and economic development. It also reveals a marked improvement in the administration of justice and the general efficiency of the government. To judge fairly of the stewardship of the government by the Filipinos during that period it is not fair to point only to their mistakes without mentioning their achievements.

The homogeneity of the Filipinos is being questioned. On this point President Taft had the following to say: "There is no tribal relation among Filipinos. There is a racial solidarity among them undoubtedly. They are homogeneous. As to culture literacy in the Philippines is over 60 per cent. This proportion is higher than the literacy in thirty-six of the fifty-six independent nations including Spain, Portugal, Chile and Siam. The proportion of the qualified voters who actually vote in the Philippine Islands is higher than in many other countries not excepting the United States."

How could the Philippine Islands maintain their independence against foreign aggression? The World Court, the Kellogg-Briand peace pact and other existing instruments have to insure the peace of the world besides membership in the League of Nations are the best guarantee for the international security of the Philippines. It is important to note that Great Britain, France, Holland and Portugal mentioned by General Allen, as well as France are members of the League of Nations. Section X of the Covenant of the League provides that the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League.

### Madame Curie

Mr Bernard Jaffe contributes to the *Forum* a life sketch of Madame Curie. He begins with a description of the scene in which the President of the United States presented her with a bottle of radium.

On May 20 1921 the President of the United States stood in the reception room of the White House. Around him were grouped the French Ambassador the Polish Minister Cabinet members and other scientists. Before him stood a frail woman dressed in black. The President began to speak. "It has been your fortune to accomplish an immortal work for humanity. I have been commissioned to present to you this little phial of radium. To you we owe knowledge and possession of it, and so to you we give it confident that in your possession it will be the means to increase the field of useful knowledge to alleviate suffering among the children of man."

Then follows the account of the discovery of radium.

After more than two years of constant work they had extracted a small amount of bismuth salts which showed the presence of a very active element. It appeared to be three hundred times as potent as uranium. Marie isolated from it a substance which resembled nickel. After subjecting it to every known test in July 1893 she announced the discovery of a hitherto unknown element which she named *polonium* in honor of her beloved country. The reality of this new element was at first questioned but its existence was soon confirmed.

Others might have been satisfied with this discovery but not the Curies. They kept working

with what was left of that ton of pitchblende now piled down to amounts small enough to be put into test tubes. This residue appeared to possess properties much stronger than even polonium. At this stage of the experiment they had to be unusually careful not to lose a particle of the precious stuff they had isolated with such superhuman labour. Marie examined every drop of the solution that came trickling through the filter. She tested every grain of solid that clung to the apparatus.

At night when they went to their shed they were filled with awe. Years ago it had been a dissecting room. It was now an even spookier place. Instead of cadavers laid out for dissection they saw on all sides the feebly luminous silhouettes of the bottles and capsules containing their product. They were like earthly fires—these glowing tubes in that poor rough shack. They knew that they were nearing their goal. At last when the final separations were completed it was Marie who first gazed upon a few crystals of salt and realized that she had discovered another new element. It was radium and it was destined to cause a greater overturning of chemical theories than any other element that had ever been isolated.

Pierre was made Professor of Physics at the Sorbonne and Marie was put in charge of the Physics lectures at the Higher Normal School for Girls at Sèvres near Paris. She taught, studied, worked in her laboratory and helped take care of Irene. As a teacher she needed the degree Doctor of Science and after five years of research he presented her thesis. In it she set forth her complete work on radioactivity. The eminent scientists who made up the examining committee were astounded by the mass of original information brought out by this woman. Before her they seemed mere schoolboys and hardly knew what questions to ask. It was unanimously admitted that this thesis was the greatest single contribution made by any doctor's thesis in the history of science.

The news was made public. A strange element had been discovered by a woman. Its salts were self-luminous they shone in the dark like tiny electric bulbs. They were continuously emitting heat in appreciable quantities. It was calculated that a ton of radium would boil one thousand tons of water for a whole year. The new element was also the most potent poison known to mankind—even acting from a distance. If a tube containing a grain the size of a pin head were placed over the spinal column of a mouse the animal would be paralyzed in three hours. Radium next to the skin produced painful sores. Pierre's fingers were almost paralyzed from its effects. Becquerel had said to Marie: "I love it, but I owe it a grudge." He had received a nasty burn on his stomach from carrying a minute amount of radium in a tube in his vest pocket. Its presence sterilized seeds, healed surface cancer and killed microbes. It coloured diamonds and the glass tubes in which it was kept. It electrified the air around it and it penetrated solids.

That was her crowning achievement after which

She was persuaded to become a candidate for membership in the Academy of Sciences of

which Pierre had been a member. The taboo of sex was again raised in the circle of distinguished scientists. No woman had ever been elected to that body. There was an immutable tradition against the election of women which it seemed eminently wise to respect. Level-headed scientists suddenly become excited. There was much heated discussion. Marie of course remained in the background. When the vote was taken on January 23 1911 Madame Curie failed of election by but two votes and France has not yet lived down this episode of bigotry.

More than twenty five years have passed since Presidents and kings first went to the Sorbonne to honour this woman. Her slow noiseless step is still heard there. And as one watches her indomitable spirit at work one wonders which is greater—her epoch making scientific conquests or nobility of her self effacing life.

### A Sidelight on British Political Tradition

One admirable aspect of British political life is pointed out incidentally by an Austrian friend of Mrs Snowden the wife of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer who describes their daily life in the *Neue Presse* of Vienna. After referring to the political crisis raised by the resignation Sir Oswald Mosley from the Labour Government the writer goes on to say

The next day Sir Oswald Mosley resigned from the Government creating a crisis of the first water. Nevertheless Downing Street continued to pursue its accustomed pace. In the afternoon Mrs Snowden received two hundred and fifty people for tea and rows of gilded chairs were set out in the big reception room. The occasion was the formation of a society to help poor women to an education and to free them from some of the miseries of their everyday life. Tories, Liberals and Socialists ladies from the highest social circles and intelligent working women had all gathered together to hear Ethel Snowden speak. She described in a few clear cut and quite unselfish words the life that the average women lead. She appealed to the common conscience of all to the sympathy of one human being for another.

First of all this question must be taken entirely outside of politics. I want to take this occasion

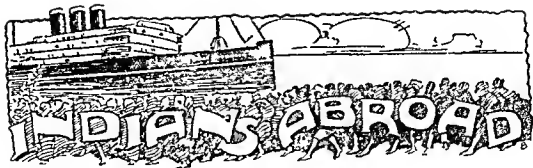
to protest against making humanitarian questions political. The association we want to form now will serve as a symbol of this idea. All that we want is to give the working women every opportunity for social development. Each individual as soon as she has formed an opinion and come to an independent judgment can then decide what path she will follow whether she will prefer a Conservative Liberal or Socialist point of view. A free choice. Nothing shall hinder her in making one for our cause has nothing whatever to do with propaganda. Time alone will be able to assist us in achieving our programme and I am firmly convinced that we shall succeed.

When we are dining together later I expressed to Ethel my amazement at her bold declaration which was so different from what one hears in countries where party lines are strictly drawn.

Our political education runs back for centuries she replied. No party man in England fears being misunderstood by other members of his party when he takes it upon himself to come to an understanding with political opponents on certain subjects. On political grounds and in Parliament we are enemies to the death but we also maintain certain great traditions. The retiring Prime Minister for instance always makes a speech congratulating his successor and socially there is no hostility at all. Indeed, hearty friendship often exists.

Let me describe an experience illustrating how highly this right of individual liberty is esteemed in England. I was particularly interested in a marvellous Scottish chorus that I hope will visit Vienna next years. Its leader is a great musician but also a great eccentric. He refuses to recognize the universal custom at concerts and theatres of playing the national anthem taking this stand on a purely artistic ground since he believes that a programme of music is a separate entity and that the purity of its effect should not be spoiled. During my visit this chorus was invited to sing before the King and Queen at Balmoral. After the first intermission the King summoned the leader to tell him how much he had enjoyed the artistic perfection of the chorus and then added I beg you to lay aside all feeling of compunction here. You must feel at home and since you have artistic reasons for not singing the national anthem at your concerts don't make any exception to day. The leader was so pleased by this fine display of tolerance that he had the hymn sung at the close of the concert.





BY BHARSI DAS CHATURVEDI

### The Work of the Indian Agent in Malaya.

An esteemed correspondent of mine sends me the following account of the work of Rao Sahib Subbayya Naidu the Agent of the Government of India in Malaya who has now retired from that position —

Rao Sahib Subbayya Naidu arrived in Malaya in 1906 in succession to Mr Arulanandam Pillai who was the first Indian to be sent to this country as Agent. The Rao Sahib came to Malaya after relinquishing an important office in the Madras Secretariat.

When he arrived in Malaya, he had before him a number of grave problems to be faced many of them needing immediate solution. First and foremost of all was the wage question which drew his attention to be tackled. He subsequently made representations to the Government of India supporting the claims of Indian labourers for a minimum wage. For months together he concentrated on the wage issue in which he triumphed after overcoming a series of difficult situations. The writer of this note has more intimate knowledge of the man and his work in Malaya than anybody could claim and therefore can authoritatively state that the Agent's task in connection with the legislation of standard wages was by no means an easy one.

In this connection he had to prepare a memorandum for presentation to the Indian Immigration Committee which met to decide whether the standard wages should be legalized. The planters in a majority were up against the fresh wage proposals and as the Rao Sahib stood reading his memorandum to the meeting he was greeted with continued uproar but nothing daunted him from finishing his duty with remarkable courage. A prominent planter later confided to the writer that the Agent's memorandum was a remarkable document on Indian labour he had seen as yet during his thirty years of stay in Malaya. That was responsible for convincing many planters of the justice of standard wages in the Kuala Selangor area in 1923.

For many years it was a standing grievance of the Indians in the Federated Malay States that no one among them had ever been offered a seat on the Federal Council. In this connection the Agent made representations on several occasions and the result was the appointment of the Hon. Mr S. Veerasingh as an un-official member of the Federal

Council. Membership to the State Councils too followed.

A series of cases in which Indian labourers have been victims to wrongs were exposed by the rare tact displayed by the Rao Sahib. Among the many cases he brought to light mention may be made of the Tampin Lacc case Mr Christon's case and the Verban case *celebre*. In all these he had the assistance from the able counsel the Hon. Mr Veerasingh.

Several important changes were brought into the Malayan Labour Code through the Rao Sahib's initiative and suggestions. In the cause of education of Indians and matters relating to the health problems of estate labourers he did a good deal to secure better conditions. The cooperative thrift movement also has flourished among Indian estate labourers.

Furthermore he was a regular visitor to the quarantine stations and decrepit houses for Indians also the incoming immigrant steamers from India. He also visited Labuan and Brunai, some remotest parts of the F. M. S. where Indian labour is employed.

In the interest of better understanding between the planters and the Indians from whose ranks the former's labour force is recruited, the Rao Sahib addressed no less than half a dozen planters' Associations in various districts.

All this work was accomplished within the course of such a short period as three years and everything required personal labour and persevering spirit.

A man of charming manners and lovable disposition he will be much missed in Malaya particularly in Kuala Lumpur where he was an important figure in the cosmopolitan society in which he played such a prominent part. Although a representative of the Indian Government he identified himself as a Malayan throughout his tenure of office in this country.

Rao Sahib has linked Malaya with India in friendship and it is to be hoped that his worthy example will be followed by his successor.

### Pamphlets about Colonies

The work that has been done in India about our countrymen abroad has been mostly of a spasmodic character. It has mainly consisted in putting their grievances before

the Indian public. Perhaps that was natural. Our people in the colonies had to face and are facing still so many difficulties that we couldn't but do some press propaganda about it. So long as the indenture system continued our first and foremost duty was to agitate against it and then we had to work for our South African and East African people. But now there is a feeling among workers in this cause that something of a constructive nature should be taken up immediately. The modern Indian emigration is about a hundred years old, Indians were first sent under indenture in 1835. Most of these emigrants were of course labourers and that is why out of 25 lakhs of colonial Indians more than sixty per cent belong to the labouring class. It is a happy sign of the times that now professional people are anxious to emigrate to those places where Indians have settled in large numbers. I receive four or five letters every month from such people asking to supply them information about several of these colonies. Now this is very difficult to do. It would be good if some pamphlets were published about these colonies giving necessary information about every one of them. Printing of these colonial pamphlets will not cost more than £4 for each pamphlet and I shall request our colonial friends to arrange for their publication.

#### The Grievances of our People in Tanganyika Territory

Many of us here have been under the impression that our people in Tanganyika are enjoying 'equality of status' and have no disabilities imposed upon them. It is to be noted that Britain is administering the territory as a mandate from the League of Nations and India being a member of the League we are entitled to get equality of status by way of our right. Mr V R Boal of Dar es-Salaam has kindly sent me a list of Indian grievances in that territory, which ought to receive the immediate attention of the Government of India. Mr Boal writes:

#### ASIATIC CIVIL SERVANTS

We can unhesitatingly say that the attitude taken by the Government with regard to the rights of the Asiatic Civil Servants has not only been unsympathetic but also uncalled for and undesirable. They have been deprived of their right for pension. They are systematically debarr'd from going up All doors for their future prospects have been shut. Not only are they accorded inferior status they find it very hard to get the Government to sanction for

what they are entitled to under an ordinary condition of their service. We mean housing accommodation. There is no scheme for a widow or orphan provident fund. The fate of the Asiatic employees in the Railway administration is awfully bad and especially that of the trash staff the worst. They have no future prospects to speak of. Those who had worked well in the beginning of the administration and had gone on their well earned leave were re-engaged on lesser salaries. No pension. Provident fund look phoo of the pension. But even in that too the attitude of the authorities have been quite unsympathetic. Employees have been asked to contribute arrears in respect of their back services and consequently most of them have been unable to enjoy the benefits of the provident fund. But this is not all. There are many more unwholesome incidents needing exposure. How the Traffic Staff is being treated very few know. An Assistant station master works as a Station Master continuously for two years or more yet his promotion to Station mastership is uncertain and in very many cases impossible. We have not touched on the grievance of the Railway Asiatic Artizans. They are not only one or two but many.

#### HOSPITAL FACILITIES

The attention of His Excellency was drawn to the inadequate hospital facilities for Indians first in 1926 when Indian deputation had waited upon him soon after his arrival and thereafter on many occasions through the press and the platform. At the first interview a promise was made to improve the condition. Honourable Indian Members had asked questions in the Council with regard to the same. But nothing has up till now been done in the matter. A few beds in Sewa Haji Hospital (now specially meant for natives) are all that the Government have got for a population in Dar es-Salaam about 7000 in number. In the European Hospital wards are allotted for Goats but none for Indians. At other places in the territory practically there are no hospital facilities for Indians ever there where private medical practitioners are not available. The Dar es-Salaam Indian Community urged from time to time that some improvements may be made in Sewa Haji Hospital but their voice fell on deaf ears. His Excellency's promise up till now remains unfulfilled. In April last the Tanganyika Indian Conference passed a resolution urging for adequate hospital facilities for Indians. That resolution was duly conveyed to Government. It proved quite ineffective.

#### EDUCATION

Out of 5000 Indian children the Government has made provision for only 200 and that too after eight years of its administration. The question of payment to Indians of Education Cess still remains unsettled. The general belief is that in deciding this question the Indian opinion has been totally ignored.

#### REFRIGERATORS TO ROADS

The condition of roads in the Indian area is hopelessly bad. In European quarters roads are tarred once or twice a year whereas in Indian quarters not only they are never tarred but left unattended for years and years together. Why? Are Indians not paying taxes? Certainly they are and even more than those who are specially cared

for If separate accounts are kept for income of taxation and expenditure it will come to light how Indians are being treated in this connection. But that is impossible. It is not easy to expect Government to keep separate accounts for indirect taxation when the demand of the Indian community for the same for direct taxation received no response. Now that Indians are required to pay shs 30 a year it remains to be seen how Government extends educational facilities to 5000 Indian children.

### The Crisis in Mauritius

Our people in Mauritius are passing through a great economic crisis on account of the fall in the price of sugar. It is to be noted that there are 281 000 Indians in Mauritius ie 75 p c. of the total population inhabiting the island. I interviewed Honourable R. Gajadhar, member of the Legislative Council Mauritius on the subject when he was in Calcutta and he told me that only India could save her children in Mauritius by establishing a preferential treatment on import duties to Mauritius sugar. We saw Mr C F Andrews also in this connection and he wrote a letter to Sir G L Corbet, of the Government of India on this subject. I do not know whether Mr Gajadhar could carry things any further. Possibly he couldn't on account of his illness. Now he writes from Mauritius:

"On my return to Mauritius in August last year I mooted the question in the Chamber of Agriculture, with a view to sending a delegation to India to make representations to the Indian Government, to advocate the necessity of establishing a preferential treatment for our sugars over Java and foreign sugars.

In January or February of this year I learnt that upon the recommendations of the Indian Board the import duty on the sugar has been increased from Rs 4-8 Annas per cwt to Rs 6. If the delegation had been to India, the time would have been opportune to deal with that question as duty on sugar to India is not a protective measure against home grown sugar but is purely and simply a source of revenue. To my mind, it seems that it would have been rather an easier task to adjust the revenue in the following manner and for reasons as hereunder:-

Indian's annual import of sugar varies between 8 to 9 lacs tons, 99 per cent of which comes from Java. Our total annual output amounts to about 900 to 2 000 000 tons, out of which 150 to 200 000 tons could be exported to India. If a preferential treatment were established in favour of Mauritius, say Rs 2-8-0 per cwt the deficit in revenue could be made good by a slight increase on the remaining sugar to be imported from Java say between 600 to 700 thousand tons yearly and this without in any way increasing the price of the commodity to the consumer.

The question now arises why should a preference in duty be given to Mauritius. My reply to this is to help 281 000 (or say 75 p c.

of the population inhabiting this island) of your countrymen or descendants of Indian, here settled since nearly a century who by dint of labour self sacrifice and thriftiness to-day owning nearly 50 p c of the lands under cultivation are faced with a world crisis of sugar as threatens them with ruin and starvation.

The preference if it were so adopted while it would not burden in the least the inhabitants of India, would relieve the distress of a suffering population on the brink of utter despair and ruin and who are in dire need of relief.

In telling you how grave the situation is for the whole Colony in general and graver for the Indians in particular as they have no savings to enable them to face the crisis, even for a year or two I can only put forward the most appalling testimony to this that the acreage of land under cane cultivation owned by Indians, has fallen from 49 p c. in 1920 to 41 or 42 p c last year whereas during the same period of the Indian population has increased by 6 p c.

Indian labour is proverbially cheap but, I do not think that is a cheaper than in Mauritius (mark the Labourers in Mauritius also are Indians) in that sense that (1) whatever they earn is hardly sufficient to give them belly food and (2) every food stuff rice, dholl, flour, ghee, oils and all other commodities has to be imported from India.

Our natural market for sugar is India, and two irons of fate, during the war, our sugars had been repositioned by the Home Government since which time the Indian market has been practically closed for us. In dealing with India for the sale of our sugars our advantages are manifold. 1. Exchange question is settled as our coin is the Indian Rupee. 2. Regular steamship service would be established thereby ensuring regular supplies of foodstuffs.

At the present moment, the exchange is so high that it weighs considerably on the price of foodstuffs, and coupled with it, the irregularity of a steamer service to ensure supplies, adds to help the traders holders of stock to raise their selling price of foodstuffs, and thus fleece the inhabitants.

You are, I believe, well aware of the fact that Sugar Crisis is spread world wide through over production at present selling prices it is an impossibility for any sugar producing country to meet its cost of production, but you know that almost all the sugar producing countries enjoy subsidies grants in aid bounties or the like thus putting others in a state of great inferiority.

So long as the Indians here settled were able to man their own barge, they didn't appeal to their mother country but now the situation is so precarious to-day that it ought to command the sympathy of their Indian brethren to come to their rescue wherein lies their salvation.

I would suggest it to Mr Gajadhar and his friends in Mauritius that they should send a deputation to India at the end of this year to put their case before the Indian public and the Government of India. It is to be hoped that they will get a sympathetic hearing every where for Mauritius is practically an Indian Colony and we should do all that we can to help the three lakhs of our people in that island.





# NOTES

## Progress of India During the British Period

Dr Ambedkar belongs to the depressed classes. But as he has received the advantages of education in India and abroad he is as much a member of the Indian intelligentsia as other educated Indians. Hence though as a member of his socially downtrodden community his viewpoint is naturally different in some important respects from that of the bulk of politically minded Indians, he has been able to deliver a thoughtful and thought-provoking address as president of the first session of the All India Depressed Classes Conference recently held at Harpur. Coming from any other man it would have received praise. But it has special significance as the pronouncement of a leader of the depressed classes in India.

The British rulers of India claim that they are the trustees of the Indian people particularly of the depressed classes, whose position most of them assume would be very much worse under Swa raj than under British raj. Let us therefore hear what Dr Ambedkar a representative of the "depressed classes" who has been a member of the Bombay Legislative Council and of the Committee of that Council which co-operated with the Simon Commission says of the achievements of British rule. Though he does not directly enumerate these achievements he does so by implication when he reminds his audience —

Gentlemen, you cannot keep on singing the praises of a bureaucracy because it has given us improved roads, constructed canals on more scientific principles, effected transportation by rail, contrived to carry letters by penny post and flash messages by lightning, has stabilized currency, regulated weights, and measures, corrected the prevalent notions of theology, geography, astronomy and medicine and stopped our internal quarrels. All praise is due to this achievement in the field of law and order.

The question of what advantages Britain expected to gain and has gained therefrom

need not detain us here. Let Britain have the full praise for the progress in any direction which India has made during the British period of her history.

Dr Ambedkar does not dwell at length on what is implied in the enforcement and operation of law. It is that except where race prejudice, political bias and motive and expediency come in, there generally has been laudable reign of law in the country during the British period. The speaker did not mention another direction in which India has made progress. During the British period there has come to pass greater intellectual and cultural contact with the world outside India than before. — India is no longer isolated as she practically was for some time in her history, she is carried along in the current of world forces like other countries. And she has learned some modern science and technology.

Whether as much progress or possibly more progress in all these directions could have been made under other circumstances would be a futile speculation. Neither is it necessary for our present purpose to try to ascertain how much of the progress made is due to the deliberate efforts of the British Government and how much to the working of the time spirit in the modern world. Nor need we dwell on the evil effects of a too literary education of one-sided westernization, of the absence to a great extent of adequate attention to our own ancient culture and of the teaching of false, defective and biased history resulting in defeatism and what has been called 'slave mentality'.

Dr Ambedkar did not mention the educational efforts of the British Government in India, probably because his own community has not been affected thereby to any appreciable extent, it being among the most illiterate in the country. But we have added a few words on those endeavours to make somewhat more complete the picture, in outline,

of India's advancement during the British period of her history

Of course for arriving at a correct estimate of the effects of British rule it would be necessary to see the "other side of the medal." This need not be done in this note. This other side may be ignored or assumed not to exist. It may even be taken for granted that British rule in India has been more efficient, more altruistic, and more sincere and honest than it has been in Great Britain itself. But even under that assumption India's right to a full measure of self rule would remain quite indisputable. For no nation can be honoured and congratulated on being un-dehumanized and manlike if its progress and civilization be what they are solely or mainly because it has received benefits and blessings from others. Men's glory and relative perfection consist in their being themselves able to do individually and collectively all that is necessary for living a healthy prosperous beneficent, happy beautiful and full life. This cannot be done by the people of any country which is not self ruling. The world has been peopled by various races and nations in order that they may each and all contribute their quota to human civilization and progress according to their special gifts and aptitudes. No people deprived of self rule can make this contribution. And unless every people makes its own particular and special contribution which it alone can make, mankind as a whole cannot make adequate progress towards perfection.

But we have strayed from our point.

The British rulers of India rest their claim to rule India partly on their special and unequalled friendliness and beneficence to and protectorship of the "depressed classes." It would be interesting therefore, to note what a fully accredited and competent representative of those classes who is not blind to the achievements of the British Government and has co-operated with it has to say on this.

#### Government's Beneficence to the "Depressed Classes."

Dr Ambedkar prefaces his remarks on this topic with the following general observations:

There is no doubt that a kind of dwarfing or stunting of the Indian race is going on under the

British rule. In the words of the late Mr Gokhale:

We must all the days of our life live in an atmosphere of inferiority and the tallest of us must bend. No Indian can feel that upward impulse which is the source of elevation witnessed in a self governing community.

This is one of the grounds on which the claim to Swaraj is based. But says he:

You may not appreciate the moral grounds on which the claim to Swaraj is made to rest, and you may even be amused by it when it is urged by members of the aristocracy as one is when one hears Sytan quoting scriptures in support of his cause. There is no doubt that the cost of the British Government to India is out of all proportion to the means of the people. It is the costliest government in the world. This argument may not appeal to you and you may say that no cost is too great for the maintenance of law and order in this country.

So he thinks there is one thing that must appeal to you and that is the poverty of the people. Is there any parallel to the poverty of the Indian people in any part of the world? This poverty is so universally admitted that no proof of it is required. But nevertheless the speaker mentions the many terrible famines during the British period of the history of India and the appalling loss of life caused thereby as a proof of our poverty. What must be the cause of this? he asks and answers the question himself assigning to the British Government what in his opinion is its due share of blame.

The causes of India's poverty cannot be discussed in a brief note and we are concerned here with what the British Government has or has not done for the depressed classes in the opinion of an eminent spokesman of theirs. Coming to his main point, he observes:

In this progressive impoverishment of the people, who are those that suffer most? I am sure that of the half of the agricultural population which is admitted not to know from one half year's end to another what it is to have a full meal the Depressed Classes must form the largest part. Their abject poverty must make them ready victims of famines to which they must be paying the largest toll.

Having said as quoted in the first note that "all praise is due to this achievement in the field of law and order" the speaker observes—

But gentlemen we must not forget that people, including the Depressed Classes do not live on law and order, what they live on is bread and butter. This inevitable law of life must make even the Depressed Classes demand a government that will help the economic prosperity of the country.

and thereby effect a betterment in their material life.

### Government Paralyzed between Two Limitations

The speaker does not spare anybody who in his opinion deserves castigation and so he proceeds to say:

I would be the first to admit that the much talked of annual tribute which the people of this country pay to England pales away in magnitude before the heavy exactions by the landlords and capitalists of this country from the paltry and hard earned wages of the masses who toil for them. But I cannot understand how you can expect the British Government to give relief from the crushing weight of the landlords and the capitalists.

One thing we must remember is that every Government however powerful suffers as pointed out by Professor Dicey from two serious limitations. There is first of all an internal limitation which arises from the character motives and interests of those who are in power and if the British Government does not sympathize with the living forces operating in Indian Society is inimical to its aspirations is apathetic to education and disfavours Swadeshi it is not because it cannot favour these things but because it is against its character motives and interests to do so. The second consideration that limits the authority of every Government is the possibility of external resistance. Does not the Government of India realize the gravity of removing the social evils which are eating into the vitals of Indian society? Does not the Government of India realize that the landlords are squeezing the masses dry? Does not the Government of India realize that the capitalists are not giving the labourers a living wage and decent conditions of work? It does and yet it has not dared to touch any of these evils. Why? Is it because it has no legal powers to remove them? No. The reason why it does not intervene is because it is afraid that its intervention to amend the existing code of social and economic life will give rise to resistance. (1) What good is such a Government to anybody.

Under a Government paralyzed between two such limitations in which that goes to make life good must remain a field up.

### Swaraj the Remedy

What remedy then does he suggest?

We must have a Government in which the men in power will give their undivided all grace to the best interests of the country. We must have a Government in which men in power knowing what should not will end and resistance will begin will not be afraid to amend the social and economic code of life which the dictates of justice and expediency so urgently call for. His role the British Government will never be able to play. It is only a Government which is of the people for the people and by the people in other words it is only a Swaraj Government that will make this possible.

We shall see later on what kind of Swaraj Government the speaker wants.

### The Depressed Classes Remain Where They Were

It might be contended that, though Indians in general and the depressed classes in particular are poor Britain has done much to improve the position of the latter in other directions. Dr Ambedkar denies that this is the case. Addressing his hearers he said:

Before the British you were in a loathsome condition due to your untouchability. Has the British Government done anything to remove your untouchability? Before the British you could not draw water from the village well. Has the British Government secured you the right to the well? Before the British you could not enter the temple. Can you enter now? Before the British you were denied the entry into the Police force. Does the British Government admit you in the force? Before the British you were not allowed to serve in the military. Is that career now open to you? Gentlemen to none of these questions you can give an affirmative answer. Those who have held so much power over the country for such a long time must have done some good. But there is certainly no fundamental alteration in your position. So far as you are concerned the British Government has accepted the arrangements as it found them and has preserved them faithfully in the manner of the Chinese tailor who when given an old coat as a pattern produced with pride an exact replica, rents patches and all your wrongs have remained as open sores and they have not been healed and I say that the British Government actuated with the best of motives and principles will always remain powerless to effect any change so far as your particular grievances are concerned. Nobody can remove your grievances as well as you can and you cannot remove them unless you get political power in your own hands. No share of this political power can come to you so long as the British Government remains where it is.

### The Depressed Classes Need Not Fear Swaraj

While admitting that it is natural for the depressed classes to be afraid of Swaraj Dr Ambedkar asserts that their apprehensions and suspicions of the Swaraj of the future are unfounded.

It is only in a Swaraj constitution that you stand any chance of getting the political power into your own hands without which you cannot bring salvation to your people. I know that to the majority of my people Swaraj is a weird apparition. It is very natural that it should be so. It recalls to their mind the tyrannies and oppressions and injustices practised upon them.

by their fellow-countrymen and they fear that under Swaraj these violations may recur. But, gentlemen, if you will for one moment forget the past and visualize the Swaraj of the future with its wholesome devices to protect masses from classes you will find that far from being a weird apparition it is going to be a system of Government in which you yourselves stand the chance other things being equal of being amongst those who will be installed as the political sovereigns of this country. Do not be obsessed by the past. Do not be swayed by fear or favour from any quarters in making your decision. Consult your best interests and I am sure you will accept Swaraj as your goal.

### 'Civil Disobedience Extremely Inopportune'

As we have been trying to give some idea of the opinions of this leader of the "depressed classes" on Britishers and his own countrymen whether we accept them or not we quote below without comment, his views on the civil disobedience movement, which he does not consider morally wrong or unconstitutional but extremely inopportune.

The movement is condemned as you are aware by all moderate opinion as being unconstitutional. That argument I must confess does not appeal to me. What would you say if the orthodox classes were to tell you that your temple entry movement is an unconstitutional movement. That instead of direct action, your proper method is by petitions to the orthodox classes suits in Courts of Law and attempts to alter the Law? Would you be satisfied with such limitations upon your resources in your battle for freedom against orthodoxy. It seems to me that you can insist upon the use of constitutional means only if there is an accepted constitution in existence. But where there is no such constitution few will be inclined to listen to the gospel of constitutional means. Such a view cannot be strange even to the British mind. For after all was not the Ulster movement a movement of Civil Disobedience? And did not the best of British politicians support and participate in it?

The question is not whether the movement of Civil Disobedience is right or wrong. The question is whether it is opportune and consistent with the safety and security of our interests. I am opposed to the Civil Disobedience movement because I am convinced that it is extremely inopportune.

In the extracts from the speaker's address given in many newspapers we do not find him suggesting any method different from *satyagraha* by following which Swaraj may be attained. Such a suggestion could have been considered.

### 'Depressed' President on Simon Commission

The following is the verdict of the President of the All India Depressed Classes Conference on the Simon Commission.

Every one of us expected that the Simon Commission would not only be just to the depressed classes but it would also be generous. No minority in India stands so downtrodden and yet so helpless as do the depressed classes. Surely a community so much sinned against must in all honesty receive the most generous treatment. The depressed classes have not only not received any generosity at the hands of the Simon Commission but they have not received even bare justice. One may well ask what has become of 'the sentiments' expressed by Lord Birkenhead when he moved the resolution in Parliament for the appointment of the Simon Commission. It was then said that the depressed classes formed a special trust and that the British people could not hand over that trust without making adequate provision for their safety. Are the Simon Commission's recommendations to be taken as the fulfilment of those magnificent sentiments? I am afraid that the British choose to advertise our unfortunate condition not with the object of removing them but only because such a course serves well as an excuse for retarding the political progress of India.

### So called insurmountable Obstacles to Swaraj

The differences of race, creed, language, customs and culture prevailing in India are said to constitute an insurmountable obstacle in the way of India becoming free. This argument has been refuted repeatedly. Dr Ambedkar meets it in detail and asks:

If Latvia, Lithuania, Yugoslavia, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania with all their differences of race, creed, language and culture can function as united self-governing communities, why cannot India?

These are all comparatively small countries. But the very large countries of Russia and the U.S. of America also function as independent and self-governing countries, in spite of there being a greater variety of languages, religions, races etc. being found in both those countries than in India.

The speaker was right in observing:

And after all has said and done has not the system of self-government itself been the cause of unification of many a people who in its absence would have remained as discordant and as distinct as they were in their original condition.

### Swaraj for the 'Depressed Classes'

Dr Ambedkar has made it clear that he wants Swaraj; he is for India obtaining

full Dominion status. But he wants safeguards as he has considerable distrust of the native aristocracy which term he uses to denote the combined force of wealth education and superior social standing.

The scheme for the protection of minorities which obtains in post war States consists in the enactment of clauses in the constitution recognizing what are called the fundamental rights of the minorities. The Nehru Committee's report adopts this scheme as the best sort of protection for safe-guarding the interests of the Depressed Classes. I must sound a note of warning against your being duped by such a scheme.

Is there any remedy provided in the Nehru Committee's Report against the infringement of the fundamental rights? I find none not even the appeal clause. The guarantee in the Nehru constitution is therefore quite illusory.

Even if there was the appeal clause in the Nehru constitution, I would still advise you not to accept the scheme. A right of appeal to the League of Nations or to the Viceroy or the Governor would be a very desirable addition to the armoury of the Depressed Classes. But it cannot be an effective weapon. The best guarantee for the protection of your own interests consists in having the power of control in your own hands so that you may yourselves be in a position not only to punish when the mischief to your interests is done but to keep a watch over your interests from day to day and prevent possible mischief from arising. This will never be secured by leaving the power in the hands of the third party, be it the Governor, Viceroy or the League of Nations. For of what good will that power be to us if those who will hold it in trust for us refuse to exercise it when we call for their intervention?

So he wants adequate representation of his community to be secured by weightage, adult suffrage and joint electorate with seats reserved for it. The weightage-factor is to vary inversely with the social standing of the minority defined as it must be by (1) its social status (2) its economic strength and (3) its economical position. He also demands a certain percentage in the public service to be reserved for the Depressed Classes.

Unless a minority be given either more seats than or at least as many seats as the majority there can be no absolute safe-guards for the minority. But there are several minority groups to please every one of which cannot be transformed into a majority. And *perhaps* the majority community too have some rights.

Whatever separate provision may be made for safe-guarding the interests of minority communities should be made terminable after a certain period. One of the tests which may be applied for

determining whether the time has come for such termination is that of literacy. When the depressed classes reach the average standard of literacy of the higher castes one of the grounds for weightage would disappear.

There is no honour implied in being considered and called depressed. Therefore the leaders of that community should look forward to the day when it would be able to do without any special props.

### Best Safe guards for Minorities

As the best safe guards for the interests of any minority community lie in the fraternal friendliness and goodwill of the majority Dr Ambedkar would have done well to recognize and appreciate the sincere efforts however inadequate made by various religious bodies, social service societies and Mahatma Gandhi to improve the condition of the backward classes as a matter of fraternal duty. But whilst there is great acerbity displayed in his address against the native injustice (used in the sense explained above) and whilst there is some praise given in it to the British Government there is not a word of appreciation in it for any of those Indians who have made sacrifices and borne persecution and social obloquy for the sake of the community which the speaker represents. Patronizing condescension be must of course repent. But is he incapable of discerning and appreciating a friendly and fraternal grasp of the hand?

### Primary Education in Gaols

The Government resolution on the report of the Administration of the Jail Department Bengal for 1929 mentions the successful efforts made to provide primary education for young prisoners in the Alipore Central Jail. So far as that jail is concerned

"The scheme has now been sanctioned as a permanent measure and it is hoped that primary education will soon be introduced in the other four Central Jails with equally successful results."

The importance of according correct treatment to young offenders cannot be overestimated and the very interesting and encouraging account which the Inspector General is able to give of the development of the Borstal School at Bankura should not only lead the Courts to study the possibilities of the Act and make a discriminating use of the institution but should attract and hold the interest and active support of all persons who

Deputy Commissioner and this led to his ordering the armoured cars to open fire. If the object of the Deputy Commissioner was merely to disperse the crowd he could have easily done so by other methods.

Similarly with regard to the second firing Mr. Isamonger had decided to use military force. Refusal by the people to disperse until they were allowed to remove the dead and the wounded and unless the armoured cars and the military were withdrawn led him to order firing. If his object was merely to disperse the crowd whether it was necessary to do so or not he could have easily done so by other methods but he made no attempts to try other methods. He resorted to firing straight off.

(4) Firing was resorted to recklessly and indiscriminately and for inordinate length of time. And it was not confined merely to the Bazar but was extended to side streets, by-lanes, balconies and other places round about.

(5) The number of persons actually proved to have been killed is 195 but we have no doubt that a much larger number must have been killed and a still larger number wounded. Proof in respect of this larger number of killed and wounded it is impossible to secure in the conditions now obtaining in the province. Such proof as had been collected by the Congress Committee after April 29th as seized by the military on May 4 since when further inquiries have become impossible owing to the continued presence of the military in the city.

Moulana Hafayatulla who was one of the members writes in a brief dissenting note:

I agree with the whole report except as regards the firing of the majority that Mr. Metcalf was injured by a stone on April 1, 1930. From the evidence before us it has not been proved that the Deputy Commissioner was hurt by a stone. Indeed one witness, Muhammad Akram Khan has stated to the contrary that the Deputy Commissioner while running towards the steps of the Bazar fell down and struck his head against the edge of the steps and was thus injured.

### India and Women's International League

The Women's International League has for its international president the world famous Miss Jane Addams of America. We have received from the British Section of this Women's International League for Peace and Freedom a copy of recent resolutions passed by it on the present situation in India and a statement drawn up on July 7 by its Executive Committee. We appreciate the League's friendly action and are grateful for the same. We reproduce below two of its latest resolutions.

March 1930 "In order to show that the British Government is in earnest in its intention to grant

(1) that the Indian members of the Round Table Conference promised by the British Government to formulate a constitution on a Dominion Status Basis shall be nominated by the Indian Legislative Assembly.

(2) That an amnesty be granted to all political prisoners.

May 1930 This Executive Committee urges the Government to make a definite announcement that the object of the Round Table Conference is to formulate a scheme for full responsible Government for India.

The League's statement on the situation in India urges once more an amnesty for political prisoners and contains among others the following expressions of opinion:

We believe that at the earliest possible moment responsible Government should be handed over to the Indian people in accordance with an agreed plan, which we trust may be worked out in good will and friendship at the Round Table Conference. We fully realize that if India remains an integral part of the British Empire, it can only be of her own free will and accord.

We believe that no representation of Indian people today would be complete without a proportion of Indian women and we therefore demand that representatives of organized Indian women should take their place at the Round Table Conference.

At the present time the severity of police action against non-violent crowds is daily making the hope of peaceful settlement more remote.

The following telegram has recently appeared in the dailies:

LONDON April 14

The Women's Freedom League has addressed a letter to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald the Premier urging that the inclusion of both British and Indian women at the Round Table Conference will be of invaluable assistance in the search towards a solution of the present unhappy difficulties between the two countries and emphasizing that British women are deeply concerned in the future of India, and the Simon Commission's Report which states that the women's movement in India holds the key to progress.

Societies supporting the plea include the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenry and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Some days ago we received a letter from Berlin stating that the German section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom sent in May last a cable to Mr. Wedgwood Benn urging him "to release Gandhi and all political prisoners."

We have received a big placard of the Irish Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom which contains the following:

"If you want to serve Ireland imitate Gandhi who sacrifices himself but refuses to take the life of another. Join the W. I. L."

and help to abolish the whole vile institution of War.

### "I am Proud of My People"

In an interview in Berlin Dr Rabindranath Tagore spoke of the position in India. "In the Indian endeavour to pursue the ideals of the Mahatma in the fight for freedom," he said, "success may or may not be achieved. But I am proud of my people that they fight for higher ideals. India must be an example to the whole world."

### "We Must Resignedly Accept Misrepresentation"

Some citizens of Great Britain belonging to both sexes, try to know the real situation in India from official and non-official sources and base their words and actions on such knowledge. Others—and they are perhaps the majority—misrepresent India because of ignorance or prejudice and set purposes. There is an appalling amount of misrepresentation of India in Great Britain. This accounts for the following passage in Rabindranath Tagore's well-known article in *The Spectator*.

"The people of England appear doomed to remain ignorant of the true state of things that prevail today in India. For in critical times like these Governments which have their faith in the short cut of punitive force for the speedy solution of their problems become more afraid of the hidden spirit of their own people than their enemies themselves. And therefore they create in the surrounding air the smoke screens of obscurity and calumny in order to hide their own method of action and discredit that of their opponents. This has been amply proved in the late War. The organized power has the organ of a magnified voice but we who have no proper means of publicity nor the bond of kinship with the British people to make it easy for us to gain credence must resignedly accept all misrepresentation as the bitterest part of our national penance; the unfavorable penance for our own long history of weakness. Yet I cannot allow this occasion to pass by without declaring that, with few exceptions, inevitable in the present atmosphere of panic and defiance India in this trial has maintained her dignity of soul."

This passage has been reprinted and published by Birmingham Council for India Freedom in the form of a leaflet for free distribution. The presence of the Poet in Birmingham for some time has obviously greatly stimulated interest in the cause of India's freedom in that city.

### "Why They Resign"

Another leaflet, with the heading "Why They Resign" published by the same Council states

"Several hundreds of elected Indian Officials have resigned their positions. This has puzzled many British people. So we print here what Munshi Muzar Saran (member of the Indian Assembly) gave as his reason, when he sent his letter of resignation to the Viceroy.

Then follows a passage from the letter, briefly mentioning various acts and methods of repression. The leaflet concludes with the following words:

"The British Government can stop these imprisonments, floggings and other actions."

"Send your protest to your M. P. and the Secretary of State for India at once to-morrow night is too late."

### Public Meetings at Birmingham

Public meetings are being held at Birmingham under the auspices of its Council for India Freedom, the handbill of one of which is reproduced below:

#### BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL FOR INDIAN FREEDOM

A  
PUBLIC MEETING  
Will be Held in the  
TOWN HALL  
BIRMINGHAM  
on

THURSDAY JULY 17th at 7-30 p.m.

INDIA—What is the Truth?

Suppression of Free Press

Arrest Without Trial

Public Meetings Prohibited

Shooting Unarmed People

SPEAKERS

DR ANNIE BESANT

FENNER BROOKWAY, M.P.

C. F. ANDREWS, M.A.

C. JINARAJADASA

REYNOLDS REYNOLDS

Chairman, HORACE ALEXANDER, M.A.

Admission Free Doors open at 7-0 p.m.

### British Attitude towards India

We have not printed the above note to produce any hope of any such meetings leading a large number of British citizens to take up the cause of India. We just want to tell our readers what some Indians in Britain and some Englishmen are doing to draw attention to the Indian situation. The prevailing British attitude appears to have been correctly read by *The Manchester Guardian* which, according to *The Leader*,

remarks in a leading article published in its issue of July 21 that the Simon Report has convinced most Englishmen that it is impossible for India to attain anything which can honestly be called Dominion status with or without reservation. And since India insists on having, at least the name

of Dominion status at once it is difficult to expect anything but disaster from the London Conference. This observation means that the majority of Englishmen have made up their minds and that the British delegation at the Round Table Conference is bound to oppose proposals for giving the name of Dominion status. If Lord Irwin is optimistic because he thinks that he more than any man living has the power of calling up the right spirit in the hearts both of Indians and of his own countrymen he should know that that power unfortunately he cannot communicate to others. So far as the *Guardian* is concerned it does not think that the London conference will lead to a solution of the Indian problem. There are many in India who are of the same opinion in view of the general British attitude towards the non-union Indians.

The attitude of this important organ of the British Liberal party is in keeping with that of its leaders like Mr Lloyd George, Lord Reading and Sir John Simon himself.

### Bengal Rural Primary Education Bill

A new Bengal Rural Primary Education Bill has been prepared by the Minister for Education which he wants to rush through the de-swarajized Bengal Legislative Council. His propaganda tour through Muslim districts and the semi-mysterious resignation of the only Hindu Minister have given a communal tinge to the Muslim Education Ministers' attempt to pilot the bill through the Council. But we will not say anything on its real or alleged communal aspects.

We have always opposed the levy of any new cess in Bengal for extending primary education. For Government gets the largest amount of revenue from Bengal and gives it for its public purposes less money than any other major province gets. If Bengal got as large a proportion of what Government collects from it as the other provinces, there would be plenty of money for introducing free and compulsory universal education in it for both boys and girls. Not to speak of other sources of revenue if Bengal got only what is collected in the shape of duty on Jute which is its monopoly there would be 4 crores of rupees for education whereas the Minister wants to raise only a little more than a crore by fresh taxation.

It has been said by him and others—we are not quoting their exact words—that as it would not be possible to make the Government of India disgorge now or abstain from swallowing in future what extra large amounts it appropriates from Bengal there

is no means left for the Bengalis to get universal education except paying fresh taxes. But the Weston award—pure and simple or modified—is not unalterable like a Law of Nature. If Bengalis are men they must get justice for their province. If they are not men would a little knowledge of reading and writing make their children man-like?

It may be said Bengal may get back her own in some distant or near future. Are her children to grow up into illiterate and ignorant men in the meantime? Not necessarily, we reply. If as Mr Minister Nazimuddin says the Bengal farmers and ryots are willing and eager to pay a cess for the education of their children why cannot they or their leaders form education committees in each village tax themselves collect such tax and have and manage their own schools? Such an endeavour would result in those who pay the piper also calling the tune whereas according to the Ministerial bill the villagers and their landlords and some others are to pay but the Government is to determine what kind of education the children are to have in order that the prescribed brand of mentality may be developed in them.

It will be objected that our suggestion is impractical and impracticable. We know for a certain type of mind it is easy and practicable to pay only when payment is compulsory. But we do not think every bit of idealism is impractical. And besides we are taking the Education Minister at his word that the rural population of Bengal are willing and eager to pay for education.

If the present bureaucracy remain in power and if its education department controls the funds, the methods, the curricula and text books of the proposed new rural education that education is sure to be such as would produce a mentality in favour of British dominance and Indian subservience. If a "brown" bureaucracy succeeds the British bureaucracy the brown gods also will seek to be worshipped.

Let us now see what provision the Minister wants to make for universal rural primary education for boys in Bengal. We say "universal" for in his Rotary Club speech that gentleman said

If the Bengal Primary Education Bill is enacted into law within seven years every boy in Bengal between the ages of six and eleven will be attending a primary school.



According to the census of 1921 the population of British ruled Bengal is 46,47,736. It is predominantly rural. Counting even eighteen of the localities which contain a population of less than 5000 each a towns the urban population of Bengal is only 32,11,204. Consequently one would not be far wrong in holding that the Bill would have to make provision for the primary education of practically all children in Bengal between the ages of 6 and 11.

In his Rotary Club speech the Minister said that the Bill would provide for the education of 2,00,000 boys and 1,00,000 girl. At present, no doubt, a far smaller number of girls than boys receive education. But when provision is being proposed to be made for all boys a similar provision ought to be made for all girls also though at first it may not be possible to make all of them attend school.

The Minister appears to think that by providing for the education of 2,00,000 boys, he would be educating every boy in Bengal between the ages of six and eleven. And the girls of that age to be educated are 1,00,000. The census report does not give the figures for children between 6 and 11; it gives the figures for those between 5 and 10. There would not be much difference between the two sets of figures. According to the census of 1921 boys between 5 and 10 numbered 3,801,342 and girls 3,686,676, total 7,488,018. So the Minister would provide education for 3,700,000 children out of about 7,000,000 that is for less than half. If only boys are taken into account, only 2,700,000 would be provided for out of 3,801,342. If girls alone were counted only 1,00,000 would be educated out of 3,686,676.

It cannot be said that the Bill would provide for the 27 lakhs of boys and 10 lakhs of girl in addition to those at present receiving education in primary schools. For according to the Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for the year 1928-29 19,90,000 boys are already enrolled in Primary schools. If these 20 lakhs already provided for were added to the 27 lakhs to be provided for the total would come up to 47 lakhs which is 9 lakhs more than the total number of boys in Bengal between the ages of 5 and 10. Surely the Minister has not been making provision in excess of present needs in anticipation of a future rapid increase in the number of boys.

That his estimate includes the present

number of schools and pupils would appear also from the details furnished by him of how the scheme is to be financed. He includes in his estimate what the Bengal Government at present spends for primary education as would be plain from the following passage from his Rotary Club speech.

The money to be found is Rs. 1,00,00,000 and the Government proposes to find it as follows.

At present Rs. 22 lakhs is the contribution to primary education from provincial revenue in rural areas. It is proposed to continue this contribution. A cess 1½ times the existing rate is proposed to be levied in the same manner as that cess and the proceeds are expected to amount to rupees one crore. In addition certain taxation is proposed on persons in rural areas who are engaged in trade or business or professional activities.

The tax is provided for in clause 31 of the Bill and is estimated to realize approximately 10 lakhs of rupees annually. Further it is proposed to meet the cost of the unspeaking staff and the training of teachers from the provincial budget so that no part of the expenditure under the head will have to be met from the new taxation.

It is clear then that, though the Bengal Rural Primary Education Bill would authorize the collection of the education cess from all rural areas in Bengal it would not be able to provide schools for all such areas for it would provide education for only 27 lakhs of boys out of 38 lakhs and 10 lakhs of girls out of 36 lakhs. If it cannot establish and maintain schools in all areas why should the cess be paid by tenants and landlords in all areas? If some districts and areas are to be favoured and some to be discriminated against, what principle would underlie such treatment?

Again Bengal is inhabited by both men and women including boys and girls. Why are girls to be discriminated against? Surely the Minister does not want an anti-education cess movement among Bengali women. He must have noted that Bengali women are becoming increasingly self-conscious and ready for sacrifice and suffering in the public cause.

#### Unwarlike Bengal

The reader must have noted from the articles published in this *Review* on the martial races of India that these did not contribute any soldiers to the East India Company's army in the earlier stages of its military operations. Consequently, it must also have been clear that when the

Company conquered or in any case defeated the martial peoples it did so with armies consisting of the most part of soldiers recruited from among the present day non martial peoples

This fact may lead same readers to investigate why some peoples become or are made unwarlike. We do not of course suggest that in war in general there is anything peculiarly commendable except courage. And there are higher forms of courage than that displayed in war.

So far as the military history of Bengal is concerned the history of the independent chiefs of Bengal—Moslem and Hindu—known as the Bara Bhuyans' the Twelve Chiefs, has not received sufficient attention. Mr N K Bhattacharya, Curator of the Dacca Museum contributed a learned paper on the subject, entitled *Bengal Chiefs' Struggles to Vol III of Bengal Past and Present* in 1929. The following passage is taken from that paper—

At the same time I cannot but say that the thirty-eight years (1575-1612 A.D.) struggle for independence of the Bengal Chiefs has not received the recognition it deserves. Rana Pratap of Mewar spent his whole life in fighting Akbar and ended his days sword in hand and independent. We have almost defied Rana Pratap and there is no name more honoured from one end of the country to the other than Rana Pratap. But what then have the Bengal Chiefs done to deserve this oblivion? They did the same they fought with the greatest generals of Akbar the very generals who had fought Rana Pratap. Rana Pratap was strong in cavalry the Bengalees were strong in war boats. The imperial generals were defeated again and again and driven out of Bengal. Bengal was never at peace and constant guerrilla warfare was maintained throughout the reign of Akbar. With occasional disasters to the imperial arms. It was not before 1613 in the reign of Jahangir that Bengal was completely subjugated. And all these the Bengal Chiefs accomplished with the children of the soil of Bengal and not with hirelings from Nepal or Rajasthan. Yet Bengalees are a non military race unworthy of receiving a soldier's training though their Chiefs and their forefathers had fought and maintained their independence for more than a third of a century.

Mr Bhattacharya's object is not to minimize the glory of Rana Pratap Singh but to give the Moslem and Hindu chiefs of Bengal in the heyday of Mughal rule their due

### Rice Cultivation in Bengal and other Schemes

According to a Simla despatch

1. For the improvement of rice in Bihar and Burma at an estimated cost of Rs 1 lakhs has been sanctioned

This is one of the schemes which were discussed and sanctioned at the meeting of the Governing Body of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research which concluded here yesterday.

The following schemes among others were also sanctioned

The establishment of a botanical sub station at Jamal at a cost of Rs 1.41,940 for five years and another sub-station in the same place for sugarcane cultivation at a cost of Rs 8,000.

It was agreed to contribute a total sum of ₹500 to the Imperial Bureau of Entomology and to expend a total sum of Rs 20,000 for agricultural meteorology.

The appointment of a sugarcane specialist for Bihar for five years was also agreed to as well as the establishment of a Bureau of Agricultural Intelligence.

Altogether 22 schemes were sanctioned at an approximate cost of over Rs 20 lakhs. All the money sanctioned represents the total expenditure involved in five years.

These schemes are good in the abstract. But they cannot bear appreciable fruit until the Indian agricultural population has become at least literate if not also educated.

### Japanese Enterprise and Indian official and Non official Lethargy

It is reported that in the shallow waters round the Andaman Islands are beds of a mollusc called *Trochus Turbo*. For several years enterprising Japanese have come in light vessels from Singapore harvested the molluscs and returned with their boats full of the shells which make agreeable mother of pearl ornaments.

From the next fishing season which begins in October the fishers will have to take out a licence and pay a 10 per cent royalty on their catches to the Government. The revenue from this source is expected to be Rs 40,000 a year which will be a net gain to Government, as hitherto the Japanese fishers have not contributed a pice in taxation to the authorities in whose waters they operate.

As it was feared that the beds might be so depopulated as to leave no fish for breeding purposes Dr B Prasad and Dr S L Hom recently visited the Andamans on behalf of the Zoological Survey of India and as a result of their report to the Central Government it has been decided to send an officer of the Survey to the Andamans for five years to investigate the condition of the fisheries and take steps for their preservation.

This decision shows that the Central Government has done part of its duty. But one would like to know why it has not done anything to train and enable the Japanese have been

As regards our own countrymen it must be said that as they live much nearer the Andaman Islands than the Japanese, it was their want of enterprise which has led to a profitable industry passing into the hands of foreigners

### "Vast Majority of Law abiding and Peace loving Citizens"

In the course of his concluding article sent from India to *The Daily Herald* of London by its special correspondent Mr George Sloccombe he writes

When one sees the enormous crowds that flock to meetings or march in processions under the Congress flag and hears the same opinion sympathetic to Congress and hostile to the Government from Sikh or Mohammedan Hindu or Parsee, high-caste Brahmin or sweeper of depressed classes one wonders where that vast majority of law-abiding and peace-loving citizens so often referred to in Government declarations may be found

### GROWING ENMITY

Hostility towards Britains steadily growing but beyond one or two trifling acts of boobyism the non-English community has lived and is still living in the midst of this teeming population in perfect safety.

The attitude of most crowds however is to an isolated Englishman who ventures among them is one of silent reproach rather than of open resentment.

Nevertheless our position in India is not as unenviable

At one time Indians' attitude to us was about equally compounded of fear respect, and dislike

Then the second factor in their attitude disappeared

The first is rapidly disappearing and soon unless the situation is dramatically altered dislike alone will dominate in the bearing of Indians towards Britains

Such is my profound and melancholy conviction on the eve of my departure from this country

### Womanhood of India

'India wants her womanhood to take her place in the forefront of the modern civilization along with her sisters of the West' said Professor A C Chakravarty of Santiniketan University Bengal, who lectured on the New Women's Movement in Bengal, at an At Home held under the auspices of the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom at Trinity Hall, Dargy Road

In the first part of his paper the lecturer gave a picture of the ancient Hindu civilization which

was based on spiritual values and which depended for its welfare on the sharing of mutual social responsibilities by India's men and women

India in the past tried to organize social life in the light of the complete ideal of religious life and therefore women had a special function to fulfil in the shaping of her civilization

### MODERN AGE

In the modern age however the peace and seclusion of India's past was no longer possible

The ancient social system had broken up and the pressure of economic difficulties had ruined the joint family system and the harmonious working of different social groups impossible

India's womanhood had faced this new age which had brought the different races and civilizations of the world together and was fast trying to evolve the psychology that would help her in contributing to the growth of a new social order

### INDIA'S FUTURE

The new woman of Bengal was conscious of her tremendous responsibility in shaping India's future and her great endeavour now was to harmonize the living traditions of her spiritual past with the dynamic civilization of the West

The ideal of social service which is operative in the West must blend with the conception of the fundamental values in life that the East has realized and the new woman's movement in Bengal had achieved that harmony of cultures through diverse social educational and cultural activities

The lecturer spoke of Bengal in particular because his experience is confined mostly to Bengal. What is true of Bengal is true of most other parts of India too

### Trouble and Advance

In the course of a speech made in England the Right Hon V S Srinivasa Sastri is reported to have said that the Irish got what they wanted because they made trouble and that there could be no advance without trouble. He is said to have added that the trouble made in India was not of the right kind. These observations are calculated to rouse one's curiosity to know what in Mr Sastri's opinion is trouble of the right kind and why he has not been making that kind of trouble. As he is an eminent leader of the party which is entirely in favour of taking only constitutional steps for winning freedom for India, he would confer a great boon on his fellow countrymen by showing them a way to freedom through trouble which is unquestionably constitutional and therefore quite safe to adopt.

### Replies to Simon Commission Report

Mr V S Srinivasa Sastri has been rendering yeoman's service to the cause of India by his activities in England. It is said that he is engaged in writing a book to be published shortly, which would in effect be a reply to the Simon Commission Report. It is also said that Mr C F Andrews is also engaged in writing a similar book. Both the authors are quite competent to do the work they have taken in hand and it is good that their works would be published in Great Britain and would not therefore be suppressed because of the inconvenient truths which they are expected to contain. Perhaps these books would be published before the so-called Round Table Conference meets in London.

### Official Review of The Movement

Week after week the official review of the Satyagraha movement called in English the civil disobedience movement records on the whole a gradual weakening of it. This has synchronized with bringing new laws under the operation of some ordinance or other promulgated to combat it or some already existing criminal law. These two facts have to be harmonized by the historian of contemporary events in order to understand whether the movement is really weakening.

### Picketing of Educational Institutions

We have all along been against the picketing of educational institutions. Our opinion that the education imparted therein though defective and even harmful in some respect is not on the whole an unmitigated evil may not be accepted by Non-co operators. They may also discount the fact that there are no adequate substitutes for these institutions. But the picketers and their leaders ought to admit that they have not got from the body of students they have prevented—at least temporarily—from attending their classes a number of workers at all commensurate with the time and energy spent in picketing. Our opinion is that they could have got more workers for the national cause by argument and persuasion if the educational institution is indeed all wed to go on as usual.

It is to be regretted also that in many

cases there has been coercion of some kind or other. Those who claim to be fighters in freedom's battle ought not to interfere with the freedom of others.

Though we have been against the picketing of educational institutions, we disapprove of the calling in of policemen to prevent peaceful picketing and we strongly condemn the assaults on picketers and spectators such as those which have taken place in front of the Calcutta Presidency College or near the locality.

### Prominent Leaders Join Congress

As ex-Presidents Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr Annie Besant and Dr Ansari had all along been ex officio members of the Indian National Congress. But as repression has gradually stifled they have one by one actually joined the present Congress movement, though at first they were not identified with it. This is significant.

### Mr Thompson on India in Bondage

Mr Edward Thompson who was for some time Professor at Bankura Bengal in a missionary college and was known as the Rev F J Thompson and who has been doing mischievous anti-Indian propaganda work in America perhaps at India's cost has recently contributed three articles to the London Times on America and India. The last of these three articles is devoted to a criticism of India in Bondage by Dr J I Sunderland who he admits is a generous and enthusiastic man. These three articles have been reproduced by a Calcutta Anglo-Indian paper. Three clippings of the three articles have been sent to me from England by different persons obviously in the hope that I might answer Mr Thompson's criticisms. One has sent me the other two also. I however labour under certain difficulties. At the end of each of the three articles there are the words Copyright Reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part forbidden. This prevents the quotation of Mr Thompson's criticisms verbatim. Another difficulty is that Dr Sunderland's book having been proscribed in India, is not available for reproduction of passages here. But as the bulk of the book appeared in *The Modern Review* and as I read it in manuscript I remember the substance

of what I wrote, and as the aforesaid Anglo-Indian paper reprinted the passages from it quoted by Mr Thompson I may be allowed to refer to them. This Imperialist method of controversy is eminently fair. You first suppress a book and prevent people from knowing its main lines of argument and then you publish criticisms of it forbidding even partial quotation of them. Now then is an effective rejoinder possible? The last difficulty I shall mention is that in the place I am writing this reply, all the historical works and other literature required are not available.

Mr Thompson's criticisms are all of them criticisms of a few details in Dr Sunderland's book. Not one of them weakens or invalidates the main or subsidiary arguments contained in it. So even if it were admitted that the inaccuracies pointed out by the critic were all real mistakes the book would remain substantially unanswered. I shall not repeat these remarks at every step—the reader will judge for himself whether they are true with reference to every passage criticized by Mr Thompson.

Dr Sunderland states in his book that the splendid Indian army turned the tide at the first battle of the Marne beating back the German advance and saving Paris from capture. Dr Thompson points out in criticism that the Indian army could not have done it, as the battle of the Marne was fought between September 1 and 11 while the Indian Expeditionary Force was still on its way to France. In this he is certainly right. For the first Indian detachments did not reach France till the last week of September. But that hardly affects Dr Sunderland's principal argument. We do not wish to make any extravagant claims for the Indian Corps in France. But there is hardly a serious historian who will dispute General Sir James

Willecock's opinion that the arrival of the Indian Army Corps just when it did come, was a most welcome respite sadly needed by the British armies on the Western Front outnumbered and all but overwhelmed as they were by the Germans, or try to maintain that the services rendered by the Indians at Guenech, Neuve Chapelle, Ypres Festubert and other battles were insignificant or unimportant. The exact words of General Willecock are well worth quoting:

It is the passage criticized occurs in the chapter devoted to showing that a free India would be able to protect herself as Indian soldiers are good fighters. As Lord Curzon, Sir Valentine Chirol, General Allenby, General Sir Ian Hamilton and many other competent authorities have highly praised the soldierly qualities of Indian sepoys Dr Sunderland's argument remains as strong as ever even though Indian soldiers did not arrive in time to take part in the battle of the Marne.

Dr Sunderland is quoted by Dr Thompson to have written in a Boston paper *not* in "India in Bondage" that "the shocking Amritsar massacre and all the terrible Punjab atrocities were perpetrated under Dyarchy." The critic says that these things happened in April 1919 and Dyarchy passed the House of Commons in December 1919 and came into operation in 1921. So it comes to this that Mr Thompson admits that these events *did* happen though not literally under Dyarchy. Does that matter very much? Moreover, we must take into consideration the fact that these terrible events happened when Dyarchy was already on the anvil and the Reform Scheme had been adumbrated two years previously by the Declaration of August 20 1917. So the Punjab atrocities were perpetrated when a new spirit resulting in the Reform Scheme (which included Dyarchy) was

supposed to have been influencing the British rulers in India and Britain.

The next point sought to be made by the critic is that Dr Sunderland's authority says that the losses in some of our Indian battles of conquest were about double the loss at Waterloo. The loss in our Sutlej battles in 1846 was much more severe than that of Waterloo though the actual figures are claimed by the critic to tell a different tale. Mr Thompson fails to mention that Dr Sunderland's quotation is from a book called *Government of India under a Bureaucracy* by John Dickinson (*Junior*) M R A S F R G S published in London in 1863 and so he is not responsible for the opinion expressed in it. The critic himself does not say from what book his own figures are taken. Much more severe loss does not necessarily imply a larger number of killed and wounded; it would be quite accurate to use those words if the casualties were greater in proportion to the number of soldiers engaged in battle. It is not clear too whether Dickinson used loss to include the wounded also. Moreover the actual Sikh casualties are not known. But let us examine Dr Thompson's own Waterloo figures. He speaks of the 15,000 British and 7,000 Prussian casualties at Waterloo. But according to Fortescue's *History of the British Army* the British casualties at Waterloo were—killed 1,328, wounded 4,624 and missing 508, total 6,460. There is some difference between 15,000 and 6,510, is there not? Perhaps Dr Thompson includes the casualties among the Dutch, Belgian and German contingents under Wellington's command to swell the figure of the British losses.

But supposing Dr Thompson is quite right in his correction, does it dispose of Dr Sunderland's facts and arguments relating to the kind of peace Britain has given India? The American author may be right or may be wrong, but some defective or ambiguous statistics given by the critic without quoting his authority cannot dispose of the many extracts given by Dr Sunderland in the chapter referred to, which I am sorry neither myself nor any other Indian is in a position to reproduce in India.

Mr Thompson quotes the following passage from India in Bondage:

Mr Tagore had been friendly to the British and had freely co-operated with it in

recognition of which the British Government had conferred upon him the Order of Knighthood.

I know quite well where this passage occurs and could at once point it out if given a copy of *India in Bondage*. It is where the author describes what Mahatma Gandhi and the Poet Tagore did with reference to the terrible events in the Panjab in 1919. I am sure also that Mr Thompson has quoted the sentence in a mutilated form. This passage has made the critic very "indignant." But he has misunderstood the words, friendly and co-operated. I know Dr Sunderland has used the words friendly and loyal with reference to Mahatma Gandhi's past career also and he is right in doing so. If Mahatma can be and that rightly styled friendly and loyal in spite of passive resistance in South Africa, Tagore can also be called friendly in spite of his occasional opposition to Government. When it is said that Dr Tagore has co-operated with the British regime, it is simply meant that he has *not non co-operated* with it. In proof thereof it may be stated that Tagore's University sends up students to an official University's examinations. Mahatma Gandhi's Gujarat Vidyapeeth does not and Tagore's Rural Reconstruction Department accepts a Government grant. Mahatma Gandhi's institution does not. Mr Thompson says what every one knows and Dr Sunderland knows, that Tagore's knighthood was a distinction to literature. But I doubt whether it would have been conferred upon him if he had been an extremist like Aurobindo Ghose or a non-cooperator like Mahatma Gandhi. As all Governments do similar things, I do not mean any insult to the British Indian Government—and certainly not to the Poet—when I conjecture that the knighthood was conferred upon him for an additional reason, namely to make him more friendly and more co-operative and keep him in that frame of mind though the Poet's response to that gesture may not have been what was officially expected. I agree with the critic—and Dr Sunderland would also agree I am sure—that the title was neither bought nor sold. The question of any commercial transaction of that sort does not arise.

The critic asserts that Dr Sunderland's premises are grotesquely false and gives the following sentence from the latter's book as an example:

I repeat India is a vast land—almost a

continent—rich in resources of every kind—agricultural products forests fisheries minerals

What is grotesquely false here? The critic says India is nothing of the sort. Let us see

When it suits the purpose of our opponents they point to the large area of our country and its many languages, creeds, etc., to prove that we are not a nation but a congeries of peoples. But when a friend refers to the vast area of India, why it becomes a grotesquely false statement. However, the Englishman's latest Gospel, the Simon Commission Report, says the same thing only in different language. That work (vol. 1 page 10) speaks of the sub continent which we call India and states (vol. 1 page 11) that "India is as large as the whole of continental Europe without Russia." What is the tremendous difference between these words of the Simon Commission Report and Dr. Sunderland's almost a continent?

As for the description of the resource of India as rich, Dr. Thompson says that "her resources are vastly exaggerated. But 'rich' is a relative term. What is rich to us may not be rich to Dr. Thompson and his countrymen, who originally came and still come to our poorly endowed country undoubtedly to bestow some of their riches on us from the vastly richer natural resources of their vastly larger motherland known as Great Britain.

The critic takes exception to Dr. Sunderland's statement that the abolition of suttee is "due quite as much to the eminent Indian leader Rammohun Roy, as to the British Government. Indeed, the Government would not have acted at all except for strong pressure from a powerful Indian movement. Mr. Thompson's remark on this is "Rammohun Roy thought the prohibition injudicious and premature." There is both *suppression* and *suggestion* false in that single brief statement. A full exposure of the enormity of this British writer's misrepresentation of the great Indian reformer cannot be attempted in this note. Suffice it to say that Rammohun carried on a ceaseless campaign against suttee in English and Bengali, thereby endangering his own life, that his arguments and almost his very words were reproduced in the Anti-Suttee Act that when the orthodox Hindus submitted many petitions against it, he presented a counter-petition and when Bentinck allowed the orthodox to appeal to

the king in Council Rammohun expedited his departure to England in order to be there in time to fight the cause of Indian womanhood. If at any stage of the movement for the abolition of suttee he thought prohibition by law injudicious and premature it was because of his "constitutional aversion to coercion and because "the reformer's method went deeper as he tried to remove the cause by enlightening the national mind. He wanted to root out and not simply to stop the evil. (A. C. Ganguly)

Montgomery Martin a contemporary of Rammohun who was not at all disposed to be too modest in claiming for himself the largest possible share of the credit for the abolition of suttee writes thus

The efforts which I made in India (and which I feel proud to say were successful) for the abolition of this horrid rite by the publication of a journal in four languages addressed to all castes of natives, is one of the most gratifying events of my life. It is due to the memory of the late Rammohun Roy to state that to his aid in conjunction with that of the noble-minded Dwarkanath Tagore and his able and estimable cousin Prasanna Coomarr Tagore I was materially indebted for the success of my labours in 1830. —*Eastern India* vol. 1 p. 41. I published in London 1833.

Says the Rev. Dr. Mcnicol

If the credit of putting an end to these horrors belong to any man, says the late Justice Hardey, that credit must be given to Raja Rammohun Roy.

Montgomery's *Rammohun Roy* (Christian Literature Society) Madras 1899 p. 11.

Again

Had it not been that there was at that time in Rammohun Roy one resolute to express the better spirit of his countrymen and in Lord William Bentinck a ruler not less resolute to take action in accordance with it, this practice revolting as it was, might have remained for many a day still further to brutalize the people and bring dishonour on the land. —*Ibid* p. 41.

Rammohun's fame can take care of itself. Dr. Sunderland's reference to what he did in relation to suttee is meant to show that Indians are capable of discerning their own social evils and combating them and hence even if British dominance were gone and India became self ruling the cause of social reform would not suffer. Every unprejudiced and well informed man knows that the abolition of suttee the legalizing of widow marriage, legalization of inter-caste and inter-caste marriage, civil marriage, the abolition of the *dotal* system, the legal restrictions placed on child marriage etc., have been brought

about by Indian initiative. And it is Indians who are fighting for the right of the depressed classes to enter temples and use public ways, wells and schools and for the introduction of free and compulsory universal elementary education.

Dr Thompson quotes the following passage from Dr Sunderlands book without any comment but probably because he thinks the statements contained therein wrong.

Wherever in India the British are most in evidence there the riots are usually worst, where ever the British are least in evidence there riots are generally fewest. Before the British came to India there seems to have been little hostility between Hindus and Moslems, everywhere they seem to have lived together for the most part peacefully and harmoniously.

As Dr Thompson does not make any specific remarks on this passage I also need not do so. I will however quote the following words from the Simon Commission Report bearing on Hindu-Moslem riots.

The comparative absence of communal strife in the Indian States today may be similarly explained. Vol 1 page 20.

Lastly the critic quotes the following passage.

For more than 2500 years before the British came the Indian nation was one of the greatest the most influential and most enlightened in the world.

Dr Thompson's comment is

"For him these golden millenniums rich in every art and science and form of material wealth are unquestioned facts as they are coming to be for this section of the American public that forms its mind from the lecture platform."

If according to the critic the facts were the exact opposite of what Dr Sunderlands states why in a bygone age did the foremost nations of Europe try to monopolize as much of the trade of India as they could? Did they come to shower 'New wealth on India'?

These are all the passages in a book of more than 500 pages which Mr Thompson has criticized.

Ramananda Chatterjee

### Official Propaganda

A batch of Bengali leaflets sent by the president of a Union Board to one of its members lies before us. The Bengali covering letter runs as follows (in translation).  
Sir

I send you these propaganda leaflets (particular

of the) in accordance with the honorable Circular Officers letter dated 7-8-30 kindly give these leaflets to distinguished gentlemen to read and disseminate their purport systematically among the common people.

The signature and designation of the Union Board President follow. The leaflets have the following captions. Our imminent danger dwelling on what anarchy plundering by hooligans ravishment of women killing of innocent men etc would befall the country if there were no policemen.

Clothing entirely devoted to belauding the practice of importing foreign cloth with not a single word in appreciation of the indigenous mill and handloom industries.

Swamy is based on the Union Board's

"Making catspaws of others" which is too precious to be summarized. Excise, in praise of the Excise policy of the Government and Education as the foundation of Freedom which contains a dictum falsely attributed to Mahatma Gandhi and another saying attributed to the poet Rabindranath Tagore resembling some sentences of his changed beyond recognition. The leaflets contain some half truths and more falsehoods. And these are being circulated through the members of the Union Boards who are assumed to be the pillars of self rule.

Three of these leaflets are printed at the Bari Press two at the Apurba Press and one at the Surya Printing House—all of Calcutta. We do not know the proprietors of these presses. Those who know may ask them if they would agree to print replies to these leaflets.

If we are not mistaken the law relating to presses requires the name of the printer and the address of the press to be printed even in leaflets printed there. These leaflets do not fulfil these requirements though they are published under official auspices. Moreover they do not bear the name of the publisher. Even Government Gazettes fulfil these legal requirements. Is the hidden hand of the official propagandist above all law?

### Bombay Tilak Day Prosecution

When non co operators are brought to trial on some charge it is usual for them to refuse to plead and defend themselves or to take part in the proceedings in court in any other way. They have their own

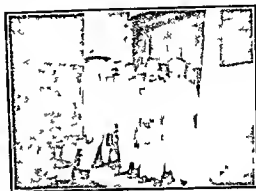


reasons for doing so. So far as trials and punishments go they would not recognize the Government willingly. And generally so far as mere conviction or discharge or acquittal goes, their participation or non-participation in the trial would perhaps produce the same result. But it is known that sometimes persons have been punished for offences connected with satyagraha although they were not even present on the scene of occurrence when the offence was said to have been committed. In such cases the putting up of a defence might have resulted in acquittal. It is true, conviction in such undefended cases shows up police methods and lays bare the real character of the convicting law courts. But a defence would do so as well though that might involve some trouble and some expense too. Generally it would moreover serve the cause of truth and also put to the test repeatedly Government's profession of acting according to the law.

Sometimes a defence and an appeal may result in the vindication of important rights and principles. For instance the judgments of Mr Justice Pandit of the Madras High Court in relation to the wearing of Gandhi caps and the hoisting of the national flag in private buildings have established the right of private individuals to dress in any way they like provided of course they do not do so in an indecent manner and also the right of flying the national flag in houses belonging to them and used for private purposes.

In the Bombay Tilak Day case there were altogether seventeen accused. All except Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya refused to take any part in the proceedings of the Chief Presidency Magistrate's Court, where the trial was held. The Pandit cross-examined the witnesses and addressed the court in consequence of which the Magistrate had to admit that important points of law had been raised and many facts became public which would have otherwise remained unknown. It has been made clear at least to the Indian public that the Bombay Police Commissioner's request or order (whatever it was) that the Tilak Day procession should not proceed along Hornby Road was unjustifiable. The leaders asked to be allowed to proceed along one side of the road by fours or even twos. But the Commissioner would not alter his order. In consequence the processionists

remained squatting on the wet road for fourteen hours including all the hours of the night of the 1st August, thus really though unintentionally obstructing what little traffic there was for which the Commissioner was to blame. They were neither allowed to proceed nor arrested nor dispersed. It could not be contended that there was considerable traffic throughout those fourteen hours and even after midnight. It was only after the arrival from Poona in the morning of Sir Ernest Watson the Bombay Home Member and after consultation with him that the Commissioner ordered the arrest



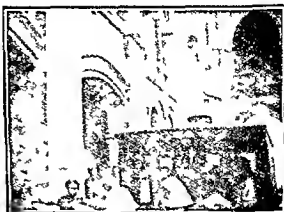
At the door of the Byculla Jail

of the leaders and some others and the dispersal by force of those who did not go away of their own accord. As the Police Commissioner had previously assured Messrs Lala Narayan and H. P. Mody that he would not use force to disperse the processionists as he consulted the Home Member in order to share responsibility with him (as deposed in his evidence before the Magistrate) and as the arrests and dispersal took place after this consultation it really became a political instead of a police prosecution. Hence as asked for by the Pandit, Sir Ernest Watson should have been summoned to appear as a court witness. But the Magistrate refused to do so. Of course it also became clear that the Commissioner had broken his promise not to use force to disperse the crowd. The lathi charge resulted in the disabling of more than two hundred unarmed unresisting and inoffensive persons.

The trial such as it was resulted in the conviction of all the accused Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the four ladies were fined Rs 100 each in default of payment of which they were to undergo fifteen days simple imprisonment. The remaining accused were sentenced to three months simple imprisonment each. Some forty more ladies had been arrested but were released. The four who were convicted had been as little or as much guilty of any offence as the forty released and the four had played only a passive part. Their conviction was therefore unjustifiable. There was no reason for giving to Mr Malaviya a lighter sentence than to the remaining accused. The magistrate had no doubt said that the Pandit was 70 years of age and his motive in disobeying the Police order was different from that of others; hence the lighter sentence. But the Pandit after coming out of prison declared that the Magistrate had misrepresented him as his motive was exactly the same as that of his companions. He also said that he would again repeatedly disobey orders like that of the Police Commissioner of Bombay.

One very painful circumstance connected with processions led out or meetings held in defiance of police prohibition is that, whereas the leaders are usually only arrested, most others instead of being arrested are assaulted

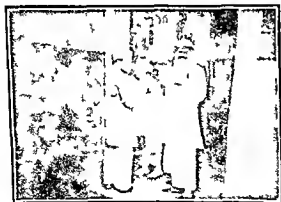
leaders are certainly more to blame than the followers or passive listeners and spectators. So if arrest and trial are what the leaders deserve the others deserve nothing worse. But grievous hurt by *lathis* sometimes resulting in death is undoubtedly a severer punishment than a term of simple or rigorous imprisonment.



The leaders being taken in a prison van to the Byculla Jail

It is plain of course to all that it would not be possible for any Government to accommodate and entertain in jails hundreds of thousands of processionists and listeners at meetings. So only some persons are sent to jail and others are dispersed by force, some receiving serious injuries. But justice requires that the leaders also should be subjected to *lathi* charges. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said in court that he would have preferred being beaten like hundreds of others. The feeling of all true leaders would undoubtedly be similar. But even the die-hards among those who constitute the personnel of what is known popularly as Government in this country would not like to face world public opinion after a *lathi* charge on Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mrs. Sirojini Vaidya, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru or the like, particularly if any of them died in consequence as Lala Lajpat Rai died or were even disabled permanently or for a time.

Perhaps for these reasons of expediency those who are more responsible for illegal processions and meetings are lightly dealt with and those who are less responsible are more severely dealt with.



Mr. Sherwani, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Jaramdas Mulikram in the prison van

with *lathi* in consequence of which large numbers of them have to go to hospital and a few have died. There is no just reason for treating the leaders and the followers differently in this way. If by holding these meetings and processions any offence be committed the

A question has been raised as to whether when a fine, or imprisonment in default, is inflicted, the condemned person should pay the fine. Those who are not Non-cooperators generally pay the fine if they can as they may prefer to be outside gaols to make the best use of their time and energy they can. Besides no useful purpose in the opinion is served by subjecting themselves voluntarily to physically and morally harmful conditions when there is an alternative of a different kind left to their choice. In the case of those who are non-violent Non-cooperators at least for the time being the principle which is observed is that they will not do what Government wants them to do except under compulsion. Their property may be seized or sold to realize a fine—they would not resist—but they would not willingly pay a fine. Similarly they would not resist

if he can. Whether he had really acted according to this inner rule would be known only to himself and his God.

#### Major Graham Pole on the Situation in India

Speaking in the House of Commons on the 31st of July last, Major D. Graham Pole observed in relation to the Simon Commission report:

"That the report gives us an up-to-date knowledge of Indian conditions and circumstances is simply foolish. The report of the Commission does that they have not taken into consideration events of the past few months. It is over a year since the Commission left India, and therefore its report they have issued cannot have taken into consideration anything that has happened in that interim, which the whole situation has changed so frequently to that extent the report is out of date."

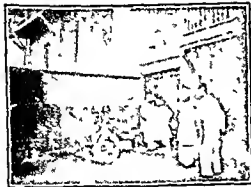
The report is not only out of date it is very seriously defective. We do not refer to its conclusions or recommendations however much we may condemn them. What we mean is that the Commission had not before it any evidence given by the Congress and the National Liberal Federation through any of their members and by members of some of the representative bodies as they had all boycotted the commission. To think that a report can be an adequate survey of Indian conditions without the "reporters" having before them the evidence of the most important bodies of representative Indians is highly absurd.

Major Pole then proceeded to lay stress on one of the criticisms with regard to the report:

"One of the criticisms which has been made in India with regard to the report of the Simon Commission is that there is too much insistence on points of difference and too little insistence on points of unanimity. We have been told of the large number of different religions in India but we must not forget that there is a large number of different religions in this country. There are 2,000,000,000 people in India, and 2,000,000,000 of them are either Hindus or Moslems. There is a number of different languages and dialects, are spoken in India, but the point to be stressed is that there are at least 100,000,000 people in India who speak Hindi and 200,000,000 who speak Bengali."

He went on to show that the success or failure of the Round Table Conference would promote or injure Britain's material interests.

We want to make the round table conference a success and one would have thought that this would appeal especially to non-Moslems opposite because if we do not make it a success we are going to lose all our trade with India. A day or



The leaders being taken down from the Lion Van

when arrested or conveyed to jail. The reasons which stand in the way of a man's paying a fine himself would also hold him to object to anybody else paying it for him. No doubt men like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya can do all outward appearance spend their time more usefully outside than within gaols but conformity to principle on their part may be thought to have no more intrinsic value than outward activities.

If a man has the choice of either paying a fine or going to jail he may do as he pleases according to an inner rule. If he is afraid of going to prison he ought to go to jail—he should not avoid going there by paying the fine. Going to jail would cure him of his fear. If he be not afraid, he may pay the

two ago the Simla correspondent of the Times' said.

On the other hand there is a disturbing increase in the movement to boycott British goods which is spreading to an alarming extent throughout the country.

That kind of thing is bound to go on until some settlement is arrived at which satisfies the Indian people. The Simla correspondent of the Morning Post states in that journal on the 11th July.

The total of cotton goods imported from Lancashire during April and May compared with the total for the corresponding period last year showed a decrease of 23 per cent.

No wonder that there is unemployment in Lancashire. The Simla correspondent of the Morning Post goes on to say.

Foreign cloth shops in most of the larger towns have been continuously picketed and it has been difficult for importers even to honour contracts made with Lancashire before the outbreak of the movement.

Only the other day the Morning Post pointed out that

India normally takes about one third of Lancashire's production of cotton goods. At the present moment scores of spinning mills and weaving sheds in the county have been closed and there is no hope of reopening them until active trade is resumed with India.

In conclusion the speaker suggested on what conditions Indian representatives might be induced to attend the Round Table Conference.

Whether we like it or not there is a danger of creating in India the impression that the Government are going back on the agreement which has been announced to India and that the Round Table Conference might be dominated by members of the Statutory Commission.

Lieut. Commander Kenworthy.—How do you know that?

Major Peto. I know that it is so because I am constantly receiving a large number of letters and cables from India which lead me to that conclusion. There was great difficulty in getting the Indian representatives to agree to come to this country and it is very difficult to get them to co-operate with us because they do not believe in the sincerity of a three party Conference. Recently we have seen some signs of an active attempt at co-operation, which I hope we shall really help and not hinder. There is a feeling among the Indian people that we are inclined to depart from our undertakings and that we are going to limit the scope of the Conference. In another place it was said the other day by a member of the Commission.

That Sir John Simon's letter was exclusively confined to adjusting the relations between British India and the Indian States.

The Chairman of the Commission and the Prime Minister realized that it was necessary to deal with the whole problem of the Indian States and British India and the Constitution and not merely to adjust our relations with the Princes. I hope nothing will be said in this debate that will make it more difficult for us to get Indian representatives to attend the round table Conference. We want the Indian

people to realize that they are coming to a free conference and that they are not dominated by one report and one report only. They should understand that anything which they wish to lay before the Conference will be sympathetically examined and that they will have a chance of presenting their own views before a scheme is adopted for all sections in India. I want to ensure that the Indian representatives will get a fair hearing for their suggestions and that they should be convinced that there is no intention of putting one point of view before them the whole time.

While what the speaker wanted to ensure should be ensured that will not be enough. Those among Indian nationalists who have worked hardest for the public cause have suffered most and made great sacrifices are unwilling to go to London just to plead for India just to get a fair hearing. They would be willing to go to London only to settle the details of a Dominion Constitution for India.

### Under Lock and Key

The Calcutta Police had been instructed making daily searches and arrests at the offices of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, the Calcutta District Congress Committee and the All Bengal Students Association. They have recently put these offices under lock and key. As Non-cooperators do not seek relief in Government law courts this action of the police will not be challenged by them. But it is all the more necessary for all Government servants concerned to act strictly according to the law if Government is not merely to rule somehow but also to be respected by all sections of the public. It is not statesmanlike also practically to compel an open movement to become a secret one.

We do not know of any law or ordinance which empowered the Police to lock up the offices of any associations which like those spoken of above had not yet been declared unlawful.

### Pandit Motilal Nehru's Illness

Pandit Motilal Nehru's illness is a matter of serious concern to the people of India. Millions fervently desire that he may recover early. As Mrs. Sir Nilratan Sircar and B. C. Roy have been called to his bedside, he will have the best medical advice. But

a jail is not a proper place for good medical treatment and nursing. So the eminent patriot ought to be released—at least until his recovery, if necessary on his word of honour.

### Making Legal Hay While Subservency Shines

At present the Bengal Legislative Council contains a majority of members subservient to the bureaucracy. Consequently there is great haste in getting laws enacted which an independent Council would have certainly rejected. One of these laws is the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill of 1930, arming the Executive with power of arrest and detention without trial for a further period of five years.

The main ground upon which the measure is justified by the Government was the Chittagong incident and replying to critics the Home Member said that the revolutionary movement had continued for 2 years and had gained in volume. He refused to believe that it would die out as a result of political concession.

We do not possess any personal knowledge of a terrorist movement in Bengal. But assuming that there is one it is perhaps right to hold that it would not die out as a result of political concessions. Concessions as they are called will not do. Political enfranchisement resulting in perfect citizenship is the only remedy for revolutionary movements. The right to self rule must be recognised in practice before it is too late. In the meantime the ordinary laws and methods of trial are quite sufficient to adequately deal with all actual crimes.

If concessions will not do the trick neither will any lawless law such as the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill is which is against the most elementary and fundamental principles of justice. At the time when the Chittagong incident happened the Executive had exactly the same powers as this new Act gives them with and they had an army of spies and secret police to assist them. Yet they had not even an inkling that such a thing was going to happen.

\* The foregoing sentences in this note were written and set in type before the occurrence of the attempt on the life of Sir Charles Tegart and the subsequent fomenting of outrage. These appear to show that there is at least a large element which is greatly to be regretted. Such deeds of violence cannot serve any patriotic purpose. They can only strengthen the hands of the Imperialist die hards.

### The Present Bengal Council

Instituted as the present Bengal Legislative Council is, it was only to be expected that Mr S. M. Bose's motion relating to Dominion status and the selection of delegates to the London Conference. Mr. Srinamra and Mookerjee's motion for a committee to enquire into allegations of police excesses and similar patriotic efforts should fail. A considerable number of subservient and communalism ridden Muslim members form the main props of the reactionary policy of the Government. And yet when self rule would be obtained through the sufferings and sacrifices of Hindu and Muslim patriots, these very men would clamour the loudest for a lion's share of the advantages expected from it.

It is satisfactory that even in Bengal there are many wholehearted Muslim nationalists. And Sir Abdur Rahim's latest utterances show that he has again partly turned round towards nationalism.

### The Afridis Inroads

What exactly has led the Afridis and others to invade the Peshawar district we do not know and are perhaps not likely to know very early. Some Anglo Indian and British papers aver that Congress is at the root of the mischief. Great then must the influence and efficiency of a body which can induce the Pathan tribes to run the risk of being bombed and shot down. Would it not be quite as fantastic to suggest that militarist die hards had somehow brought about the inroads to prove how entirely dependent India was on them for her safety?

### Martial Law in Peshawar District

The only justification for proclaiming martial law in Peshawar District that we can find in Lord Irwin's statement on the subject is that "the Afridis have received food shelter and active assistance from some elements at least amongst the villagers in some villages. That this is a sufficiently strong ground for the proclamation of martial law in the whole district to be extended to other areas also in the Province if thought necessary, is not a self evident proposition.

It is apprehended by many that the provisions of the latest martial law ordinance may be misused by the local authorities to crush manifestations of nationalism in Peshawar district and in other areas too of the North West Frontier Province as the ordinance can be extended to them simply by notification in the Gazette of India

### A Curious Reason for not Punishing Plunderers

*Sanyam* is a Moderate Bengali weekly of 18 years standing. It writes

Sriyut Sath Chandra Choudhury wanted to know in the Bengal Legislative Council why all the rioters [who had looted many villages in his district, in his division in Mymensingh district and committed other crimes] had not been arrested. The District Magistrate of Mymensingh says on this subject. If all the Muslim rioters had been arrested and sent to jail then land could not have been cultivated owing to lack of Muslim labour to do so, and there would have been terrible famine in the land. (Translation)

On this *Sanyam* observes in part

If the reason given by the Magistrate for not arresting all the rioters was followed then it would be necessary to release many satyagrahis. What has the District Magistrate to say to this? (Translation)

This Magistrate's line of argument might lead bootleggers to conclude that the more widespread looting, burning and slaying were, the greater would be the chances of these crimes being committed with impunity. A supplementary question ought to have been put as to why lathi charges prescribed for non-violent Non-cooperators had not been prescribed for violent rioters. That would have overbalanced sending the rioters to jail while vindicating to some extent in an indirect way the majesty of law.

### Terrible Situation in Sukkur

Sukkur town and district have been witnessing scenes which are a combination of what have taken place in Dacca town and district. Contar sub-division and hislorgany sub-division in Bengal. People in foreign countries have been told what terrible things would happen if the British rulers of India withdrew to their own country. Those foreigners might therefore naturally conclude that that calamity had already overtaken Sukkur.

### 'Lathi' Charge at Amritsar

According to *The Tribune* of Lahore 'About 700 persons are reported to have received injuries as a result of a lathi charge by the police at Amritsar.'

As the Punjab is inhabited by the most warlike people in India it would be only fitting if the alleged beating turned out to be true and if thereby the Punjab police fulfilled the general expectation of them being the most heroic in the land.

### Picketers and Molesting in Bombay

The following letter, signed by 480 Bombay firms has been addressed to the Commissioner of Police Bombay

Moolji Jethi Cloth Market  
Bombay 15th Aug 1930

To the Commissioner of Police  
Dear Sir

We the undersigned cloth merchants of the piece goods Bazaar Ltd. to invite your attention to the fact that some Congress volunteers were arrested today for picketing. We protest against their arrest as we do not require any interference of the Police in the matter and we will settle the matter directly with them if any necessity arise. We further beg to add that no trouble has been created or harassing done by them to us or to any of our customers and such being the case we shall request you to withdraw the Police lodged in the vicinity of the markets forthwith.

We further beg to bring to your notice that if the Police force is not withdrawn forthwith from the surroundings of the cloth markets the result will be that all the cloth markets and other markets will be totally closed which means a heavy loss to us. We therefore earnestly request you to take prompt action and withdraw the Police force.

In case a particular gentleman or gentlemen think that he or they are troubled by Congress volunteers by picketing you may help them according to their wish and desire but you should not create trouble for the cloth market.

### Muslim Indians and Other Indians'

Those who want that Muslim Indians should be unlike other Indians so that Indians may not be able to present a united front must go on repeating that Muslim Indian politics is entirely different from other Indian politics in spite of events happening every day to give the lie to such assertions. The latest of such events is the arrest of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, acting president of the Congress for a speech delivered by him at Meerut some time ago.

Muslim Indian ladies too, are not entirely Indian ladies. The names of Mrs

Lakshmi, Mrs. Sani, Mrs. Hanu Imam and others are known to the public. But other Muslim Indian ladies who are not prominent in the public eye are behaving like ladies belonging to other Indian communities, as the following news item will show

Banau Aug 7

The authorities of the Jamat ul Ulema at Banau is reported to have informed the Jamat ul Ulema a Hind that the picketing at foreign cloth shops has been going on for the last three weeks. The volunteers are being shown the way out of the town. The gates of the town have been closed to prevent the entry of the volunteers to the town. Moslem ladies have taken the field and are picketing at the liquor shops in the town. The first batch of Moslem lady pickets being arrested the second batch has stepped in and is carrying on picketing at the liquor shops.

In Bombay bands of men and women go along the streets and lanes in the morning singing songs. They are known as *Prabhat Faries*. Recently in certain quarters inhabited by Muslim Indians Muslim ladies have formed *Prabhat Faries*. They go their morning round singing national songs.

### Causes of the Present Economic Crisis

Opponents of Indian self rule are trying to make political capital out of the prevailing unsatisfactory economic conditions by laying all the blame on the satyagraha movement. The real causes have been pointed out in a statement made to the press by Mr G D Birla. He does not maintain that the political unrest is not making its contribution to the existing depression. It undoubtedly is.

"But what I do maintain is that the main cause of the present distress is the ruinous financial policy of the Government and the political unrest is only aggravating it."

The outlook therefore is not at all cheerful unless we exert an honourable political settlement and with it our unquestioned right to lay down our own fiscal policy to suit the interests of India.

With the boycott of foreign cloth, Indian cotton mills ought to have had a good time.

But what do we find instead? The stock of mill made cloth is accumulating and the mills are experiencing serious difficulties in disposing of their product. One naturally asks for an explanation for such a situation. But the reply is very simple. The purchasing power of the agriculturist has dwindled to an extent never experienced before and as the prosperity of the trade, commerce and industry must naturally depend on the economic condition of the cultivator his present plight is having an adverse effect on trade and commerce.

To put it in a nutshell our present trouble is only a reflection of the distress of the agriculturists.

Wheat is sold in Bengal at Rs. 4 per maund. Wheat was sold in the Punjab at Rs. 2.6 per maund until recently—an unusually low price. Cotton in the Central Provinces was being sold at Rs. 125 per candy. These are prices much below the cost of production.

Can any one reasonably expect the agriculturists and in these circumstances to consume much when his produce does not fetch him even the cost price. And I wonder how by any stretch of imagination one can prove that the absurdly low prices of agricultural produce are the result of the present political unrest in the country.

### Patiala Enquiry

As instead of appointing a Commission, as laid down in the Montagu Chelmsford report to inquire into the allegations made against the Maharaja of Patiala in the "Patiala Indictment" a political officer named by the Maharaja was appointed to conduct the enquiry and as also certain other conditions which could have made it satisfactory were not fulfilled the authors of the Indictment and the Indian States People's Conference at whose instance it was made did not place any evidence before the enquiring officer. Hence though the conclusions arrived at by him and accepted by the Government of India may logically follow from what evidence he got they will not be accepted by the public. The Maharaja does not stand exonerated. It is only a full free and public enquiry of a really acceptable character which can free him from all blame. The public may wait till then to make up their mind.

### 'India in Bondage'

The above is the title of an address delivered by the Rev. Dr. Walter Walsh, D.D., on Sunday morning, June 15th, 1930 on behalf of "The Free Religious Movement towards World Religion and World Brotherhood" being No. 351 of Free Religions Discourses. It is a pulpit review of Dr. J. T. Sanderland's book bearing that title, and is priced 3d per copy. Dr. Walsh has also spoken on "Gandhi and Free India."

### India and Imperial Defence

We have previously pointed out in these columns that in our opinion, the main function of the Army in India was no longer the defence of the North West Frontier of India, but an aggressive foreign power.

the maintenance of British imperial interests in the Far and Middle East and it was in this fact that was to be sought an explanation of the anxiety of British Imperial authorities to put the Indian Army wholly outside Indian control. It is therefore a pleasure to find a military authority admitting the contention though in an indirect way.

India, writes Major R J Wilkinson O B E in his little book on Imperial defence to which Major General Walter St George Kirke till very recently the Deputy Chief of the Gen. Staff in India has contributed a preface, is the key position of the Indian Ocean. Any other naval power in possession of India would seriously threaten the safety of the British Imperial lines of communication between Aden, Singapore and Fremantle.

It is therefore not unnatural that the defence of India should be a matter of special concern to the Imperial Government. Indeed it is not too much to say that one of the main functions of a standing army in India is the reinforcement in relief of the Army in India. At the same time it is fortunate that India is largely self supporting and offers every kind of terrain suitable for training.

This is a now and terrible menace to the political aspirations of the Indian people. India is becoming too organically woven into the fabric of imperial defence so the economic stake of the British Empire in India is being added another formidable obstacle in the shape of the strategic requirements of the Empire.

### The North Western Frontier

No less interesting are the views of this writer on the problem of the North Western Frontier of India. Here too we note with satisfaction that he agrees with our view that it is largely a question of policing civilizing and educating. Major Wilkinson writes:

At last however the Government of India realized that poverty and hunger cannot be cured by punishment or the threat of it. As in the case of Scotland two or three hundred years ago it was realized that the only way to cure these diseases is to provide the inhabitants with the means to earn money. In other words to design a system of roads to open up the country then to employ the tribes to make the roads to employ tribesmen to guard the roads, and eventually employ them to drive motor transport on the roads. The opening up of the country stimulates trade and the production of flocks and crops and in so doing renders the dangerous sport of raiding less and less profitable and more and more unattractive. There have been no raids in British territory since 1921 and there is reason to believe that they are now almost as much a thing of the past as the border raids of Cheviot and Tweed.

What was once the most savage part of the Frontier is now controlled by civil power. Tribal police guard the roads and scouts patrol the country off the roads. The regular garrisons are there a covering force in case of external aggression.

### The Frontier Troubles

What then about the troubles on the Frontier which have been raging there for the past three or four months? It is difficult to speak with confidence on this subject as the news from the frontier is strictly censored and we have no means of ascertaining the truth about the real causes of these raids. But this much we believe we can say with confidence that the troubles of this year are in a sense exceptional. They have nothing to do with the traditional causes of frontier raids. They are the reflection, in a typically Pathan form of the political turmoils within the frontiers of India and so far as purely Indian interests are concerned possess no particular significance, if they do not actually prove the solidarity of the Cis and the Trans Frontier.

### Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray on Swaraj and Swadeshi

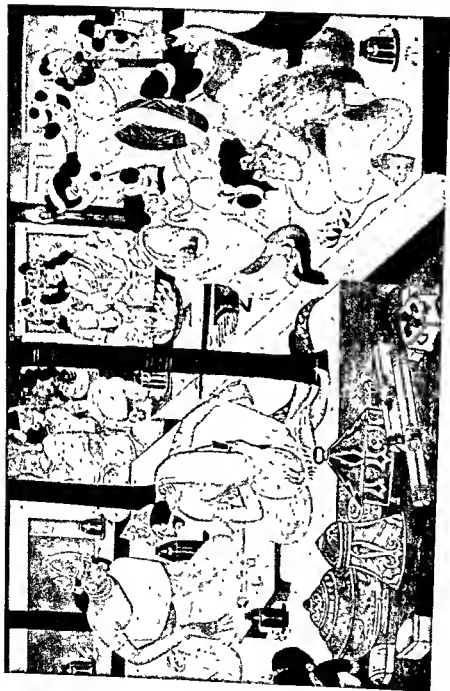
On August 25 Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray delivered an address on the occasion of the opening of the Classified Trade Exhibition Bombay, in which he pleaded eloquently, as he always does for Swadeshi. What Acharya Ray says about the mineral resources of India is particularly valuable.

I have just time enough to indicate briefly the broad lines on which we ought to proceed in order to turn to account the geographical features of India and the inexhaustible raw material of this country belonging to the mineral world and animal kingdoms.

Aluminium wares and utensils are coming large into use but the sheets which after all constitute the important item in them have to be imported from America which has harnessed the Niagara Falls. In 1923 30,000 tons of this metal were imported Bombay and Mysore have now got hydro-electric installations and there is no reason why we should not be able to manufacture metallic aluminium from the almost inexhaustible supply of the mineral bauxite round about Jabalpur. Electro metallurgy which is again based on the hydro electric power should play a prominent part in the future industrial development of India.

Coming to other chemicals not dependent on electricity we may turn our attention to lithium nitrates from the Indian chromites, magnesium chloride from sea-water, stoneware earthenware porcelain goods and refractory bricks from Indian clays, India rubber goods for which there is a growing extensive demand, should also claim our attention—it is pre eminently a chemical industry.





YUDHISTHIR PLAYING THE GAME OF DICE WITH SAKUNI

By Nandalal Basu

Prabasi Press, Calcutta



VOL. XLVIII  
NO 4

OCTOBER, 1930

WHOLE NO  
286

## Some Unpublished Letters of Florence Nightingale

[These two letters kindly communicated to us by Professor Iyerarajun Sen of the Calcutta University were written by Miss Florence Nightingale to the late Babu Prasanna Kumar Sen Vakil and Attorney of the Calcutta High Court about fifty years ago. They will show how deeply she loved the people of Bengal and how closely she studied the trend of affairs here. There are a dozen more letters written by her in the possession of Professor Sen who is the son of Babu Prasanna Kumar Sen. Out of them only two are being published at present in the hope that they will prove to be of topical interest and will also help us in appreciating Miss Florence Nightingale's character and temperament. Evidently her philanthropy was not confined within the four walls of the sick room but reached us across the ocean waves. Ed.—M B]

*Private*

I

April 4 78  
10 South Street  
Park Lane W

Sir,

I am extremely obliged to you for your letter of Feb 21 and for your marked copy of the "Arrears of Rent Realization Bill" and the discussion upon it in the Bengal Council.

I have made what use of this I could. From enquiry here it appears as if this new Bengal Rent Act were not yet passed. Could you let me know whether it is so tho' alas! in that case it will be too late?

The difficulty is that in all these cases the Zemindars are strongly represented in the Bengal Council while the Ryots are not at all, except in so far as the official men protect them.

I know there was a strong protest against a previous proposal (before the time of Sir Ashley Eden's Governorship) to make a radical change in the rights established by Act X of 1834 and it was understood that this should not be carried out.

With regard to the Bill it should certainly be a part of the scheme that there should equally be a summary remedy by process within the reach of the Ryots against attempts to exact more than the established rent without any regular legal enhancement. The fairness of the arrangement altogether depends on an adequate provision of that kind.

On the side of the Ryots the boon which Sir A Eden proposes to give them is to make their hereditary tenures freely saleable and transferable in the market.

But here comes in the broader question whether the right of sale and consequently of running into debt and pledging their properties might not be as fatal a gift to the ryots as it has been to the small proprietors of the Deccan.

But the Bengal men are more accustomed to the law.

It is a very difficult question and till the Bill is in the shape in which after discussion it is proposed to pass it and opinion could scarcely be offered here.

It is most irritating that the Bill should be recommended as being "Tenderness itself" compare the landlords' powers Reg V of 1812, with

were engines of oppression indeed in the Zemindars' hands and for that very reason repealed by Act V of 1859. It is rather hard to go back beyond 1859—as if Act V which has done so much for the Ryots, is or ought to be repealed.

At the same time it may be admitted—may it not?—even by the best friends of the Ryots that there is need of an easier and less expensive process for realizing undisputed rents in the interests of the tenants who have to pay costs but on condition that there should equally be a summary remedy by process within reach of the Ryots as above said.

It is most remarkable—the British testimony given in the Bengal Council to the flourishing condition of the Ryots under the Rajah of Benares.

And I would suggest that it would be most useful if you were to obtain *facts*—trustworthy and individual *facts*—about their prosperity and its *causes*. That would not only be most interesting but would lead to great and practical good.

The British tribute to the Ryot that there is no more zealous improver of the soil 'when his tenure is assured even when his rent is crushing' is also remarkable. And I would again venture to suggest that you would be doing an enormous good if you were to collect and give facts—individual and personal histories of Ryots—as to this his zeal.

A great statesman not now in the Cabinet, said to me the other day that the time was now come, bad as some of the means had been to bring it about, when India's interests must 'force their way to the front'—meaning particularly, in the British Parliament.

2. It seems that the fairness or otherwise of a very summary adjudication of rents depends entirely on the nature of the evidence accepted as to past payments—does it not? If the old laws requiring a regular register of these payments by official accountants (Patwarees and Chooongoes) were put in force would it then be objectionable?

The Road Cess returns have indirectly furnished a register if they are accurately kept up—have not they? *N.B.* Is the Rule adhered to that half the Road Cess is paid by the Ryot, and half by the proprietor?

Many of the provisions of the Bill which you notice *do* certainly seem far too severe and one-sided.

Neither the Backergunge nor any other

Ryots are nearly so bad as they are painted. On the contrary, it is a good sign that they learn to stand up for their rights. Only let them do so by lawful means. And remembering that, besides the wickedness of murder and robbery, such evil deeds do the greatest possible harm to their own cause and their country.

I thank you again and again for your extremely interesting letter. I shall have much to say to it some day, but there is no time this mail. Thank you again for your *thus Bill and your remarks*, and pray believe me wishing you success, ever your and the Ryots' faithful servant.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

P. K. Sen Esq.

II

London, Dec. 20-78

Private

Sir

I have very many thanks to offer you for your kind note of Sept. 16 and for your valuable pamphlet which accompanied it on the Bengal Land Question,—as also for one on the 'Rent Question' by Mr P. C. Roy and for Mr Dutt's most interesting little book on the 'Bengal Peasantry' with which I was already acquainted.

For each and for all of these pray accept my hearty thanks as for the copies of the Bengal Land Question which I am circulating among men who care for India and who have influence.

Your subject is one of such surprising interest to me, (as you will readily believe) that I had already been occupied in collecting information, which could not be successfully challenged, upon the very questions—land tenures, connection of Zemindar and tenants, illegal 'abwabs', condition of peasantry, which you touch upon as well as upon the history of the Permanent Settlement.

What you say about agricultural earnings in Bengal—about the dispersed character of petty holdings, and the impossibility of having model farms—is of intense and piteous importance so also about the decrease in amount of produce and the agricultural ignorance of rotations of crops and manures and the tenants being unassisted by the Zamindars providing anything either capital seed or cattle. The introduction of competition and its effect are ably pointed out.

You will not wish me I know to take up time and paper with idle tho well deserved compliments when the object of both of us is one of such pressing such vital importance

I would earnestly request you to put down narratives of individual ryots (with time name and place) in this connection English people will not read Reports in general nor generalities abstractions statistics or *opinions* such as most Reports are full of They want facts individual facts concerning particular instances real lives and effects

Give us detailed facts We want to rouse the interest of the public for behind the Cabinet in England always stands the House of Commons and behind the House of Commons always stands the British public. And these are they we want to interest and these can only be interested by narratives of real life

With an ignorant or indifferent public what tells are individual facts about individual ryots with name and place taken for instance in the relations of

—Land Assessment and Land Tenures

a As to the Ryots condition

b under the Zemindar tenure

c under different methods of agriculture

d under Land or Rent Unions

(as in Eastern Bengal)

d Also where as in Sir G Campbell's time I believe a voice to tax themselves was given locally to the people

—As to the dwellers

a Under Irrigation or none

b Under water communication or none

c Markets or none

—As to the daily food and habits.

Real facts—not only the Reporter's own opinions or generalities

This is what is wanted to interest the people of England and make a Government work for us.

Give us some particular type village by name some particular type biography by name

It is true that villages are mere dots Let them cease to be "mere dots" to us in England thro Mr P H Sen's pen

May I venture to urge you most strongly to give us facts concerning the following points for instance

Under the "Permanent Settlement" of Bengal

1st Point There were to be no cesses & no arbitrary taxes levied at the pleasure of the Zamindar (abwabs) upon the Ryot

What is the fact?

2nd The taxes were to be paid by the Zamindar and not out of the rent.

How has this been observed?

3rd The Zemindars were not to raise their rent and on this condition the taxes on them are not to be increased

What do you tell us about this?

4th The Zemindar is to undertake roads lesser public works etc  
It is to be done so

Does he not rather avail himself of public works undertaken by the Government as a reason for raising his rents?

5th The Ryot was to have redress in case of exaction

What redress does he ever obtain?

6th The Governor General promised Regulations for the protection of the cultivators of the soil

Were they ever enacted?

th The Zemindar was to give leases

But are leases granted?

Or is there any proper system of sub-letting?

It would be of unspeakable importance if you could give us *fact* real facts and narratives upon these and similar points

[I would venture to point out the Report on the Deccan Riots by the Commission appointed to enquire as the only official Report from India (I have ever seen) which gives facts and narratives with name date and place before the summing up and conclusions in a way that would interest an English public

[I wrote an article on it in the XIX Century for August last which gives many extracts from it which is very much at your service if you have not the Report itself at hand]

I venture to suggest this Report as a model for what we are seeking as to the *Bengal Peasantry* to know

It seems like a Providence that you should have written on this subject and kindly sent it to me at the very time that we were seeking for information on the above point.

As you request it I feel bound to promise God willing that if you will have the great kindness as you have the power of writing and sending us the accounts and facts which I venture to suggest to you I will write a paper upon a subject which

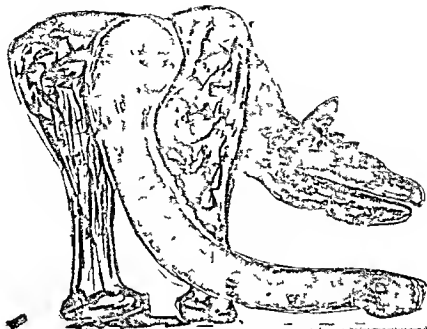
## Rabindranath Tagore in Munich

THE Deutsche Akademie of Munich has the pleasure of announcing to the Indian public that the famous Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore had been in Munich and was given a wonderful ovation by almost all the representative bodies of the capital of Bavaria. The poet is now making a tour of Germany following the numerous invitations that are coming from every part of the country. Previous to coming to Munich the poet had been in Berlin and Dresden where his lectures and exhibition of pictures were highly appreciated. This is the poet's second visit to Munich. The profound feeling of respect and admiration which stirred the whole population of Munich nine years ago when he first set foot in Munich is still fresh in our memory. Times have changed the post-war agony of Germany in 1921 has now given way to the grim joy of rebuilding in the face of a thousand difficulties but Rabindranath's place in the

mind of the German public remains unchanged as was amply proved by the events of the last month.

Following the invitation of the International Students Association Rabindranath reached Munich on the 19th July early in the morning and was received at the station by Geheimrat Prof. Arnold Sommerfeld of the India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie and representatives of the Deutsche Akademische Auslandsstelle and the Hindu Club of Munich. A member of the last mentioned body Dr. Kalipada Basu garlanded the poet at the station in right oriental fashion.

The same day in the afternoon the poet motored to Oberammergau through Ettal where he visited the famous monastery situated in the midst of idyllic natural surroundings. The whole of the next day was spent in Oberammergau where the poet attended the world famous Passion Play.



A Drawing by Rabindranath Tagore

True to their oath the bearded and untutored peasants of this unassuming village in South Bavaria have staged the life of Christ at the regular interval of ten years during the last three hundred years as a mark of gratitude to God who saved them from a devastating pestilence in the year 1533 and such is the success of their spontaneous flow of piety and devotion that even Rabindranath one of the greatest creative minds of the world in the field of art patiently watched the performance from eight in the morning till six in the evening when it came to end and bore testament to the fact that the Oberammergau Passion Play is really enchanting.

The same evening the poet returned to Munich.

On Monday the 21st of July the poet received some of the distinguished personalities of Munich including several renowned professors of the Munich University and other representative men of our country who in

all cases voiced forth the true sentiment of Germany. Notable among those present were Geheimrat Professor Foerster Geheimrat Prof. Scherzmann and others.

In the afternoon Rabindranath paid a visit to the International Students Home, where in the course of a short speech he drew a parallel between the Students organizations in India and in Germany and compared the emphatic creeds which now obtain among the Indian students to the generous idealism of the German youth movement. It came as a surprise for the Indian students are not generally known in Germany to be devoid of the sentiments of idealism nor are the German students in any sense free from the mire of political strife.

In the evening the poet delivered a lecture on the principles of art in the Auditorium Maximum of the Munich University. In spite of the exorbitant price of the tickets the big hall was full and even though the

perform some of the duties attacked by the vocational counsellor

The school psychologist is a product of the Testing movement. He gives mental tests and supervises the development of classes for mentally retarded pupils. Sometimes this officer performs some of the duties of the department of research. Like the work of the school physician the specialized work of the psychologist is indispensable. It is rare that a teacher is trained sufficiently to give the individual tests that are so essential before making momentous decisions based upon a pupil's mental activity. In the case of small communities such service is provided by the co-operation of several small communities or by the state department of education. In Massachusetts a state clinic for the examination of average pupils travels from community to community throughout the State. Other places are following suit.

The vocational counsellor is a specialist employed in junior and senior high schools to assist teachers in the problem of planning the courses of individual pupils in giving vocational advice to individual pupils and in providing information on occupations with respect to nature of work, training required and the probable financial rewards. In some places they co-operate with the department which issues working permits and interviews each applicant at the school before a formal request for this permit is made. The supervision of his employment contracts and training adjustment rendered by this officer is of great benefit to the youngster. The employer unquestionably benefits either directly or indirectly by this clearing house for information that is needed and available.

The periodical health and physical examination of pupils by qualified physicians and the general oversight of the school nurse gives to a teacher definite information as to defects that should be corrected by operation by attention to diet by corrective exercise attention to posture and those difficulties that demand special attention in the day-to-day school programme of pupils. In the last group come particularly eye ear and general health defects. Even if the plan calls for the follow up of the school nurse or physician the class teacher is expected to see that the system functions so far as his pupils are concerned. Cases in India where difficulties have been diagnosed and where all

too frequent because of the failure to hold any one particular person responsible.

The school principal or headmaster performs almost any of the activities listed above except that of the medical examiner. Even in those schools that have developed staff departments for leadership and coordination the responsibility for carrying out all the suggested plans and adapting them to the individual schools falls upon the individual principals. The principals in turn depend for the success of the services they offer upon the receptive attitudes of the classroom teachers.

The guidance clinic consisting of specialists in behaviour psychology has been organized to meet the need of expert counsel in maladjustment cases. There are occasionally pupils who are out of step with their possibilities. Everything that the parents or teachers attempt to do to arouse their interest seems to fail. Recognizing the burden such pupils place upon the teachers, some school systems have arranged to have those cases studied by specialists. If a behaviour symptom appears in school which has its cause entirely outside of school life the school can find the cause by including in its staff those who are especially trained to make a study of the whole personality and life of the boy or girl. These specially trained workers are a psychiatrist, a psychologist and a visiting teacher. Each one of these contributes to the picture to the study of the problem. Needless to say, child guidance departments in America are rapidly developing an effective and appropriate technique and are contributing not a little to the proper understanding and treatment of problem pupils.

There are some planning and co-ordinating agencies which must be mentioned. Some large school systems provide a department of guidance. It seeks to render educational and vocational guidance to elementary and high school pupils. It also tries to find suitable full time employment or summer work for those who are compelled to work. Handicapped children are given special attention. The department follows up the career of the young workers. Constructive criticism is welcomed by both employer and employee. Communities too small to provide such service often look to a larger unit for assistance.

The need of specialist in the development of testing programmes or in the measure-

ment of results in the supervision of instruction and in the analysis of the needs of individual boys and girls was one of the greatest forces that led to the development of research departments. The greatest aid given by research departments is in the development of systematic procedures that will provide adequate information for determining the individual needs of all boys and girls in the school and make possible the periodic assembling of all such information on each pupil, supply adequate interpretation of this information and the development of individual programmes. In carrying out all such activities the principals and teachers play an important part. Assistance comes from the leadership of the central department, the co-ordination of the activities of teachers throughout the system so that the work of one can be made available to many and the provision of special services such as those of the vocational counsellor and the psychologist.

An important aspect of the process of discovering pupils' needs is a programme of testing. It makes information available for the measurement of results in teaching subjects, or the improvement of the teaching of subjects. It also provides objective information on abilities and achievements of individual boys and girls. Without such information the adjustment of schools to the individuals can be only guess work. It should be pointed out here that the tests used are not necessarily standardized tests although such tests are on the whole easier to handle. Most large cities combine local and standard tests in their testing programmes.

One of the greatest aids in the diagnosis of the needs of pupils is an adequate system of records that will bring to each teacher the results of the analysis made by earlier teachers, the accurate records of important data such as intelligent test results and adjustments made in the pupils' programme in the past etc. Over a long period of years there has been an agitation for the keeping of cumulative records of pupils. These cumulative records show important information bearing upon the classification of pupils from all sources: marks and ratings from the teachers' class book, attendance record from his register and adjustments from his plan book, home information from the attendance department

and characteristic information from other special lists and from the testing programme.

The permanent record card does not lend itself to the form that facilitates the diagnosis of individual needs. The necessity for a separate form upon which all data pertinent to the periodic analysis of needs of pupils could be collected led to the development of another record card. At the beginning of the term the pupil takes a blank card and enters all the information except that in the section marked for the class teacher. This teacher then enters the supplementary information writing any confidential information in code. Then on later occasions he makes a complete copy for each of his new teachers. The original signed by each teacher is returned to the class teacher.

One of the big problems in the high schools was felt to be the gathering in of the judgments of the various teachers. A plan has been devised that provides for a periodic report of needed information about pupils with the minimum expenditure of time on the part of the class teachers. The accumulation of ratings of teachers from term to term adds to their reliability.

In all these the responsibility of the teacher is fairly obvious. He derives help from the research department in the provision of working materials and in the adjustment of the curriculum. In the case of pupils above or below average he reports about their personal characteristics: respect for property, manifestations of business ability, part taken in school activities and demonstration of ability displayed in the activities outside of school. Much is being done to help the class room teacher to meet the new demands of equality of educational opportunity but the success or failure of any unit of the educational system it is recognized depends on him. His success is measured in terms of his ability to meet the great principle that lies at the root of that democracy by making his school a school for individuals. Progressive teachers everywhere are welcoming in these newer demands of modern society a recognition of what has long appealed to them as the true purpose of education not merely the mastery of skills and the accumulation of useful information but over and beyond this the development of each pupil in all his potentialities as a happy contributing member of society.



poet spoke in English he was perfectly understood by the audience and every stroke of humour in his speech was accompanied by signs of appreciation.

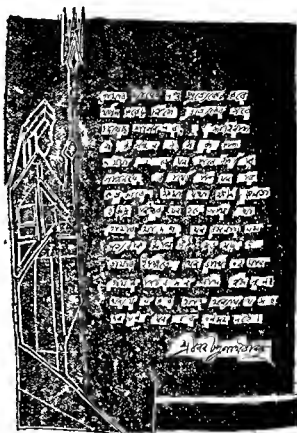
Rabindranath spoke for about one hour and a half. The guiding principle in art, he said, should never be anything subjective. Every individual is unique but at the same time a unit of the universe, an inseparable part of the whole. To place the individual unit in this universal perspective is according to Rabindranath the function of the true artist. The speech needless to say made a deep impression and was highly spoken of in all Munich papers.

On the next day too the poet had to face a busy programme. In the morning he was invited by his Excellency Oskar von Miller the founder of the Deutsches Museum in Munich. The poet reached the museum towards midday and his Excellency showed him personally for three hours some of the most interesting collections in his museum. The exhausting tour through the museum was followed by a sumptuous meal in the beautifully decorated dining saloon at which many distinguished professors and some Indian students of Munich were present. The convivial gathering broke up towards 4 in the afternoon. At seven in the evening the poet was officially received by the mayor of Munich in the town hall where Rabindranath entered his name in the town register.

From the town hall the poet came directly to the Studentenhaus where Deutsche Akademie had organized a feast in his honour. The main feature of the evening was the staging of Tagore's very popular drama *Post Office* by the German students. After Geheimrat Friedrich von Müller, President of the Deutsche Akademie had introduced the poet to the audience Rabindranath in his short reply expressed his appreciation of the honour thus paid to him and in a few words tried to explain the underlying idea in his *Post Office*. The play was successful beyond all expectation. Many among the audience were visibly moved and all were enraptured. After the play it was some time before the poet could be freed from the army of autograph hunters.

On the following day (23rd July) Rabindranath sprung a surprise on the Munich public. The news that the poet Tagore was exhibiting some of his pictures in the Gallery Caspari came really as a pleasant surprise to all. Punctually at half past eleven the (late of

the society of Munich were gathered in Gallery Caspari to hear the opening speech of the poet. In his short but beautiful speech Rabindranath said that his poems cannot be translated into a foreign language in their true form for all good poetry loses in the process its subtle suggestion and lyrical atmosphere. But pictures require no translation—their appeal is direct. My poetry is for my countrymen' said he. My



1 Manuscript page with decorations

printings are my gift to the West'. The most remarkable feature of these pictures was their technique. It is quite European. The poet remarked that he is proud of this fact, for this shows that he has been successful at least to some extent in bringing about in himself a union of the spirit of the East and the West.

This was the last public function of the poet in Munich. Next day early in the morning he left for Frankfurt. The news paper comments on Rabindranath were

throughout sympathetic and favourable but from time to time some dissenting voices were heard. Some papers commented that the poet aims too much at a scenic effect but

all had to admit that if at all the fault in this respect lies not with the poet himself, but rather with those whose business it is only to make fuss over him

## Discovering Needs of Children

### AMERICA'S EXAMPLE

By DR G. S. KRISHNAYYA M. A. PhD

THE schools of a country should offer to each pupil unique opportunities for acquiring skills for practice in precise thinking and for the growth in power of appreciation which are attainable by one of his intelligence. This ideal requires the adjustment of the standards to the activities of the pupils. Every pupil in the ideal school system is judged by the best which he can do and not by the median performance of a non-selected group. In order to adjust the schools to the needs of individual boys and girls the curricula and courses of study must be markedly different for groups of children who vary in ability. It is important that adjustments be made in terms of the varying abilities and achievements and environmental conditions of children all along the line. It is of surpassing importance to provide facilities which will stimulate the most able children to the attainment of their fullest intellectual development.

American educationists have realized the value and necessity of providing for individual differences. The fundamental attitude toward education in America expressed in the phrase "equality of educational opportunity" has been one of the great influences in the development of their public schools. The nineteenth century development of a democracy that accepted the equality of individuals as fundamental gave impetus and new purpose to that early New England attitude. The demand for a literate citizenry on the one hand and the growing regard for the individual on the other offered a cause to which all men could subscribe. It is not surprising that equality of educational opportunity became the watch

word in the great struggle for universal tax supported education.

The inability of class room teachers to be possessed of all the skills and information required for the adequate diagnosis of needs has led to the development of a variety of special services (agencies). Such terms as visiting teacher, vocational counsellor, school psychologist, school psychiatrist, dean of girls and director of research and guidance that have recently come into pedagogical vocabulary indicate some of the directions in which school administration is reaching out to assist teachers. The purpose of this article is to describe the contributions made by such special services in the United States.

The visiting teacher is a worker trained in problems of educational and social adjustment. The aim is to provide an intelligent and sympathetic contact between the school and the home. Her duty is to visit the homes of children who for any reason are not doing satisfactory work in school and to obtain co-operation from the home and an understanding of home conditions that may throw light upon the difficulties encountered. A somewhat similar function is performed by the trained attendance officers in those school systems that are making the attendance department something more than a bureau for enforcing compulsory attendance laws.

The dean of girls as a specialist in school extra-curricular activities and in the personal problems of girls often contributes to the planning of individual educational programmes and the discovery of instructional needs of girls. In some places she is expected to

# Miss Katherine Mayo's Latest

By ASHOK CHATTERJEE

MISS Katherine Mayo's position among the world's greatest fiction writers is now fairly well established. It was therefore a surprise to us to see an article by the author of *Mother India* published in the August number of the American journal *Current History*. The article is entitled 'Mahatma Gandhi and India's Untouchables'. Why the *Current History* chose Miss Mayo as a writer of history is unknown to us \* but the editor of the journal has taken more than ordinary interest in her article. He has given it the second place in the journal as well as published what he calls a comprehensive summary of the Simon Report along with it. Usually India finds a few lines to her credit at the tail end of this largely circulated journal. But, of course the fame of the model depends entirely on the name of the artist.

Miss Mayo has not fallen off in her style since writing *Mother India*. In this article also she is the same virtuous virgin walking the Christian path swelling with righteous indignation and carrying the sacred torch before which the powers of darkness run for dear life. India is a vile place where a few caste Hindus are having an orgy of tyranny oppression and devilry at the cost of sixty million down trodden souls whose only friends are the British Government of India and Miss Katherine Mayo of the U S A. Mahatma Gandhi is a double dealing diplomat, who renders lip service to the untouchable millions but, actually attempts to aggrandise the caste man's cause. Miss Mayo says

In British India every fourth person is a slave held in a type of bondage compared to which our worst Negro slavery was freedom.

If one disbelieves Miss Mayo she cites Dr Abdullah Suhrawardy as having described untouchability as,

One of the most terrible engines of tyranny and oppression which human ingenuity and selfishness can invent.

\* Perhaps because, as Dean Inge said, the historian is a natural snob who sides with the gods against Cato, and lectures the vanquished on their wickedness and want of foresight.—Ed. H. R.

But Dr Suhrawardy does not guarantee Miss Mayo's figures. We all condemn untouchability as an extremely rotten system, but we do not agree that there are 60 000 000 genuine untouchables in British India. So leaving Miss Mayo's condemnation of untouchability untouched let us examine the truth of her estimate of the number of untouchables in India. She repeatedly states that there are sixty million untouchables for whose moral social mental and political well being the British must remain in India. On page 40 Part I ch 4 of the Simon report we find the following

After studying various figures and analysing the evidence put before us we have made the best estimate we can of the number of untouchables (in the sense of persons who cause pollution by touch or by approach within a certain distance or are not allowed inside ordinary Hindu temples)

The estimated figures are as follows

	Number in millions	Approximate percentage of Hindu population	Approximate percentage of total population
	per cent	per cent	per cent
Madras	6.5	18	1.5
Bombay	1.5	11	.8
Bengal	11.5*	67	2.1
United Provinces	17.0*	31	2.6
Punjab	9.8	4	.3
Bihar & Orissa	5.0*	20	1.4
Central Provinces	3.3	33	2.1
Assam	1.0	24	.3
Total (Governor's provinces excluding Burma)	43.6	28.1	1.9

The report warns readers that asterisked figures

Must be read subject to the warning below

We must make it plain that the figures in the above table are estimates and in respect of some provinces have in any case less significance than in others. So far as Madras, Bombay and the Central Provinces are concerned, there is not likely to be much dispute as to which are the 'untouchable' castes and no real material differences exist in the various calculations made. But it is otherwise in the case of Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa. In these three Provinces the connection between theoretical untouchability and practical disability is less close and a special investigation might show that the number of those who are denied equal rights in the matter of schools water and the like is less than the total given for the depressed classes in those areas.

The second important force which uplifts and protects the untouchables says Miss Mayo is British justice. It is very amusing that she also mentions in the same breath that the British do not interfere (i.e. keep up the *status quo*) in religious matters. But she says the British have given the depressed classes representation in the in the Legislature. So the net result of this second strongest reclaiming force (British justice) is that the existing system of caste privileges and disabilities is kept intact by its agents. It is not merely the "cunning Mahatma Gandhi who restrains the untouchables from using force to better their position but also (and more so) the British police (and soldiers when necessary) who defend the arrogance and tyranny of the caste man with baton and bayonet. Nobody in British India excepting the Government has the right to use force for any purpose. The untouchables are not exempt from this restriction. So that Miss Mayo can hardly blame Mahatma Gandhi for critically keeping the untouchables from the effective path of violence for the benefit of the caste men. If the Missionaries or Miss Mayo organized the "untouchables" for a violent attack upon Brahminic strongholds they would be promptly put into prison by the agents of British justice. So do not belaud or condemn in a hurry innocent Katherine! Further discussion is unnecessary to prove Miss Katherine

Mayo's propaganda to be false and unfair. She has

1 Innocently and tremendously exaggerated the true number of untouchables in India

2 Quoted their condition in colours more gruesome than she would use to paint Negro slavery

3 Unnecessarily deprived Indians of the credit due to them for social reform work achieved since the 7th century B.C.

4 Given too much and undeserved credit to the mission workers of the last 60 years

5 Blamed Mr Gandhi for cunning and craft in his dealing with the untouchables. The latter are not so numerous or important as to make such double dealing necessary, even if Mahatma were capable of duplicity

6 Passed off the (government appointed) spokesmen of the untouchables as their *representatives*. These loudspeakers of reform and reclamation are usually as far apart and away from the poor and ignorant people they are supposed to represent as the man in the moon. Some people think that representation of the untouchables is nothing more or less than increasing the governmental vote in the legislature

Kindly since a good many months the untouchables have stopped their activities against caste men as a mark of their sympathy with the nationalist cause. Miss Mayo is now as ever the only *unpaid* publicity agent of the untouchables and the British

## On the History and Importance of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company \*

By FRITZ HFSSE

The Anglo-Persian Oil Company occupies a peculiar position among the great economic enterprises in the British Empire. On the one hand as it may be said to be the largest English petroleum company second only to the Royal Dutch Shell a peculiar importance attaches to this company from among all the British petroleum companies of the world on the other hand this Anglo-Persian Oil Company has succeeded in procuring for itself in its

own field of activity—the Persian Gulf—such a unique position that it must be regarded as the greatest capitalistic enterprise in the whole region of its field of production. In Persia neither the Imperial Bank of Persia nor the Eastern Telegraph Company nor the Eastern Telegraph Department and the great sea voyage concessions of the English on the Tigris or the Karun can compare with this company in position and importance. And this quite apart from the fact that the Anglo-Persian Oil Company plays a

\* *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* Sept. 1929 pp. 80, —812 Translated by B. K. Ghosh

very important role for—if it may not be said to be the decisive factor in the supply of petroleum for the British navy,—a fact the importance of which appears clearly from the consideration that the British navy since the Great War has wholly gone over to oil fuelling, so that the efficiency of the British fleet largely depends on the supply of petroleum.

The long and interesting history of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company begins with the attainment of concession by the New Zealand millionaire D'Arcy from the Persian Government in the year 1889. In 1909 it had a capital of £13125000 in shares of which 75 mill pounds belong to the British Government. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company must therefore be regarded as an organization of the British Government. Yet the British Government out of its own accord has considerably limited its right of interfering in the internal affairs of the Company as the result of its agreement with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company made on 20th May 1914. The Agent of the British Government has indeed the right of vetoing every decision of the Directors of the Apoc,\* but in the covering note of the Apoc, it is asserted that the Government has no intention of exercising their privileges and that the Government will not interfere except on the following points:

1. Guarding over such activities of the Company as may affect foreign relations the navy and war policy.

2. Any suggestions regarding the Company's purchase of enterprises or regarding changes in the statutes of the Company.

3. All affairs regarding the management of any new enterprise of the Company.

4. The selling of petroleum by the Company, but only in case it in any way jeopardises the treaties made with the Admiralty†.

In spite of this cautious formulation of the right of interference on the part of the British Government there can be no doubt that the activity of the Apoc is in a very great measure determined directly by the British Admiralty which on its part, at the instance of Churchill, had largely determined the course of development of the Company by its active participation in its affairs.

The petroleum fields of the Apoc are situated in Persia, where the chief oil field

of the Company in the neighbourhood of Mejd-i-Suleiman represented almost the whole production of the Company since 1909. Besides this field the Apoc is now active also in another region near Haftkel, about fifty miles to the east of Abas and about fifty-five miles to the South. South-east of Mejd-i-Suleiman. Here in April 1928 a new field was bored which daily yields 5000 tons. The oil fields of the Apoc in Persia are connected by a great oil tube which from Mejd-i-Suleiman leads towards Abadan near Moham-marah. Near Abadan there are big tanks as well as extensive refineries. The new oil field of Haftkel is to be joined to the main line by a special tube near Qutabduhah, a little to the south of Abas.

The following table will give an idea of the steadily rising production of oil by the Apoc in this region.

	Production of the Apoc	Share of the Apoc in the world production
	in 1000 tons	in per cent
1913-14	34000	—
1914-15	35000	—
1915-16	36000	—
1916-17	45000	—
1917-18	64000	—
1918-19	85000	—
1919-20	110000	16
1920-21	130000	22
1921-22	160000	26
1922-23	200000	28
1923-24	260000	32
1924-25	300000	32
1925-26	330000	32
1926-27	400000	32
1927-28	450000	33
1928-29	500000	37

The great importance of this petroleum production may be comprehended most clearly from a comparative study intended to show what a large share is represented by this petroleum in the total export of Persia and in the total import of England. In the case of Persia the picture is indeed very interesting.

The proportion in value of the petroleum export to the total export of Persia during the last few years is given below.

Total export of Persia in Million Krans	Petroleum export in Million Krans	Share of petroleum in the total export in per cent
1913-14	45.8	2.1
1914-15	47.2	2.2
1915-16	51.0	2.7
1916-17	73.4	2.6
1917-18	78.4	2.8
1918-19	100.0	3.1
1919-20	103.1	3.1
1920-21	110.1	3.1
1921-22	100.3	3.0

\* Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

† See Baldwin's declaration in the House of Commons Times 29 March 1929.

It is clear from this table that the export of petroleum from Persia is steadily increasing and leaving the export of other products far behind in value. Now when it is considered that for fear of overproduction the raising of petroleum is considerably throttled by the British Government, and that the present production is only half of what could be produced, it will at once appear how important this petroleum industry is for Persia. And now, as the Apoc imports into Persia products worth £0 mill. Krans it may be asserted that one-third of the whole foreign trade of Persia is controlled by the Apoc. It is of course a great disadvantage to Persia that the control over the petroleum industry has slipped out of the hand of the Persian Government in consequence of the concession granted to the English company, so that on this the most important industry, the Government has now no direct influence. The Persian Government is quite helpless before the restrictive measures of the Company which may be necessary for political reasons.

This peculiar position of the Apoc is, however, partially turned to the profit of Persia by reason of the fact that the Government gets 16 per cent of the net profit of the Company. These sums, the so-called 'Royalties,' are of very great importance for the budget of the Persian Government as will presently appear from a comparison of the figures for the Persian budget and for the sums remitted by the Apoc.

Total revenue of the Persian Government in Mill. Krans	Remittances made by the Apoc	Share in p c
1922-23 228.7	28.0	8.0
1923-24 231.1	23.2	10.0
1924-25 237.5	17.4	7.5
1925-26 232.6	25.0	11.0
1926-27 213.4	43.0	20.4
1927-28 213.8	44.0	20.9
1928-29 230.2	46.6	20.1

The intrinsic importance of these remittances from the Apoc for the Budget of the Persian Government—one fifth—may be clearly understood from the fact that in the proposed budget of the year 1929-30 the deficit of about 100 Mill. Krans was met by the accumulated royalties from the concession for the previous three years which altogether amounted to 125 Mill. Krans. The income of the Persian Government out of the direct taxes is approximately as much as the royalties paid by the Apoc.

There is no other trading company in the world which may be said to hold a similar position with regard to the total budget of a state.

It is also interesting to note that the importance of the Apoc for the petroleum supply of England has not yet been fully appreciated. Although England's demand for petroleum in the pre-war days was almost exclusively met by American oil, the present situation is quite different. The following table will give an idea as to the share of Persian petroleum in the total amount of petroleum imported into England.

Petroleum Consumption of Engl. in million gallons	Of this come from Persia	Share of Persian Petroleum
1919 721.1	23.8	3.3 p c
1920 829.4	41.4	4.7 "
1921 1161.0	157.7	13.9 "
1922 1213.1	302.5	24.8 "
1923 1325.1	349.4	26.3 "
1924 1570.9	369.2	23.5 "
1925 1613.3	405.4	25.4 "
1926 1913.1	462.3	24.1 "
1927 2051.1	517.5	25.2 "
1928 2112.7	Ca. 500.0	Ca. 23.0 "

The intrinsic significance of this production of petroleum by the Apoc lies in the fact that the oil fields of the Apoc are at the disposal of the British Admiralty in case of war, whereas in former times and even during the Great War the Admiralty was in this respect largely dependent on U.S.A. The demand for petroleum by the fleet and the army of England, which amounted to between eight and nine million tons per year in 1917-18, can now be fully met by the capacity of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which in case of need may produce ten mill. tons per year.

It is no accident that the demand for petroleum in the British army and navy can be met, essentially, by a single company under the control of the British Government. As will appear from the active interest taken by the British Government in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which has been already explained above, the British Admiralty has from the very beginning clearly and consciously striven to achieve this end for the geographical position of the petroleum fields of the Apoc at the end of the Persian Gulf—far from all the European states, quite unapproachable to America and almost as unapproachable to France and

\* Exact figures yet unknown

Russia—offers a unique geographical security hardly possessed by any other oil-field in the world. It is, therefore, no wonder that in 1914 England too declared war in the Orient when the petroleum sources of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company were threatened by a party of Arabs at the instance of Enver Pasha.

Even now we have not exhausted all the details about the great importance of the Apoc, for, to understand this, we must consider also the activities of the daughter organizations of the Anglo Persian Oil Company. The most important of them are

1 The Irak Petroleum Company formerly called the Turkish Petroleum Company. The Turkish Petroleum Company was founded with the specific purpose of exploiting the petroleum districts in the Mossul region and originally the shares of the Apoc in it amounted to 50 per cent. After the contract of 1928 Apoc's shares now represent only 23.75 per cent. But as still, of the remaining shares of the company 23.75 per cent are in the hands of the Anglo-Saxons (belonging to English concern Royal Dutch Shell) and 5 per cent in the hands of the Armenian Gulbenkian (through the English concern Participation and Investment Co.), and both on their part may well be friendly to the Apoc, the indirect influence of the Apoc on the Irak Petroleum Company is extremely great. As is well known in March 1925 the Irak Petroleum Company received a concession from the Irak Government to the effect that for sixty years it can exploit the oil-fields in middle and north Mesopotamia by paying four rupees per ton as indemnity. Now as the Mesopotamian oil fields are said to be unusually promising, the fact that the Anglo Persian Oil Company possesses almost one-fourth of the total shares of this concern may one day play a very important role in the oil politics of the world. At present however the influence of the Apoc is acting rather as a drag on the Irak Petroleum Company instead of helping it in tapping the oil resources of Mesopotamia. The far reaching importance of this fact can be appreciated when we consider that the economic development of Irak largely depends on the development of these Mesopotamian oil fields.

2 The Khaniquin Oil Company, a daughter organization of the Apoc which was founded in the year 1926 with the purpose of tapping the oil fields of Naftkhane. These oil fields lie about

40 KM to the south of Kasrshin on both sides of the Perso Irakian boundary. On account of this peculiar position of this oil producing area the Apoc was compelled to try for two\* separate concessions for this geologically homogeneous district, and it got them—one from the Persian Government in 1913 and the other from the Irak Government on the 15th June 1926. Both these concession areas are now being exploited by the Khaniquin Oil Company since 1927 under one plan. As these fields were opened up only a short time ago, the production as yet is of course very small, but still, already in 1929 the Khaniquin Oil Company produced 31300 tons of unrefined oil.

3 The Consolidated Petroleum Co Ltd. This Company was founded in October, 1922, jointly by the Anglo Persian Oil Company and the Asiatic Petroleum Company, the managing agents (*Arbeitsgesellschaft*) of the Royal Dutch Shell to sell petroleum in the whole region of Indian Ocean and the Levant on a homogeneous plan. The Royal Dutch Shell was till then to some extent, a rival to the Anglo Persian Oil Company, but with the foundation of this new company it is assured that the competition between these two English companies ceases and therewith a new organization is called into being which may prove to be a formidable rival to the American and Russian competitors in the-oil markets.

At the present time excluding others, two more companies belong to the Apoc. The British Oil Bunkering Company and the National Oil Refineries Company employed with the bunkering and refining of the oil products. Moreover the Apoc has its own fleet of tank-steamers managed by the British Tanker Company which on a moment's notice can float 83 vessels of the total capacity 77,0000 tons. The Apoc has also shares in various other companies which are to assure markets for its products, for instance, in the Olex in Germany and in India in the Shell Oil Storage and Distributing Company of India.\*

Finally, it has still to be mentioned that the Anglo-Persian Oil Company is operating also in Scotland, Albania, Argentina and New Foundland, where, with the permission of the respective Governments it is carrying on experimental borings for petroleum. Yet

\* Cf. The annual report of the Company in the Times of 20th June 1929 7th November 1928 and 3rd November 1927

however satisfactory results on a large scale were obtained only in Argentina where 123 000 tons of petroleum were raised in 1928.

This short review of the activities of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company at once creates the impression that within certain limits anything more magnificent is hardly imaginable for in short it may well be said that the Apoc not only assures the supply of petroleum for the world empire of Britain in case of war but is now also preparing to take the control over all the petroleum districts and petroleum markets in Western Asia as well as the petroleum markets in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. At the same time it exercises a great influence on Persia and that particularly from the view point of national economy without any exaggeration it may well be said that the whole economic development of the southern part of Persia specially the harun region which is exceedingly promising depends on the prosperity and development of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

Over and above this the great power enjoyed by the Apoc exercises to some extent a decisive influence on Russo-Persian relations

Through the Anglo-Persian Oil Company the English Government is so highly interested in the economic development of Persia that it must always be on the alert to try to keep down Russian influence in Teheran as much as possible. England will certainly be uneasy if such a government comes to power in Teheran as will be extremely friendly to Russia or follows a socialistic revolutionary policy for thereby England's own position in South Persia will become insecure. As it is the existence of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company is to some extent a guarantee that the extension of the proletarian world revolution will receive a check in Persia. It is of course quite understandable that the war between England and Russia for Persia, which at present is mainly considered as a field of exploitation will not now be fought by open means and it is also clear that such a great organization as the Anglo-Persian Oil Company is without doubt itself in a position to carry on such a struggle even without the direct support of the English Government. That is to say the Anglo-Persian Oil Company may well be regarded as the instrument of a definite imperialistic policy and as this essay is intended to show quite a formidable one.





# Era-making Trials

THE TRIAL OF JESUS CHRIST

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

**J**ESUS Christ was tried only once and he was condemned to death by crucifixion. For centuries afterwards the Jews were persecuted by Christians in utter disregard of the teachings of Christ in almost every country in Europe for having compassed the death of Jesus. The entire race for generations was cruelly ill treated, hunted from place to place and placed under all manner of civil disabilities. It was forgotten that the earliest disciples and followers of Jesus Christ were Jews and the apostles themselves were Jews. In the time of Jesus the Jews were a subject race, they had no courts of their own and they had no power to punish an offender. They certainly accused Jesus and clamoured for his death. They shouted, 'His blood be upon us, and on our children.' But the power of life and death lay in the hands of the Roman Governor, Pontius Pilate and he need not have yielded to the clamour of the populace at all. At a word from him the Roman legionaries and centurions could have scattered the Jews like chaff and assured the safety of Jesus Christ. The truth of the matter is in the eyes of the Roman rulers Jesus was a man of no consequence and it was perfectly indifferent to Pilate whether he released Jesus or Barabbas. A Jew more or less did not matter at all.

It must be remembered that the Gospels were written while Rome still ruled Israel and it was a rule of iron. The Roman eagle hovered over Judaea on its outspread wings. It would have been as much as their lives were worth if the writers of the Gospels had ventured to accuse the Roman Governor of injustice and putting Jesus unjustly to death. The result has been that the actual responsibility for the death of Jesus has been considerably minimized and all the blood-guiltiness has been placed upon the Jews.

In order to understand clearly the accusation and trial of Jesus Christ certain preliminary facts require to be elucidated. Jesus was born in the days of Herod the king, called the Great, and the wise men

from the east declared that the infant was born king of the Jews. Herod was alarmed and slew all the children in Bethlehem but Joseph, the father of Jesus, had been forewarned in a dream and taking the young child and his mother fled into Egypt. Shortly afterwards Herod died and his son Archelaus reigned in Judaea, and Joseph with his wife and child returned to Israel. Thus the birth of Jesus portended evil to the Roman ruler, as he understood it, just as the birth of Sri Krishna presaged danger to Kansa the king. The Jews could not have had anything to do with the massacre of their own children, but Herod certainly feared that when Jesus grew up he would overthrow the Roman rule.

Evidently this Herod was not the tetrach of that name of Galilee, by whose order the head of John the Baptist was presented on a charger to Salome, the daughter of Herodias and before whom Jesus was sent by Pilate. All the four Gospels are silent about the whereabouts of Jesus, his movements and his doings between his twelfth and twenty-sixth years. When Jesus was about thirty years of age and was tempted by Satan Tiberius Caesar, a ferocious tyrant, was Emperor of Rome, Pontius Pilate, Governor of Judaea and Herod, tetrach of Galilee. Jesus was an unknown and humble Jew, Herod the king of Judaea was long dead and the Roman rulers had no reason to suspect Jesus of any revolutionary designs.

The ministry of Jesus Christ was very brief, for he was crucified at the age of thirty three. When Jesus began to preach he must have offended the priests at once for he was not one of them and had no authority that they recognized. He gave greater offence by preaching directly against the Old Testament. The God of Moses and of the Old Testament was a God of wrath and vengeance, Jesus preached a God of compassion and love, with only a faint echo of the old terrible doctrines. He openly denounced the Pharisees and the publicans, and exalted renunciation and poverty. Above,

all he infuriated the priests the sanhedrim and their followers by claiming to be the promised Messiah the Christ, the Anointed whose coming had been prophesied by the ancient Hebrew prophets. Perhaps the priests and the Jews thought the Messiah had been one like Isaiah or Jeremiah but greater with words that flowed and scorched like molten lava. When John the Baptist, whose merit was locusts and wild honey came out of the wilderness and said to the multitude that came forth to be baptized of him "O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" the people heard the thunder of the old prophets and mused in their hearts whether this was the Christ, the Messiah that was to come. John reading their hearts like an open book said unto them all, "I indeed baptize you with water but one mightier than I cometh the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire. This prediction referred to Jesus but the majority of the Jews rejected it. In his humility Jesus usually spoke of himself as the Son of man but he affirmed he was the Son of God the Christ. He said he was greater than Solomon. Now Solomon was not only one of the wisest of Jews but the greatest King of Israel and a greater personality than any Emperor of Rome. The words of Jesus might readily lend themselves to the interpretation that he was thinking of a kingdom on earth. It would have been an utterly wrong inference but the priests and the Pharisees were quite capable of making it. When Jesus was seized at night and taken before Caiaphas the high priest, the latter adjured Jesus to declare by the living God whether he was the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus said unto him "Thou hast said nevertheless I say unto you Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power and coming in the clouds of heaven. Whereupon the high priest rent his clothes and said "He hath spoken blasphemy what further need have we of witnesses?" The next morning before being placed before Pilate Jesus was brought before the council of the priests and scribes and was asked "Art thou the Christ? tell us. And he said unto them "If I tell you ye will not believe. And if I also ask you ye will not answer me nor let me go. Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God. Then said they all "Art thou then the

Son of God? And he said unto them "Ye say that I am. And they said "What need we any further witness? for we ourselves have heard of his own mouth."

Before this the Pharisees and the Herodians had attempted to tempt Jesus into seditious speech against Caesar and had failed. They were subtle of speech and praised Jesus saying he was true and taught the way of God in truth and cared for no man. Then they tried to inveigle him into a compromising admission. Tell us, what thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar or not? But Jesus perceived their wickedness and said why tempt ye me ye hypocrites? Shew me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a penny. And he said unto them whose is this image and superscription? They said unto him "Cæsar's." Then saith he unto them "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's." The tempters were silenced and went away. Jesus had barely three years in which to preach his doctrine and he never thought of calling upon the Jews to throw off the Roman yoke.

What charge was preferred against Jesus when he was brought before Pilate? So far as the priests and their followers were concerned Jesus had offended in that he had claimed to be the Messiah the Christ of God and had taught against the old scriptures but of this no word was spoken before the Roman Governor. Nothing whatever was said about the questions put to Jesus by the priests and his answers. Why? Because the proud patrician would have laughed the whole thing to scorn and sent them all about their business with a flea in their ears. What cared he for the religion of the Jews, their God and their Messiah? In the eyes of the Roman the Jews were merely barbarians their ancient civilization was of no account and their religion a fantastic superstition. It is doubtful whether any Roman ever read the Old Testament. The Romans and the Greeks had their own gods and goddesses who swarmed on the heights of Olympus and indulged in unrestricted pleasure. Bacchus was their favourite god and revelry was his worship. The religion of the Jews had no appeal for the Romans neither did they listen to the teachings of Jesus Christ.

If therefore the Jews had accused Jesus of blasphemy and had complained that he

claimed to be the Messiah and the Son of God they would have obtained no hearing from Pilate who would have simply driven them out of his presence. He knew nothing about the kingdom of heaven and a charge of blasphemy against the Jewish religion would have constituted no offence in Roman law. But Pilate understood treason and sedition, and this was the offence with which the priests and the rabble charged Jesus. All the four Gospels agree in the account that when Jesus was brought before Pilate the first question that the governor asked him was, Art thou the king of the Jews? That is to say, Hast thou proclaimed thyself a king and set at defiance the authority of Caesar? Art thou guilty of treason. The accusation against Jesus is clearly set forth in the Gospel according to St. Luke — "The whole multitude began to accuse him (Jesus) saying, We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar saying that he himself is Christ a king. He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry beginning from Galilee to this place. These charges were manifestly false, for Jesus had explicitly declared that the tribute to Caesar should not be withheld and his lofty teaching had nothing whatsoever to do with rebellion or revolution. But the multitude was there to bear false testimony against him and to have him condemned to death like a common criminal upon a charge of high treason.

The attitude of Jesus Christ at this trial the most memorable in the annals of humanity, was remarkable. He made no attempt to defend himself, he took no part in the trial. For the most part he maintained silence and a wondrous calm. "When he was accused of the chief priests and elders, he answered nothing. Then said Pilate unto him, Hearest thou not how many things they witness against thee? And he answered him to never a word. He stood serene and silent, grave and calmed. He knew the end was near, but after the agony in the garden his tribulation had passed from him. That night he had told three of his disciples, "My soul is exceedingly sorrowful, even unto death." Alone he had fallen on his face and prayed, saying, "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless not as I will but as thou wilt." At the time of the trial the spirit of Jesus had withdrawn within itself and was holding

communion with God the Father. The lips that had preached the Sermon on the Mount were mute. He might have called his faithful apostles, excluding Judas and Peter, as his witnesses to testify to the purity and spiritual nature of his teaching, he might have called the men and women he had healed, and Lazarus, whom he had called back to life from the grave. He did nothing; he was being tried for his life but he stood aloof and unconcerned a figure of silence and supreme dignity. For him the bitterness of death was already past.

Yet was not Jesus wholly silent before Pilate. Exasperated by the refusal of Jesus to answer questions Pilate thought the accused was insulting him by refusing to speak to him and he angrily said, "Speakest thou not unto me? Knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee?" Jesus answered, "Thou couldest have no power at all against me except it were given thee from above; therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin." St. John writes that though Christ did not defend himself he made a statement and this must be quoted at length to correct the impression that Jesus spoke no word during the trial. Apparently, the Jews had power to deal with offenders against their law, but they could not inflict the penalty of death. This could be imposed by the Roman Governor alone. When Jesus was first led into the hall of judgment Pilate asked the Jews to take the culprit away and judge him according to their law, but the accusers replied that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death. They desired his death but were powerless to pass the death sentence. They went so far as to use a tone of menace towards Pilate. "The Jews cried out, saying, If thou let this man go, thou art not Caesar's friend: whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Caesar."

It is not difficult to understand the thoughts that were passing in Pilate's mind. He attached no importance to the accusation that Jesus was stirring up the Jews to rise in rebellion against Caesar. The Roman grip upon Israel was far too strong to be lightly relaxed. There were no signs of unrest among the Jews. Jesus was an unknown and insignificant person, poorly clad. He had neither the air nor the assurance of a pretender. When, however, the Jews refused

to deal with Jesus themselves Pilate had Jesus brought before him. Then Pilate entered into the judgment hall again and called Jesus and said unto him Art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered him Sayest thou this thing of thyself or did others tell it thee of me? Pilate answered Am I a Jew? Thine own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee unto me what hast thou done? Thereupon Jesus made the famous statement to which reference has been made. Jesus answered My kingdom is not of this world if my kingdom were of this world then would my servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews but now is my kingdom not from hence Pilate therefore said unto him Art thou a king then? Jesus answered Thou sayest that I am a king To this end was I born and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice

Pilate was not inclined to condemn Jesus to death. He told the accusers of Jesus "Why what evil hath he done? I have found no cause of death in him I will therefore chastise him and let him go. And they (the Jews) were instant with loud voices requiring that he might be crucified. And the voices of them and of the chief priests prevailed. Just before this Pilate had sent Jesus to Herod the tetrarch of Galilee who happened to be in Jerusalem at the time. To the many questions put by Herod Jesus gave no answer. And Herod with his men of war set him at nought, and mocked him and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe and sent him again to Pilate.

It has to be borne in mind that from the time Jesus was delivered to Pilate to the final crucifixion the Jews had no opportunity of laying hands on Jesus. All that was done was done by the centurions and Roman soldiers. While Pilate was trying Christ his wife sent for him and told him

Have thou nothing to do with that just man for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him. Pilate followed this advice by washing his hands before the multitude saying I am innocent of the blood of this just person see ye to it. But he passed sentence of death all the same.

Not only so but there is clear evidence that Pilate took an active part in the punishment and crucifixion of Christ. Then Pilate therefore took Jesus and scourged him. And

the soldiers platted a crown of thorns and they put it on his head and put on him a purple robe and a reed in his right hand and they bowed the knee before him and mocked him saying Hail king of the Jews! and they spit upon him and took the reed and smote him upon the head. Then came Jesus forth wearing the crown of thorns and the purple robe. And Pilate saith unto them Behold the man! Were not these words uttered in mockery? Pointing to the thorn crowned and purple robed Jesus Pilate told the Jews Behold your king! When they shouted that Jesus should be crucified Pilate asked shall I crucify your king? Further on it is written — "And Pilate wrote a title and put it on the cross. And the writing was Jesus of Nazareth the king of the Jews. This title then read many of the Jews for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city and it was written in Hebrew and Greek and Latin. Then said the chief priests of the Jews to Pilate Write not The king of the Jews but that he said I am king of the Jews. The priests were afraid that they might be charged with treason and complicity in a conspiracy and to guard against it they had already declared We have no king but Caesar. Pilate refused to change the writing saying What I have written I have written."

Jesus was crucified by the Roman soldiers who mocked him with the populace. On the cross Jesus said Father forgive them for they know not what they do. These words of intercession were intended as much for the Romans as for the Jews. From the evidence in the Gospels it is impossible to acquit Pilate of responsibility for the death of Jesus. True he did not of his own initiative charge Jesus with treason and condemn him to death by crucifixion. He was not bloodthirsty like the two Herods the slayer of children and John the Baptist. The Jews desired the death of Jesus and they delivered him to Pilate for that purpose but there was no need for the Governor to yield to their clamour. It was his clear duty to refuse to be coerced by the insistence of the mob. The Jews could not have forced his hands for his authority was backed by the formidable soldiery of Rome. Jesus was in the hollow of his hand to save or slay at his sovereign will. Because Jesus was unjustly accused was he to be also unjustly put to death? Pilate was weak indolent and fond of pleasure like

the patricians of Rome. He made a few feeble efforts to save Jesus from the penalty of death but he made no stern stand for justice. He knew Jesus was innocent but was only an obscure wandering Jew and it was hardly worth while saving a Jew if his own people vociferously demanded his life. If the Jews sought the life of Jesus it was Pilate who sent him to his death.

The Roman archives of the time contain no mention of the trial of Jesus Christ. He was condemned like a common criminal and executed along with other criminals. Subsequently his followers were persecuted and hunted with full Roman rigour and brutality. They were quite inoffensive, humble and meek but they were treated like the worst criminals, barred and killed without compunction and thrown to the lions. The time came when the Romans began accepting the new faith and the Vicar of Christ and successor of St. Peter sat

in the Vatican in Rome. The cross became the symbol of suffering and devotion. As the centuries rolled by the mockery of Pilate, the Roman soldiers and the Jewish mob who had robbed Jesus in a purple robe and crowned him with a crown of thorns, and hailed him as king of the Jews in derision was exalted to the living faith of Christendom and the crucified Christ is now acclaimed as the King of kings. Not in real sooth for Jesus lives only in the hearts of the meek and the faithful while Rome still holds the crown and the sceptre. In Europe today the rulers are the Caesars, the Herods and the Pilates of old and if another Christ were to come into the world he would be hauled up before the men in power and receive the same justice that was meted out to Jesus of Nazareth by Pontius Pilate. Christ lived and died in vain so far as the rulers in Europe are concerned.

## Back of the Wailing Wall in Palestine

By B. PARULEKAR & Pho

AS soon as you land in Haifa you feel as if you are once again back in India. The situation is so much alike in the first place there is the same omnipresent and omnipotent British official ruling over the natives. Many I had a chance to talk with had their background. I should say their start and their training in India. About a few hundred British officials consume in Palestine forty per cent of the entire civil service salaries. Then there is the Wailing Wall which was apparently responsible for starting so much of the recent disturbances. The Wall is sacred to the Jews who visit it in prayer but at the same time it is under Moslem proprietorship. It reminded me of the quarrels between Hindus and Moslems over music before mosques in India. There is the C. I. D. that essential part of the British system which was called by the same name here as in India until very recently and of course doing the same work. You have also the British law courts, the increasing demand for English trained lawyers, and

multitudes of young men being trained to speak English at the expense of Arabic, because their masters refuse to use any other but their own language. Only one thing struck me as a bit different from India. It is the policeman. The Arab policeman shows a sterner backbone than his Indian comrade. He does not so easily salaam every Salub in the street. Besides he is not afraid to salute his nation's leaders and to show them respect wherever he can.

It would however be misleading to think that recent troubles in Palestine were due to any religious differences between the Jews and the Moslems. So much has been said and written about the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem a bald broken but massive wall which was once a part of King David's building and which therefore is a relic of the past for the Jews and so sacred—yet it only represents one of those small bickerings which help to inflame public feelings. One morning as I went to see the Wailing Wall I found there neither the Jew nor the Arab

wailing but instead a British Tommy kept on guard who was actually wailing! The poor fellow was homesick and he told me that there was yet a year of service ahead of him.

There are three principal parties whose interests at present are colliding with one another. First the British who want to hold on to Palestine because it prevents any other European power from coming close to the Suez Canal, the gate of Asia. Then they want to control a land route which will take them straight to the Persian Gulf and then on to India the pride and the pivot of the Empire. Lastly they are anxious to get hold of as many mineral resources as possible from this virgin territory especially oil the motor power of modern industrialism. The port of Haifa which is now being constructed for over a million pounds (at the expense of Palestine people) will supply the British with one of the best ports on the Mediterranean and a formidable naval station.

The next group interested in Palestine is the Jews who are anxious to build a Jewish national home in Palestine which they left or rather were forced to leave some two thousand years ago. The Zionists or those among the Jews who are responsible for this project want to build a Jewish nation much like any other nation to give to their scattered population a territorial basis without which they think the Jewish race and its culture would be absorbed in other races or cultures or at least they may not be independently creative as a distinct people. "The significance of Palestine to the Jew," says *Davar*, the Jewish labour paper of Tel Aviv, Palestine "is of an altogether different gange. His grievance against the world is that nowhere is he master of his destiny nowhere can he shape the conditions of his life and imprint the best of his personality upon his surroundings. Zionism alone affords him a chance of building a home which will be entirely of his own making and for which he may be deservedly proud or blamed. It means an opportunity of leading a life of collective responsibility. When I went to see the editor of *Davar* he presented to me his little son and said with pride: He is Palestinian. He is born in Palestine."

The third group who are the majority, over 80 per cent is the non-Jewish native population Arab Christians and Moslems

like who are opposed to any such Jewish State in Palestine because it is their State. They do not want a foreign nation to be built up in their country. The present conflict in Palestine is a conflict between two nations one Jewish to be newly created and the other Arab already existing though so long dormant but now awakened as to its future. Then there is the British Empire whose policy is to help the Jews to build their national home because for them it is the best excuse in the international world to keep the mandate and to help themselves.

Though there exist no barbed wires nor barricades nor dug out trenches that actually separate the Jews and the Arabs and though they live side by side as two communities in any other part of the world yet the feeling that exists between them is much more formidable than any other line of physical demarcation. Within the last ten years there have been three popular uprisings and Mr Duke the acting High Commissioner during the last disturbances said before the British Inquiry Commission that there is always a likelihood of trouble in Palestine. The present boycott between the two communities is not merely economic but social and moral as well. To my mind the every foundations of neighbourly living the mutual trust between the two communities has been destroyed and in its place suspicion of each towards the other prevails.

A leading Arab told me that they do not feel safe in talking over the telephone because they are being overheard by the telephone girls who are always Jewish. So they send messengers. One is not sure in buying medicine from a drug store belonging to the other community. It was publicly stated that the Jewish butchers of Tel Aviv, a newly built Jewish town do not feel safe in going to the slaughter house of Jaffa a neighbouring town where there are Arab butchers. They went on strike rather than get their animals slaughtered from Jaffa consequently the residents of Tel Aviv were forced to go on a vegetarian diet for weeks. My Arab friend would not dare enter Tel Aviv by night. So he would let his customer go rather than take that risk. Even a stranger who is neither a Jew nor an Arab feels the necessity of making a number of apologies and explanations before moving from one community to another. Official inquiry committees bring forth each day fresh

memories and additional feeling in so far as every statement before it helps to uncover and to expose one more wound. If a Jew or an Arab is stabbed or murdered the crime is suspected to be from the other community and for a political reason. And the pity of it is that there is little in sight that may help to overcome the estrangement and start a new era of mutual understanding.

If however one element can be singled out as doing the greatest possible mischief in Palestine, it is a sense of superiority among the Zionists towards the natives of the land. Over and over again one hears from their side a set of arguments running through all of which is the common thread that they are trained in the West infinitely more civilized, superior and well equipped in contrast to the Arab population and that they therefore are indispensable to the land. The Arab must recognize it. To put it in the words of Dr Weizmann the head of the Zionist organization "The Arab need us with our knowledge and our experience and our money. If they do not have us they will fall into the hands of others; they will fall among the sharks."

I am emphasizing this point because it is to a large extent at the root of the present intellectual insularity of the Zionists in Palestine. It does not permit the majority of them to recognize anything like patriotism, self sacrifice, or idealism among the Arab opponents. Their remedy for peace therefore is government by force and they sincerely believe that if the British Government can gather enough courage to lay hands on a few leaders and quash them there will be peace in the country and the Arab mob will be saved from its instigators. Indeed one is surprised at the colossal ignorance among the Zionists as to what actually animates the native population in the country who are living so close to them.

For example the Zionists do not realize the significance of Christians being one with the Moslems in their opposition to the Zionist programme. From the beginning of the British occupation the Christians are with Moslems in the Congress and in the Executive. In every town there is a Moslem-Christian association. During the last disturbances the Christians were with the Moslems and many were killed and wounded. They contributed more than the Moslems towards the expenses of the Congress, the committees and the movement.

There are more Christian newspapers in the country than Moslem, and all without exception are nationalists. In such an important centre as Haifa you find four Christian papers to only one Moslem. In other words the brunt of the newspaper agitation is borne by the Christians. When the movement to boycott the Jewish shops was started it was found out that shops selling women's hats were all Jewish and that not a single non-Jewish shop existed in the city of Jerusalem though just recently one was opened by a Syrian. So most of the Christian women began to wear georgette crapes like the Mohammedan women rather than buy hats from Jewish shops. The secretary of Arab Women's Congress is a Christian lady Mrs Mogannam.

Now this whole movement combining Christians and Moslems in one sentiment is brushed aside by the *Palestine and Near East Economic Magazine* a Jewish fortnightly for trade industry and commerce which says:

It may be profitable to a limited class of Christian Arab shopkeepers but continued must ultimately have disastrous results for the bulk of the Arab population the fellahs who cannot lose the only profitable market for their products offered by the Jewish population.

It is obvious that the tremendous feeling now sweeping over the country cannot be explained as a trick of the Effendi (the educated or upper class Arab) over the fellah or the farmer. And yet such is the sincere belief among Zionist circles. A Jewish cartoon caricatures the Effendi as haranguing a wild Arab mob armed with knives, clubs and rifles, and puts this inscription underneath "The Instigator — For every Jew killed ten cigarettes Nabrouk." The *Palestine Bulletin* a Jewish daily featured a dialogue under the caption "Satan and Effendi" in which a Jew succeeds in proving to the fellah that Satan resides in Effendi who is the sole enemy of the fellah. Zionist educators, politicians, industrialist as well as labour leaders are unanimous in their opinion of the Effendi as the sole mischief maker, who should be severely dealt with and blame the Government for laxity. The case of the British officialdom in Palestine reproached by the Arabs and the Jews alike reminds me of the old man in Esop's fable who had two wives but no peace.

On the other hand the awakening in Palestine

is going on with Bedouin swiftness. During a period of two months over and above the annual session of the Arab National Congress three different groups organized themselves and met for the first time in conferences. They were the women, the business men and the farmers. One is particularly struck with the speed of women's work in Palestine. They summoned delegates by telegrams held sessions organized a women's protest parade, sent a deputation to wait upon the High Commissioner, appointed an executive committee of twelve to carry on the work for the year, swore Christians on the Bible and Moslems on the Koran. Sherif that they would do everything in their power at the sacrifice of their family needs to promote their national goods and to boycott Jewish commerce and all this within six days of their decision to move collectively in the matter.

The customary veil came in the way of Moslem women. How could they present themselves before the High Commissioner with faces uncovered? They went to the Mufti for permission but when they found him hesitating in inviting more trouble the women took upon themselves to deal with the veil and the tradition just as they thought fit and twenty one of them seven Christians and fourteen Mohammedans appeared before the High Commissioner all unveiled. The effect of the women's decision to boycott Jewish business has been almost instantaneous as most of their finery lacework embroidery robes even lamp shades were supplied by the Jews. Thousands of dollars worth of warm clothing imported in advance by the Jewish merchants for the winter season is lying in warehouses and will have to go back as there exist no customers for them.

It is therefore a blunder of the first magnitude not to be able to grasp the motive forces of a movement in which differences of custom sex religion and economic interests seem to break down as with one stroke. The Effendi whom the Zionists consider to be an instigator exploiter of the fellah self-seeker and so on is in fact the existing intelligence organization and effort among the Arab population trying to express its sentiment. It is futile to wait for an order when the Effendi will disappear leaving the fellah alone to understand and appreciate the benefits of Jewish immigration.

Effendi or no Effendi there is little

chance of peace in Palestine so long as the Zionist's policy continues to fail to arrive at a mutually satisfactory programme with the native population in respect of immigration Government reform and a policy of how best the economic resources of the land can be utilized for the profit of the whole population and not merely for one section. On these points the existing Zionist opinion is extremely reactionary, self-conceited and mainly motivated by its own end at the expense of the native population. In the matter of immigration they do not admit that the Arabs have any right or say as they want to be the sole dictators until in the words of Dr Weizmann Palestine becomes "as Jewish as America is American or England is English." In other words they are anxious to outnumber the present 50 per cent of the population Christians and Moslems by a rapid immigration. As for Government reform they are opposed to any substantial measure of self-government in Palestine so long as they themselves continue to be in a minority even though they were granted all the minority privileges to be had in any other part of the world.

Naturally they are looked upon by the Arabs as enemies of constitutional progress and political self-determination. The Arab points out that his political rights are less today than they were under the Turkish rule and the contrast becomes much more enhanced when he sees that in Iraq in Egypt and in other Arabic countries Britain is inaugurating a more liberal policy which the Arabs in Palestine cannot expect so long as the Zionist opposition continues. Lastly through a system of Government favouritism such as concessions monopolies high tariff etc. the Zionists have come to control the industrial future of Palestine much as any capitalistic group would do and the Arab is afraid of being forced to live as an alien in his own country.

In an area of 1000 square miles there exists today a population of 816,064 out of which 154,330 are Jews whose number has been nearly trebled during the last ten years mainly by immigration. In 1925 more than 33,000 Jews came in that is equal to the total gain in Jewish immigration during the preceding five years. Nobody knows how much of the economic crisis in the years 1926-27 was due to this forced immigration in a comparatively small and poor country. During



that crisis "the sources of credit all over the country failed building activities were suspended and thousands of hands occupied therein were thrown out of employment. The British Government in its report to the Council of the League of Nations says that in 1927, "unemployment among the Jews was a more serious problem and affected a population of not less than 5000 and that "with a view to relieving Jewish unemployment and alleviating distress the Administration of Palestine accelerated the execution of an extensive programme of public works at an aggregate cost of £66,000. The Government was at the same time advancing grants and loans of £37,000 to the Local Council of Tel Aviv a Jewish body to help relieving unemployment and distress among the Jews. Nevertheless, during those two years more than 15,000 Jews came in though thousands of them were leaving the country in economic distress.

When the lands are bought from the absentee owners the original Arab tenants are driven out to make place for the immigrant Jew and there are hundreds of Arab families wandering in the land in poverty and distress. Jewish industries especially in soap salt, oil match and cement backed up by protective tariff customs exemptions concessions and other means have deprived many of their means of livelihood who were either dealers in foreign articles or producers of their own. A new industrial enterprise may dislocate the existing order but if it is national it tries to absorb the native workers and the population may put up with the temporary loss in view of future benefit. But in this case the Jewish immigrant deprives the native workers of his chance to work while the population has to pay heavily to keep the high tariff under which Jewish industries are being promoted.

The case of cement is a good example to illustrate the point. In order to help the Portland Cement Co (Nesher) at Haifa, the Government raised the import duty from 20 piastres to 60 piastres which was further increased to 85 piastres per ton or equal to about 42½ per cent of the value of a ton of foreign cement arrived c i f c. cost plus

insurance plus freight. The Nesher sells cheaper in Syria than in Palestine in spite of the additional freight charge of one pound per ton from Haifa to Damascus. In Haifa where the factory is located a ton of cement is 330 piastres. In Damascus it is sold for 270 Turkish gold piastres which is nearly 200 piastres in Palestine money. About fourteen different brands of cement have been wiped out from the market. To put it in other words the cement excess in price paid by consumers is 500 mls per ton loss of Government in the form of duty 300 mls and loss by boatmen and porters 250 mls and the loss by the merchants in the war of trade profit is 150 mls the total loss being about 1000 mls or a pound and half per ton. Now the annual consumption of cement in Palestine is roughly 60,000 tons, so the total loss by Government and the population is about £40,000 annually apart from the loss of Government in exempting from customs duty coal empty bags machinery etc for the protection of the said industry.

Add to this a number of industrial enterprises such as Palestine Electrical Co to electrify Palestine and to exploit the water power of the Jordan the Dead Sea concession to obtain mineral deposits from the Dead Sea Eastern Oil Industries Ltd making soaps oils oilcakes, the largest and most up-to-date factory in the Near East, Athlit Salt Company to produce sea salt by evaporation Grand Moulin de Palestine of Baron Rothschild to supply flour and others promoted by special concessions high tariff duties customs exemption and so on. Naturally the Arab complains that the economic future of Palestine is being deliberately vested by the Government in Jewish hands. He complains that though the Government is maintained largely from the Arab tax payers money it is working against their interest and in the interest of the Jews. He objects to the policy of the Government being dictated by article 2 of the Mandate. "The mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home etc.

# The Decorative Art of Orissa

By DI VAPRASAD GHOSH, M.A., F.R.S.

**M**AN is a decorative animal. The desire for ornament is an instinct, which is universal and irresistible in its appeal. The remarkable spontaneity with which man has responded to this divine instinct is at once striking and wonderful. So long the traditional belief has been that decorative art holds a minor place in the realm of fine arts, that is it plays and is intended to play a sub-servient role to major arts of sculpture, architecture and painting. But the art of decoration is in no way inferior or less potent, than the other graphic arts to stir the human consciousness to an ecstatic thrill. It is really an independent and not a parenthetical wave of æsthetic impulse in man.

When the primitive man began to shape implements and sundry articles to meet rudimentary requirements, he at once proceeded to decorate them, even when from an utilitarian point of view there was absolutely no need of such decoration. When he dressed his stone flint, his bone knife or wore his fabric, out of the raw material they were at once ready to satisfy his purpose fully well, but he was not completely satisfied and immediately gave the flint a fine polish beautifully carved the handle of the knife and embellished the apron with a border. And why? Because he could not resist his inner impulse to adorn and beautify. He decorated from the sheer joy of it and not to serve any real purpose.

The psychology of primitive man and the psychology of infants, exactly correspond with each other, they are both close and truthful imitators. The early man was an imitator of nature. He minutely copied the animal and vegetable life which surrounded him. Only these two sources inspired his artistic genius and as realistic delineators of animals the palæolithic artist is as yet unsurpassed. But when man reached the neolithic age and had the opportunity to come into intimate touch with vegetable phenomena, he gradually grew restless within himself. His developed

æsthetic instinct, rebelled against the idea of merely copying nature. He wanted to produce something stamped with the indelible impress of his independent being. So he became a creative artist and produced geometrical and abstract designs which were foreign to nature followed subsequently by entirely new complex and fabulous animal motifs. He certainly drew his inspiration from the animal and the vegetable world but the concrete forms which resulted from this synthetic appreciation belonged to quite different and another world. Thus in music when two tunes are combined it does not produce a third note but a harmony, and in painting two colours are mixed to result in a completely new one. Motifs novel in design and charming in conception were created by man in this manner and he continued to evolve decorative forms ere he could conceive the human form in terms of stone or erect magnificent structures.

That sculpture and architecture has overshadowed the art of decoration in the course of subsequent centuries does not give any superiority to the former. They are simply different aspects of the one continuous wave of æsthetic impulse culminating in architecture which welded all the other forms into a synthetic whole. Indeed it will not be an exaggeration to say 'that all the arts are fundamentally decorative'.

So it is apparent, that the craving for ornament is inherent in man and has to be reckoned with among the most primitive savage as well as the most highly cultured man, only the degree of refinement and expressiveness is liable to vary. This decorative instinct is born as we have already seen out of the creative impulse of man and the stage or progress of civilization does not effectively interfere with this urge of life. The aborigines of New Zealand and the master builders of Egypt and Greece have alike responded to this that the mode of manifestation of this particular instinct may vary with age and clime. So also with other human instincts. The vehicle for the expression of



Fig 1.



Fig 2

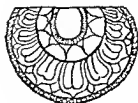


Fig 3.



Fig 4



Fig 5

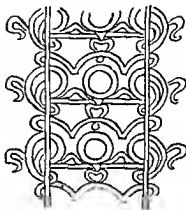


Fig 6



Fig 7.



Fig 8



Fig 10



Fig 11

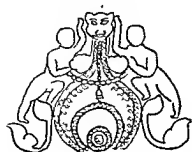


Fig 9

the decorative instinct does not matter in the long run—it is the beauty of form which is the criteria for all aesthetic purposes

Man endeavoured to create observes Yrjo Hirn a representation of God a receptacle of the divine spirit, by means of which he may enter into relations with the divinity. Alongside with this endeavour, however there can be always observed another tendency which has been of scarcely less importance in the history of art—the effort to flatter and propitiate the divinity. Thus the ornamental art which is lavished in the decoration of temples may in most cases be interpreted as homage to the god who is believed to inhabit the temple or to visit it.\*

The Indians of yore were no exception to the universal rule. They rather responded to this ornamental instinct with more than usual vigour. They were extremely rich and prolific in their production and have left behind exquisite and marvellous legacies for the admiring posterity to wonder at.

Indeed their genius specially revelled in the art of decoration. They frequently forgot themselves and the true sense of propriety in beautifying unreservedly with luxurious ornaments of singular charm and graceful variety the objects most near to their hearts—the images of their gods and goddesses and the temples which enshrined them. They poured their very souls in rapturous glee and devotion and transformed the cold and bare surfaces of the walls into a glowing mass with carvings of intricate variety and delicate fancy. The dexterous and skilful efforts of the artist caused the exterior of the Indian temples to shimmer with a lustrous texture and an intransigent play of light and shade extremely pleasing to the vision. As the devotee uttered the sacred *mantras* in tireless repetition, to attain the object of his heart's desire and to acquire religious merit quickly and surely so the pious artist also tried to please his god by embellishing almost every inch of available space with rhythmical and conventional formulas. The abiding love of ornament is also echoed in ancient Indian literature specially in the preponderance of *alamkara* and *anuprasa*. Owen Jones very aptly remarks: Although ornament is most properly an accessory to architecture and

should never be allowed to usurp the place of proper structural features or to overload and disguise them it is in all cases the very soul of an architectural monument, and by ornament alone we can judge truly of the amount of care and mind which have been devoted to the work. All else in building might be result of rule and compass but by the ornament of a building can we best discover how far the architect was at the same time an artist.\*

Of all the Indian people however the ancient Orissans are famous for the magnificent monuments erected by them and adorned by still more gorgeous decoration of chaste and elegant design and varied exuberance.

It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that if it would take a sum—say a lakh of rupees or pounds to erect such a building (Jingara temple Bhuvaneswara) as this it would take three lakhs to carve it as this one is carved†.

The Orissan treatment of everything great and small like the ancient Egyptians was strongly decorative. The abundant variety of animal motifs in Orissa is indeed surprising. Like the Assyrian master also, among all the animals that attracted him, either by their size or strength either by the services they rendered or the terror they inspired there were none that the chisel of the Orissan sculptor did not treat with taste and skill. Thus the wonderful repertory of animal forms not only includes the lion the elephant, the horse and the stag but also goose fish monkey sheep dog frog tortoise, parrot bear and bull and even the crab and the lizard—in fact, almost all the docile helpers and redoubtable enemies of man. We should also take into account the significant fact that a large variety of these organic forms were carved with singular power and refreshing realism which contrasts with the idealistic and conventional treatment of the neighbouring figure sculptures. The remarkable lion of Jingara, the vigorous elephants of Ananta Vasudev and Konarak the graceful stags of Mukteswara and the fiery and spirited chargers of Surya Deul are standing testimonies of the unquestionable ability of the Indian artists to imitate nature faithfully and sympathetically.

\* Jones—*Grammar of Ornament* London 1868 p. 8.

† Ferguson J—*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* London 1910 Vol II p. 101.

\* Origins of Art, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Vol. I p. 819.

But as an eminent critic\* justly opines "The craftsmen's designs are not content with a mere artistic appeal to our sense perceptions of peculiarly happy disposition of lines and forms, but are also informed imbued and scintillating as it were with an infinite variety of national ideas and belief religious or mythical which it would be difficult to find in their artistic elements alone." Another well known connoisseur of art goes so far as to suggest that ornamental motifs never owed their existence to purely aesthetic considerations and that in all of them the permanent element would be the symbolical meaning and the mutable element the external form. In the pre-animistic conception of the world ornamentation has as its principal aim to provide an object or a build ing with magically protective or strengthening signs or symbols. In the course of time however their original magical and symbolic character was nearly forgotten and the ornamental forms were frequently applied as purely decorative motifs with but a vague reminiscence of their originally supposed effects† It was this inherent instinct of primitive terror in the hearts of the Orissan craftsmen which led them to safeguard the sacred dwellings of god, adequately and properly from profane and hostile spirits and to dispel the all pervading magic forces by adorning the splendid religious monument with mighty vigilant and aggressive Gaja Simha sharply outlined against the azure sky (Fig 5) the fabulous Makara head which decorate the graceful *toranas* and panels (Fig 1) the grotesque Kirtimukha masks which hedionously project from niches and walls in bewildering profusion (Fig 9) and the ferocious and enigmatic *viratas* which ominously loom out of the encircling shadows of the dark recesses (Fig 4) The mystic and enigmatic character of these legendary and fantastic monsters which had always been an attraction in the eye of the decorator was largely inspired by the habitual feeling of disquietitude and terror which was inherited by the mediaeval artist from his remote primitive ancestor.

We have already pointed out above that all Oriya design was strongly decorative. The love of form and of drawing was perhaps

a greater force with the Oriya craftsmen than with any other people. The six long centuries from the eighth to the thirteenth saw the beginning of the glorious striving of the artist to express his inner aesthetic realization and decorative instinct in plastic forms the intense effort to produce something effective and distinctly original the eventual breaking away from Gupta leading strings with the gradual efflorescence of his native genius and the ultimate culmination in an extremely virile national art in perfect harmony with the traditional craft designs of India.

The temple of Satrughneshwara, the earliest of the Bhuvaneshwara group and belonging probably to the opening decades of the eight century A.D. records the initial and crude attempts at the art of decoration by an untidy and imperfect hand. Parasurameswara shows further progress in the craftsman's skill and workmanship. The beautiful and charming floral designs of Vaital Deul boldly conceived and effectively designed betray the gradual awakening of aesthetic consciousness and a true appreciation of the beauty of form (Figs 3 & 8). The decorative vocabulary of the early group of temples is extremely rich and varied in the wealth of geometrical and floral ornaments but as yet undeveloped genius of the artist failed to harmonize the innumerable elements into tune with architecture as a whole. The older structures also unmistakably betray that, as regards motifs and arrangement they were still under the influence of early Indian convention and inspired by Sunga and Gupta traditions.

Mukteswara at the beginning of the tenth century A.D. stands at the parting of ways. It marks an epoch in Orissan art as it demonstrates for the first time the assertion of the native genius in all its glory and magnificence (Figs 6 & 9). Fergusson has called it the gem of Orissan architecture. But however richly carved and elegantly designed the ornaments are by themselves they still remained to be united and co-ordinated in the decorative scheme. It was wonderfully accomplished in the great Lingaraj within fifty years or so. The astonishing development of the chaitya window from a simple gable-shaped architectural element into a highly complicated and typically Orissan decorative device closely resembling the Islamic script is illustrated on the Brahmeswara *sikhara* (Fig 7).

The monuments of the middle and late

\* Ganguli O.C.—A Note on Kirtimukha  
Piyam No 1 January 1930 p. 11.  
† Stüttgen W. E.—The Meaning of the  
Kala Makara (Ornament) *Indian Arts & Letters*  
First Issue for 1930 pp 22-31.

medieval period are characterized by the predominance of the beautiful and peculiar Orissan scrolls over all the other forms of decoration. Every discriminating critic will admit that the wonderful skill and decorative feeling displayed in the execution of the various foliage designs such as *phula lata* (Fig 11) *patia-lata nali lata* (Fig 10) *iana lata* etc. unmistakably shows that in this department of fine arts the Orissan sculptor easily excelled his Greek compatriot.\* The appealing beauty and decorative grandeur of the Rajarani temple are pre eminently due to the luxuriant grace of these carvings. The minutely carved wall with delicate and intricate details afforded a pleasing background to the exquisite statuary in high relief and clearly outlined the flowing curves of the summarily modelled luscious nymphs in alluring poses.

The Surya Deul at Kooarak in the thirteenth century however represents the climax of the Orissa craftsman's search for the beatific vision in the realm of aesthetics and sums up all that is best and the most charming. In the bewildering wealth of ornaments with their exquisite finish and impressive effect accompanied by a perfect proportion and the massiveness of its structure the temple excels all other temples in Orissa, nay in the whole world. It is the most sublime and splendid luminary in the firmament of Orissan architecture but sadly the last flicker of the architect's lamp never to be lighted again to dispel the eternal gloom which soon enveloped the hapless land. It is strange indeed that within two centuries when the empire of Orissa stretched from the south to Trichinopoly in the north to the south and when the powerful Gajapatis ruled and often humiliated the mighty Saltans of Gaur, Malwa and the Bahamani kingdom and the valiant rulers of Kanchi and Vijaynagar then when Orissa reached the apex of her glory the lost supremacy in the field of art, was never redeemed†.

But recent historical research is gradually making it obvious that the activities of this remarkable school of arts were not confined merely within the four corners of Orissa. The influence of this school permeated the arts of the greater Indian lands in the wake

of the adventurous spirit and maritime enterpriso of the ancient Oriyas. We find definite evidence of this influence in Burma, Siam, Champa, Cambodia, Java and other Indonesian islands. The interesting fact revealed by the Burmese texts that at one time Lower Burma itself was known as Ukkala or Utkala and the modern town of Prome as Srikshetra (Puri) amply testifies to the establishment of colonial settlements in the land of the Irawaddy by the people across the Bay. It is more than probable that the floral ornaments, Kirtimukha masks, flamboyant Makaras and the guardian lions which decorate the innumerable sanctuaries of Burma are all modelled on mediæval Orissao prototypes. There are also convincing proofs to show the existence of intimate relations between Orissa or Kalinga and the Malay peninsula and the adjoining archipelago at one time. Even now every Indian is usually known there as the 'Kaling'—a word evidently derived from Kalinga. It will easily explain the surprising affinity of the Kala Makara, the ornament par excellence of Indo-Javanese architecture with the Kirtimukha and Makara heads sculptured on the eighth century Bhuvaneshwara Deul. The wonderful ruins of Champa also still preserve creeper designs and elephant herds reminiscent of the best products of Orissa.

In conclusion we should like to say that it is a matter of great regret that these splendid decorations of Orissa should still continue to be subject of archaeological research and discussion without their inherent beauty being adequately appreciated by people at large. In this period of renaissance of our national art and culture it is high time that we should try to recover these charming designs from apparent neglect and oblivion and exploit them for all practical purposes in our daily life. We can very easily utilize these ancient Indian designs which are full of appeal to our national ideas and consciousness instead of slavish imitation of third rate and meaningless foreign patterns in drawing, embroidery, architectural decoration and other industrial arts. Another point, which also demands our attention is that the current popular notion about ancient Indian art is curiously synonymous with the art treasure of Ajanta and Ellora only. But it should be known that there is no dearth of ancient Indian monuments equally magnificent in conception and sublime in execution. Moreover though

\* Gurukha Sarkar—*Mind over Matter* Pt III Calcutta, 1914 p. 133.

† H. D. D.—*The Empire of Orissa*, I Jan. Quarterly December 1925 pp. 23-39.









# The Library System of Baroda

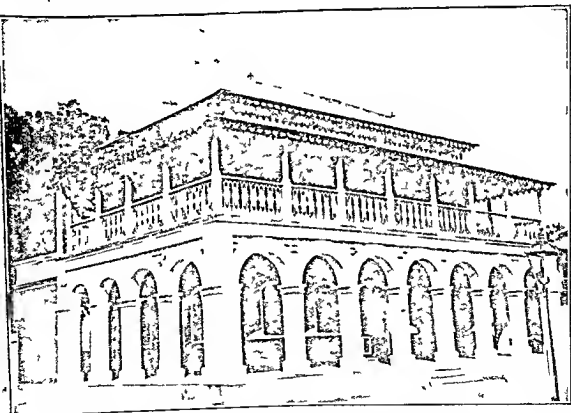
BY NEWTON MOHUN DUTT F.R.

**H**IS Highness the Maharaja Gaekwade I, who early in his reign determined to grant to his people the boon of free and compulsory education, did not take long to discover that the results of his efforts for the uplift of his people by no means came up to his expectations. There was a lack of the

lightened ruler discovered that the best means of topping this lack was the introduction of the free public library into Baroda.

## COUNTRY LIBRARIES

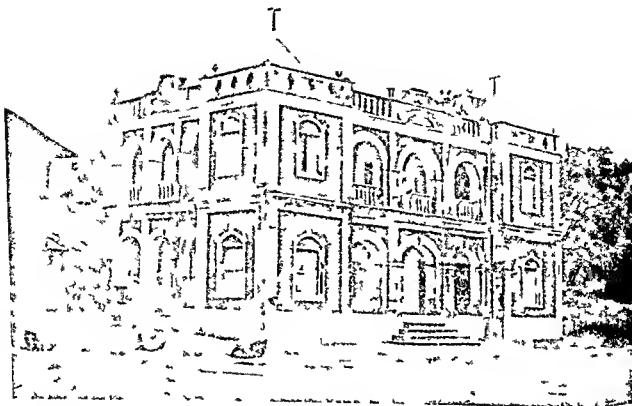
These libraries are run on the principle of co-operation between the Government and the



A Town Library

magnificent reservoir which he had built for storing the living waters of culture. A large number of those who passed through the elementary schools eventually lapsed into illiteracy. It was in 1907 and 1910 on the course of two visits to the United States that this

Prant Panchayat and the people. When a community has succeeded in collecting Rs 100, Rs 300 or Rs 700—the sum depending on whether it is a village, an ordinary town or the chief town of the district—a similar sum is granted by the Library Department.



A Village Library

and a like sum by the Prant Panchayat (District Board). In some cases the Municipality or the village board come forward with contributions. If a library building is called for the people have to find only one third of the cost the remaining amount being defrayed in equal quotas by the Government and the District Board. Finally to provide the nucleus for a new library the local committee may purchase for Rs. 25 a collection of good Gujarati books worth Rs. 100 the rest of the money being defrayed by the State.

The people of Baroda have not been slow in taking advantage of these liberal facilities for self culture. Up to now all the 45 towns of the Taluk and no less than 698 of the villages have been provided with free libraries. There are also 194 new paper reading rooms. The statistics for the year 1929-30 have not yet been collected but during the previous year these institutions could boast

an aggregate stock of 491,651 books and a circulation of 80,350 volumes amongst 60,759 readers. 103 library buildings have also been erected. Rules are laid down for the proper management of these libraries which are controlled by local committees elected by the local subscribers. To these committees a large amount of autonomy is granted. Libraries are visited not only by the educational inspectors of the State but also by the Assistant Curator of Libraries who collects groups of library workers at convenient centres to give course of training in library management and to discuss with them practical library problems. Twelve of the forty talukas into which Baroda is divided have established local committees to co-ordinate local efforts and carry on library propaganda. Five annual conferences of librarians have been held and a standing committee of the conference is in permanent session at headquarters. Further the associated libraries



The Radhakrishnan Central Library

have established a co-operative society for the wholesale purchase of books, periodicals and supplies. It is receiving wide support from the libraries of the State as well as from many outside its limits. The society runs the *Pustakalaya*, a monthly library journal in Gujarati and has published a model classified and priced catalogue of the 6000 best books in Gujarati language. Another useful work which is in course of publication is an annotated and descriptive list of the best Gujarati novels which is being produced with the aid of local scholars.

#### TRAVELLING LIBRARIES

The work of the aided libraries is controlled and guided by the Library Department of the State which has also instituted a Travelling Library Section. A travelling library is a box holding from fifteen to twenty books and is made strong enough to withstand hard wear. The boxes are dispatched free of charge to any library, school, factory or mill or even to private persons willing to act as honorary librarians. From these centres the books are lent out free of charge. The section now has over 400 boxes and over 18,000 volumes. Last year 1,26,666 volumes were circulated in 179 centres.

#### EXHIBITIONS

The Library Department is frequently called on to fit up library stalls as well as to organize separate library exhibitions not only in Baroda but also in other parts of India. During the visit to the Library of H. P. Loid in Vicerey and Governor General of India to Baroda last January such an exhibition was organized in Baroda while another one was made in Patna last March on the occasion of the library conference in that city and in Narsari at an agricultural exhibition.

#### LIBRARY TRAINING

The Library Department has had the privilege of giving library training to several library aspirants and librarians in Mysore. Dewas Bhavnagar and elsewhere are amongst the young men who have served a short apprenticeship in Baroda. The last person to undergo this training is Mr. Agarwal of the Nalanda College who at the request of the curator has promised to compile a text book of library economy in Hindi.

#### VISUAL INSTRUCTION

For many years past the Library Department has been giving visual instruction

the form of lectures illustrated by magic lantern and cinema

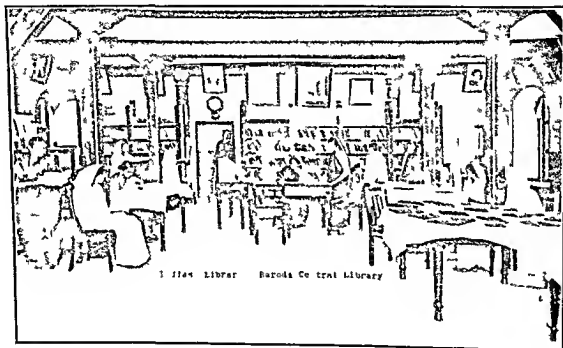
#### CENTRAL LIBRARY BARODA

The Central Library Baroda comprises the following sections—newspaper room, lending reference and ladies libraries, children's playroom and library bindery and general office. The library is run on the open access system, most of the stock being accessible to the reader. It is impossible to underestimate the educational and cultural value of permitting the patrons of the library freely to browse along the shelves and to make their own selection after actual handling of the stock.

111,713 volumes have been circulated amongst its 45,73 readers. Nearly 28,000 of the circulation consists of English books. These figures are significant when we consider that the city contains less than 35,000 literates of which 6,000 alone know English.

#### LIBRARIANS AND CHILDREN'S ROOMS

The Males or Ladies Room is very well patronized and is freely supplied not only with books but also with newspapers and periodicals. Perhaps the most interesting section of the library is the Children's Playroom and Library which consists of a large and very well furnished and decorated and provided with English and



111111 Librar Baroda Ce tral Library

#### The Ladies Library Baroda

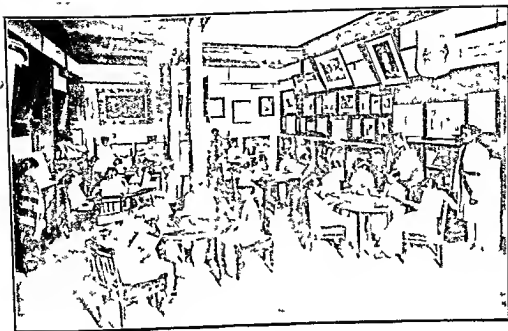
##### NEWSPAPER ROOM

The newspaper room is open for twelve hours daily throughout the year and keeps about 300 periodicals.

##### STOCK AND CIRCULATION

The Central Library has now nearly 14,000 volumes, apart from the 18,000 volumes in the Travelling Library Section. One-half of the stock consists of English books. During the past year no less than

vernacular books and papers as well as with a variety of indoor games, amusements and occupations such as draughts, jigsaw puzzles, mosaic work, designing, mechanics, etc. Here will be found reading suitable for any age, from alphabet books and rag books to fairy tales and stories. As the child grows older it is granted access to the juvenile section of the main library with its stock of 3,000 English books through which it graduates till it eventually finds itself at home in the adult collection.



The Children's Library, Baroda

## REFERENCE LIBRARY

The reference collection is very complete efforts being made to acquire all the most valuable dictionaries encyclopedias and other works of reference as well as runs of important magazines. Magazines indeed form the only up-to-date cyclopedias and as a key to them the library keeps such useful indexes as the Library Association's *Subject Index to Periodicals*, and H. W. Wilson's *Readers Guide to Periodicals and International Index*. The curator has induced the Library Association to include in the *Subject Index* some Indian journals and has himself undertaken to index for that annual the *Modern Review*, the *Calcutta Review* and *Bharat*. Failing such aids to research the task of making use of such periodicals for reference work is almost a hopeless one.

## INFORMATION BUREAU

The reference library acts as a kind of general information bureau and every effort is made to deal with the numerous and sometimes bewildering enquiries received both from visitors and also correspondents. Such work is of course part of the normal

functions of a public library in the West, but in India this work is very much restricted partly because the institutions are not well supplied with books of reference and also for want of training on the part of the library staff.

## LIBRARY BUILDING

The question of providing sufficient space for the activities of the Library Department has been before the Government for some years. The present plan is the relocation of most of the book stock to a separate stack room erected behind the main building and attached thereto. This building which is practically complete is 85 feet long and 34½ feet wide. It is to be fitted with four tiers of steel shelving and will accommodate over 130,000 volumes. The first and the third tiers are reserved for the stock of the open access lending and reference libraries while the intermediate tiers are intended for the spare stock.

## COST OF THE SCHEME

The reader may be interested to know the cost of this plan for popular education and self culture. The expenditure for the year 1929-30 is therefore given

	Rs
Upkeep of the Central Library Baroda	6000
Contributions to aided libraries	
Government contribution	33000
Panchayats contribution	32000
Peoples contribution	34000
Total	Rs 100000

The Government has no hesitation in shouldering this burden for it is fully in agreement with the dictum of Sir Walter Besant. The public library is an adult school a perpetual and lifelong continuation class and the librarian is the readers' most

important teacher and guide. If F. the Dewan of Baroda recently stated that when on tour he examines the boys and girls who have left school to ascertain the extent of lapse into illiteracy amongst them and he invariably finds how negligible this is in a village with a library. The library authorities have therefore been enjoined to endeavour to plant a library in every village which possesses a primary school.

Further information about the working of the system will be found in *Baroda and its Libraries* published by the Central Library Baroda at Rs 2-4.

## Social Regeneration and Industrial Efficiency

By RAJANI KANTA DAS MSc. PhD

**A**NOTHER condition of achieving industrial efficiency is social regeneration. Industrial efficiency is in fact, the scientific organization by a nation of all its social forces including traditions or institutions for the satisfaction of its material wants and the more vigorous these forces are the more efficient industrially a nation is likely to be. For centuries social life in India has lost its vitality. Like an individual a society survives by adaptation. It was the inability to adapt itself to the changing conditions of the world which has been one of the essential causes of India's social decadence and consequently of industrial stagnation. The development of India's industrial efficiency depends to a large extent upon her social revival.

### 1. PHILOSOPHICAL ATTITUDE

The most important means of regenerating Indian society is the reconstruction of a new social attitude or philosophy of life. With the progress of science and art and the gradual control by men of natural and social forces the world has been undergoing rapid changes not only in the material aspect but also in ethical and spiritual ideals. The handicraft has been replaced by the factory system, individual enterprise by joint stock companies, national economy by international economy, status by contract

mysticism by positivism and universalism by pragmatism. To live and succeed in the present world of foreign aggression and international competition one of the essential things is to create a new attitude towards life and its environment.

The first point to emphasize in this new social attitude is that the golden age was not in the past but that it is to be in the future. It is a common belief among the masses that the days of truth, justice and happiness are gone for ever. Both the mythological conception and the glorious past of Hindu civilization and its subsequent domination by foreign nations are mostly responsible for such an attitude. What is needed is the development of a new consciousness that in spite of its downfall India still possesses potentialities to become a great nation and that it is the duty of all social members to work towards that goal.

Another point to inculcate is that the object of life is not to be happy in a world to come but to achieve a richer and fuller self-expression here on earth. One of the greatest faculties of man is to project into the future an ideal of life from the past and present experience. Rightly utilized it can become one of the greatest sources of individual happiness and of social progress. But it becomes a national curse when it discourages the making of the fullest use of the present

opportunities and the turning of ill failures into success with the vain hope that there might be compensation or retribution for all the present sufferings in a future life. This is one of the causes of India's downfall and the time has come when the importance of making the best use of the present opportunities must be realized.

The superiority of human intelligence over the blind forces of nature is still another point which must be inculcated in the new social attitude. The importance of this element lies in the fact that the activities of the masses are still controlled by the fatalistic conception of life. Some of the cardinal points in this social attitude or philosophy of life should be that, first the destiny of man is not influenced by some mysterious and supernatural power but by physical and social laws; second although the laws of nature are inevitable and unchangeable they can be controlled and directed by human intelligence and can be utilized for human purposes; third poverty, ignorance and misery are not necessary parts of the eternal order of things but the results of defective social organizations which can be remedied by deliberate social efforts.

The importance of industrial success as an object in life must also be emphasized. Over emphasis upon the spiritual aspects of life and formulation of ethical ideals in India at a time when the standard of life was simple and industrial competition was practically unknown account for the lack of appreciation for an industrial career. But in the days of over population, unemployment, competition and rising standards it has become essentially necessary to realize that industrial success is not only a means to the satisfaction of material wants but also to self development and self realization.

## 2. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTER

This orientation of philosophical or social attitude must be accompanied by the upbuilding of individual character. Although the elements of character such as instinct and impulse are inborn, character itself is mostly a social product and can be modified in accordance with the social purpose. The importance of this remark becomes evident by the analysis of the changes in the national character of the people within the first quarter of the present century.

For the purpose of developing a new character the first thing necessary is to

formulate a new national ideal based on national requirements. This ideal must include among the requirements self help and self reliance, determination and perseverance, forethought and thriftiness and similar other qualities which are essential for industrial success. An essential quality required for industrial efficiency in modern times is the spirit of corporate activities. Handicraft was an individual enterprise in which the individual devoted all his time from the beginning to the end to the same article. This individual work has been replaced by division of labour and one can take part only in a small fraction of the work required for finishing an article. This change in industrial technique requires special emphasis on corporate activity. The glory of a good piece of work does not belong to an individual but to a group.

The propagation of this national ideal among the people itself will be a great step towards the upbuilding of a new national character. Once the ideal becomes a part of the social consciousness all institutions will become means of incorporating the essential qualities required by modern industrial society into individual character. Nurseries and playground, schools and colleges, fields and factories, households and social clubs will supply ample opportunities for engraving these qualities on the character of the rising generations.

The best means of upbuilding a new character is, however, the educational system. The importance of this fact has been realized from the beginning of class consciousness in human history. One could point to many examples of the control of education by conquering races and dominating classes. Since the beginning of the conquest the British have controlled the educational policy of India and even today one of the main struggles between the Government and the people relates to the question of the control of national education. For developing industrial efficiency India must also control her educational policy.

Politics can scarcely be separated from economics in these days of international competition and new mercantilism. This is especially true of the relations of England and India which are essentially economic. In fact some of the qualities leading to self government are also necessary for industrial prosperity. But the greatest problem of India is that of solving the question of the subject



poverty of her masses and even self government itself is partly a means to that end. While the necessity of self government should not be minimized emphasis must be laid upon achieving the equalities in individual character which are essential for economic success. Even after the achievement of Swaraj, India's most important problem will still remain unsolved unless the nation is awakened to the necessity of developing national character for industrial success.

### \*PUBLIC MORALITY

Equally important is public morality. Indian civilization developed lofty spiritual ideals in high ethical standards. But owing to the selfish emphasis which they put on the relation between man and God instead of man and man, public morality did not get the same impetus for growth as private morality. Moreover most of the ethical ideals in India were standardized centuries ago when society had not reached a high stage of development. The result is that public morality lags behind social development and it is quite inadequate for the solidarity and progress of modern society when social intercourse has become diversified and complex.

The diversity of race, creed and language in the country itself is a great hindrance but custom and prejudice which have crept into the existing religious invasions and conquests to which the people have been subjected and the aims and ideals of foreign culture with which they have been brought into contact have also undermined the old standard of morality while no new standards have yet been established to take their place.

The deleterious effect of the retarded growth of the new standard of public morality in India is too obvious to need any elaborate discussion. Jealousy and litigation, provincialism and sectionalism, classiness and communalism and cliques and intrigues run rampant all over the country thus hindering not only social solidarity but also economic prosperity. Industrial development in modern times depends largely upon corporate activities and without mutual confidence and co-operation no industrial success is possible. Only a new social idealism, braced by a new national awakening and an enlightened public opinion can regenerate the national life with moral courage and public spirit and with the sense of duty and responsibility.

### I. BUSINESS HONESTY

Closely connected with public morality is the question of business honesty. The tendency to dishonesty in commercial relations is not stronger in India than in other countries. Short weights and measures, adulteration and falsification, petty higgling and cut throat competition, secret agreements and underhand dealings are phenomena well known all over the industrial world. They have been kept in check only by intelligent public opinion, vigilant State regulation, and enlightened self interest. It is through these agencies that sound business principles and commercial codes can be developed in India.

That public opinion cannot be very strong nor intelligent in a country where *none leads of the people cannot read or write* is easily conceivable. But agitation is also a means of education among the masses and a great deal can be achieved even in India. All that is needed is to have the ideal of business honesty well impressed on the mind of a small group of men who can devote themselves to the cause. The improvement in social justice including the gradual rise in the age of marriage and similar other social reforms within the past two generations is the result of the agitation by a small band of workers of the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj. Still greater and quicker results have been achieved in political fields. Although the ideals of liberty and reform appeal more to the imagination and are thus easily propagated, commercial ethics have also their strong points. They relate to the material interest of the majority of the people and are thus becoming more important with the increasing unemployment, hard struggle and rising cost of living.

A still greater work in raising business honesty depends upon the State which in modern times is responsible for carrying out a larger part of social will for social welfare. The enforcement of the law by organizing inspection and supervision is of course the primary duty of Government. But the more constructive work is the development by Government of a body of law for carrying on business activities in such a way as there are left few loopholes for the infringement of business honesty. The regulation of joint stock companies, banking enterprises, patents, trade marks, copyrights and manufacturing processes is

one of the important functions of all modern governments.

The most important factor in elevating business honesty is however *self interest*. That malpractices do not lead to business success is well understood by all business men as soon as the question is raised in their mind, nor is bargaining or higgling profitable in modern business transactions. One of the reasons why some of the malpractices still exist in India is the fact that most of the customers in India are men instead of women as in most of the Western countries, and it is a well known fact that as customers women are more intelligent and more apt to get their money's worth than men. The success of a business depends upon a steady and permanent market and nothing is a greater asset to a business than good will or public confidence in its business transactions. Honesty has been and will always be, the best policy to business success.

### 3. SOCIAL IDENTITY

This philosophic orientation or the development of a new social attitude towards life and public morality should be accompanied by the reform of social institutions. All artificial distinctions based on caste, creed and sex must be abolished and society must be organized with a view to giving every man and woman an opportunity to develop what is the best and noblest in him or her so that the combined experience of the social self might be in proportion to the social population. Under the artificial barriers some of which fall into political and economic fields, an insignificant fraction of India's vast humanity is brought into expression, while by far the largest part of the national self remains dormant or suppressed and it is the lack of opportunity for self expression which is one of the fundamental causes of India's social decadence, political subjugation and economic degradation.

The first question in bringing about social equality is the abolition of the caste system. Although a strong fight against it was started by the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj long ago it was not until Mahatma Gandhi took the field against untouchability that a nation-wide movement was started to cope with the situation. The awakening of the non-Brahmin and the so called untouchable is the greatest step in that direction. It is only self assertion and concerted action on the part of the suffering

classes themselves that can lead to the final victory. Every member of the social population must have equal opportunity to develop his or her inner capacity so that society can express itself to its fullest extent.

The movement for the abolition of the *purdah* or the seclusion of women, was started several decades ago but it was not until recently that it assumed a national character. Political agitation, industrial unrest, social reforms, educational facilities and political enfranchisement and above all the legislative power relieved since 1921 by awakened Indian women to a new consciousness of their potential power and future possibilities and they themselves have taken the lead with the cry of "Down with the *purdah*" in order to gain their own rights and privileges. The bringing to the front of the half of the social population for self expression and self-realization will not only enliven the social life of India fuller and richer but will also help in gaining industrial efficiency.

The Child Marriage Restraint Act recently passed is another great milestone in the social progress of India. As in the case of caste and the *zama* the Brahmo Samaj also started a movement against child marriage over two generations ago. They even succeeded in having passed Act III of 1872 which also fixed the minimum age of marriage for boys and girls at 18 and 14 respectively. But by making the new act applicable to all sects of the country it has achieved quite a new significance. Though the marriage age of boys and girls has been fixed at 18 and 14 respectively, there is no doubt this will be only the minima. It will give boys and girls an opportunity to develop their individuality by better development of the body and mind, and to become more efficient members of society in all its aspects: social, political and industrial.

With her childhood freed from the marriage bond and womanhood freed from the seclusion of the *zenana* and with educational facilities, economic opportunities, political rights Indian women thus become a new social force in the national life of India. A new philosophy of life regenerated public morality and business honesty and democratized social institutions in which all social population irrespective of caste, creed and sex may have opportunity for self development will lay down the foundation of a solid and efficient social organization of which industrial efficiency is only a partial expression.

# Wanted a National Board of Industrial Efficiency in India

By RAJANI KANTA DAS MSc, Ph.D

**T**HE most important question in achieving industrial efficiency is how to create a new national consciousness as to its necessity and to devise means for its realization. There exist in the country several organizations such as research institutes, experimental stations, employers' societies, trade unions and welfare societies which are striving in their own sphere of activity for social and industrial welfare. But as far as the industrial efficiency of the nation as a whole is concerned these organizations are quite inadequate to cope with the task and at best their efforts are only indirect and secondary and the effects of their endeavours are therefore insignificant. What India needs is a national organization to mobilize all the social, political and industrial forces of the country so that she might be industrially efficient to utilize to the fullest extent, all her natural human and capital resources for the wealth and welfare of her people. For the lack of a better name such an organization might be called the National Board of Industrial Efficiency or in short Board of Efficiency.

The most important function of the Board will be the creation of a new social consciousness and development of a new national policy for achieving industrial efficiency. Although the ultimate object of the Board will be to make India prosperous its immediate and primary object will be to make India industrially efficient i.e. to develop her productive capacity. This object will be realized mostly through research and education.

The principal work of the Board will of course be research into the methods of achieving industrial efficiency. The chief items of research will be the following: first a general survey of improvement in industrial technique including both machinery and organization in various industrially advanced countries and of the possibility of their application to India; second a general study of the industrial organization of the country in the light of modern science and art, including discoveries and inventions and the formulation of a general programme for achieving efficiency; third a critical study of the national industries such as agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, manufacture includ-

ing arts and crafts, transport, banking and commerce as compared with similar industries in various advanced countries and of the methods of their improvement; fourth a detailed study of a few typical industrial establishments in each industry, such as cotton mills, coal mines, tea gardens and farms as compared with similar establishments in the most advanced countries and of the methods of their betterment; fifth, a critical analysis of the causes of the present wastage in natural human and capital resources and of remedial measures; sixth a study in the improvement of social, political and industrial institutions for the growth of industrial efficiency.

The second important task of the Board will be education. Inasmuch as education will be the only means at the disposal of the Board for carrying out its object, it must be comprehensively and effectively organized. The main purpose of the educational work will be the propagation of the results of its research among the general public as well as among those directly concerned in the results obtained. This will deal with both general and technical aspects. Efforts must also be made to approach those who are especially in a position to give effect to the proposed remedial measures.

The research work will be carried out by a body of scientists and experts to be employed by the Board. The work must necessarily be divided into sections either according to the sciences involved, such as chemistry and botany, or according to the industry concerned such as agriculture and manufacture. Each section must outline its own scheme. The first object of the research organization must be to collaborate with other research institutions in the country and consolidate and utilize their results. The most important work of the Board will however, be to undertake many new lines of research hitherto untouched by the existing institutions in India. Another important line of the work of the Board will be to send students to study abroad some definite and special subjects of either scientific or technical nature. The Board must have also its organs for giving publicity to the results of its research.

That the work of the Board cannot be relegated to any other existing organization is evident from the nature of the work it is called upon to undertake. Some of the most important institutions the work of which is more or less similar to that of the Board are the newly created Agricultural Research Council and the Forest Research Institute and similar other agricultural and industrial research organizations. There is, however, some essential difference between the objects of these institutions and that of the Board. In the first place the former are concerned with finding some scientific truth or technical information in relation to a particular industry while the latter intends to incorporate this truth or information into the productive capacity of the people. In some respects this work of the Board may be only supplementary. In the second place the work of these institutions relates only to special aspects of industry and is therefore more or less analytical while the main object of the Board will be to co-ordinate elements of industrial efficiency into national character and is, therefore more or less syncretical. In the third place the number and the scope of the existing institutions for industrial research are at present very much limited in India. One of the objects of the Board will be to start new research institutions and to enlarge the scope of the existing ones.

The Board must be a semi-public organization. This will help it to have the co-operation of all the public and semi-public institutions for research and propaganda on the one hand and to remain independent of Government control and interference on the other. The independence of the Board is absolutely necessary if it is to enjoy full public confidence in the impartiality and scientific nature of its work.

The work of the Board will be guided by a national organization which might be called the National Council of Industrial Efficiency and which should consist of three classes of representatives—namely—first, all industrial interest, such as agriculture, forestry, mining, manufacture, including arts and crafts, transport, banking and commerce; second national organizations of importance the scope of which directly or indirectly includes work leading to national industrial efficiency—such as trade unions, welfare organizations, medical associations, scientific associations and economic associations.

third well known and distinguished scientists and administrator. The National Council will meet twice a year in an executive capacity to outline and sanction the work of the Board and keep control over the finance.

The Board should consist of a director and a deputy director and the heads of the sections into which the work of research and education may be divided. Both the director and deputy director must be selected from the distinguished engineers and economists of the country. The heads of the sections should be selected from the prominent scientists and experts of the country. The staff should be indigenous as far as possible inviting foreigners only in the case of absolute necessity and then only for a definite period of time.

The national character of the Board will help in creating national interest in its work which is of vital importance to the nation as a whole. The indigenous character of the staff will not only make the work cheaper but will also facilitate the popularization of the work in the country and the creation of a scientific attitude towards life among the people.

The Board must be situated in some great educational and industrial centre such as Bombay or Calcutta where are located most of the large-scale industries of the country. It will facilitate both scientific and industrial research. The central organization will have branches in different provinces according to necessity and convenience.

The work of the Board should be financed by Government as that of any other educational and research institutes in the country. Both the Central and Provincial Legislatures should see that the work is supported by Government. The appointment of men of high qualifications may be somewhat costly but if the quality of the work is maintained at a very high level and opportunities are offered for research work, men of science might be attracted to the Board from the spirit of scientific research and out of the love of honour and privilege of serving the country in their highest capacity.\*

\* This concludes the series of studies contributed by Dr. Rajanikanta Das to *The Modern Review* on the industrial efficiency of India. They form part of his large work on the Industrial Efficiency of India soon to be published by Messrs. P. S. King & Co. Ltd. of London. Ed. J. P.

# Resolution *Re* Outbreak of Lawlessness at Dacca

[ Reprinted from the Official Report of Legislative Assembly Debates 16th July, 1930 ]

MR PRESIDENT The first Resolution on the agenda was ballotted in the name of Mr B Das but I think he has authorized Mr Neogy to move that Resolution. So I call upon him to move it.

MR K C NEOGY (Dacca Division Non-Muhammadin Rural) Sir I beg to move the following Resolution.

This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to publish all correspondence that has passed between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal in connection with the recent outbreak of lawlessness in the City of Dacca and its neighbourhood.

I must first of all thank my Honourable friend Mr Das for permitting me to move this Resolution which affects me and my constituency very vitally. I think I should also thank the ballot on unanimous as it is for having displayed a lively appreciation of the importance of this question and for having placed it at the top of the ballot list on two successive days. Sir since I came to Simla this time if there is one place with which the roof of this House is not the sky of Simla has been reverberating it is this Government or abdicate. I quite agree that the Government must govern and indeed Sir if I am here to-day and if all of us are here to-day it is for the purpose of helping the King's Government to be carried on according to the constitution (Hear hear). But I must ask in all humility whether it is not a fact that the King's Government abdicated in favour of the hoodlums for several days and several nights in the unhappy city of my birth. Sir before proceeding further I should like to produce before this House the testimony of an octogenarian citizen of Dacca. He is a leading gentleman of the city and his name is familiar to every Bengalee—I mean Bibu Ananda Chandra Roy a leader of the old generation from his sick bed this gentleman addressed the following letter to one of the Members of the Executive Council of the Government of Bengal. He says:

For an old man who saw the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 it is unbelievable that under British rule there could be such horrors as looting and burning of houses and killing of men in broad day fight in the town of Dacca sometimes before the very eyes of Government officials and the Police who did not care to stop them. I pray to you to place before His Excellency the case of Dacca which was in the hands of the roudies for several days and nights just as we read in history about the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah. Kindly move to appoint a Committee to make a sitting inquiry into the matter as the popular belief is that Government has apparently allowed these things to be done for the sake of policy and one is helpless and cannot blame the people if they are driven to these conclusions by the force of circumstances.

What follows is pathetic.

Being a moderate of the old school I have still faith in British justice so please let me die with

the same faith. Let the Government take prompt action in this Dacca matter at an early date and for God's sake do not drive these people who are yet loyal into the folds of the extremist agitators. Then he continues:

Only the other day I sent a letter to His Excellency the Viceroy along with Maharaja Tagore giving my wholehearted support for law and order. But I did not for a moment think at that time that I should be rudely shaken by the local authorities' behaviour in the present riot here at Dacca.

So shortly after the news of the disturbances at Dacca percolated through the muffled wires through the censored telegrams to Calcutta some leading citizens of Calcutta issued a long statement in which they summed up the situation. They pointed out that for one week if not for more all the courts of law were closed and responsible judicial officers could not stir out of their houses. Most of the post offices in the city were closed and those that were open could only conduct their work with the help of a very small proportion of the staff. There was no regular delivery of the mails for all this time.

MR H A SARKIS (Director General of Posts and Telegraphs) The delivery of mails was discontinued for three days only.

MR K C NEOGY I am very much obliged to my Honourable friend for pointing out this to me but even that ought to suffice for the purpose of establishing the seriousness of the situation. If for three days the mails could not be delivered is not that fact serious enough? But I maintain that so far as the smaller post offices are concerned they did not transact any business for very many days after that. My Honourable friend must be talking of the Head Post Office of Dacca which delivered letters only through the window to people who could reach the post office by braving the murderers on the way. But what were the authorities doing? I may here praise and say that I am going to drop out my Honourable friend the Home Member if he expected that I was going to raise a communal issue on this occasion.

THE HONOURABLE MR H G HAME (Home Member) I am very glad indeed to hear that assurance.

MR K C NEOGY Sir about 60 Indian lives are believed to have been lost at Dacca. I am not going to say how many of them were Hindus and how many Muhammadans. That does not matter at all. Property worth half a crore has either been looted, burnt down or otherwise destroyed. And yet what were the authorities doing? The leaders in Calcutta to whom I have already referred point out in their manifesto the amazing failure of the executive authorities to take adequate measures to cope with the situation.

This seems to say they to present a strange contrast to the promptitude, vigour and display of force with which the movement of civil disobedience is being met by the authorities all over the country.

So I will now quote from another distinguished authority. I do not know whether my Honourable friend cares to read the Bengal new paper. But I do hope that he does read the *Bengalee* which is edited by my esteemed friend Mr Sarma. Now what did Mr Sarma himself in his editorial article say about the situation? I am quoting from my memory, but I hope my Honourable friend will correct me if I am wrong. He said that the situation at Dacca had discredited the Government more than all the salt law breakers taken together. This is the testimony of a gentleman who considers the prestige of Government not to be so dear to him as his own.

Sir may I now, in order to give the House an idea of the seriousness of the situation give a few extracts from signed statements which I have got with me and which were made by witnesses who appeared before the Official Committee of Inquiry. These statements cannot be discredited by my Honourable friend, the Home Minister, not having stood the test of cross examination. I have got with me many signed statements of witnesses who have come forward and given evidence before the official Committee of Inquiry which is sitting at the present moment at Dacca. I am going to read just a few samples of the evidence which they gave before the Committee of Inquiry in connection with the Dacca inquiry. I will have taken these statements at random. I will begin with one person on who lost about Rs. 1000 worth of goods by reason of his shop being looted.

My shop is visible from the Nawabganj Police Station and is very close to the Pikhana Bhatton, the headquarters of the Eastern Bengal Frontier Rifles. At the time of the incident I ran to the Nawabganj Police Station and entreated him to save my shop. The Havildar said: Go to the Congress and Ghosal Bhai and take Swamy (Criss of Shaine Shaine). My shop was looted for eight hours and in spite of entreaties, the Police did not come forward to save the shop. We know the names of many of these goondas and know many by face and we had information at the Thana. About a week after the Police came but has not arrested anybody up to now.

(That is during one month from incident)

Sir I will trouble the House with a few more extracts and for this reason thanks to the policy which this Honourable Member has initiated the Press has been so thoroughly amazed so thoroughly horrified that the most important points are not being published in the newspapers to-day although it is a matter of great importance of reporting the proceedings of this Committee.

The next witness is a shop-keeper who lost goods worth Rs. 1500.

Four or five persons were standing near the shop when it was being looted. I can identify the goondas. Police came 8 days after information. No arrest or any measures made.

—Although one month has elapsed.

Then the owner of a medical store says: "Noticed from a distance 5 or 6 police constables sitting in a verandah on the public road opposite my shop. The shop was being looted. Police did not permit me to enter my shop nor did they prevent goondas from looting and destroying property. Lodged information. No search no arrest."

Then I come to another shopkeeper who lost goods worth Rs. 400.

The shop was in flames. Seeing 5 or 7 policemen standing there I attempted to bring out whatever articles remained in my shop but the police prevented me by saying: Go to Gokul Bhai and take the Swamy.

The next man is another shopkeeper who says: "Two policemen passed by while shop was being looted. I asked them to save our property but they went away. The police station is two minutes' walk from my shop."

Another man says the following: "The police station is only 5 or 7 minutes' walk from my shop. When my shop was attacked I sent my brother through the back door for giving information to the police. The Havildar said to my brother: Why have you come to inform the police? Go to the Congress men. After much entreaties by my brother the Havildar phoned to Lalbahar Thana (go still to a superior authority) and then told my brother: We have got no orders to go. You wait at any price."

If there also there has been no investigation no searches no arrest, though the names of goondas were given in the first information.

Mr PERSHUR: Order, order. I have no intention of interrupting the Honourable Member but I believe the Honourable Member knows that the discussion of a Resolution shall be strictly limited to the subject of the Resolution. I should like the Honourable Member to let me know how this discussion is connected with his Resolution which asks Government to publish all correspondence that passed between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal.

Mr K. C. NEOGA: Sir I submit with very great respect that this procedure is a well known Parliamentary method of raising a general debate on any point at issue, and it is partly for that reason that I framed it in this manner. Apart from that, I wanted to know what action the Government of India had taken in the matter having regard to the importance of the incidents that I have just now alluded to and it is for the purpose of pointing out to this House the very grave importance of the subject that I propose to go into some of the details so that my Honourable friend may not get up and say that it is after all a matter of provincial importance and they cannot be expected to interfere. That is my submission.

Sir may I proceed? The next gentleman says: "I was walking along this road and was suddenly set upon by some goondas. I found 10 or 12 Gurkha or Gurkhal military policemen passing and four others sought their protection which was refused. I said: They will kill us and you will not stand by and protect us. One of the Gurkha policemen replied: We have got no orders to do anything (*Hambol ko kuch karne ka hukam nahi hai*).

A goonda struck me with a *lathi*. I clasped a Gurkha policeman and entreated him to save my life. The other people accompanying me were also beaten with *lathi* and rods. To my utter dismay I found that not a single Gurkha raised his little finger to protect us but were marching all the while we were being thrashed and shouting for help but nobody came to our rescue."

He had a providential escape through the intervention of a priest of a temple near by who

dragging him into the temple somehow while he was passing by.

Another man who lost good worth about Rs. 10,000 says

When all my belongings in the shop were being looted a party of four or five Ghatwari police men came up to a hut and sheltered in front of our place. They simply said *Hut ho* to the looter and in spite of my request to them to arrest them they did not arrest them. Even in their very presence the goondas were removing the goods of my shop. Those armed policemen told us to leave the place then else we would also lose our lives. Having said this they took us to my daughter-in-law my brothers on and myself up into the motor bus which was stopped at the bend of the Chowk. The *Mustaf* at the City Superintendent and Sergeants were there. My brother's son Sukhlal had BS- got down there and told the Sahibs. They are carrying us to hospital but there is still a lot of goods in our shop which is being looted still so my post one police for protection. In reply the *Mustaf* said that he could not give any job and so we were carried to the hospital where I am still in an doctor's patient.

If he is the Managing Director of a cotton mill I am not going to tire the Hon e with my lengthy extracts from his statement. He says that while looting was going on he encountered a Sahib in police dress and he tried at the time of looting.

*He is a Hindu. He is a Hindu. He is a Hindu.* He says not only male persons but also females and children taking away articles from that shop. I may mention in passing that all the crimes all the murders all the looting and all the arson that took place were committed in broad daylight. The goondas preferred the daytime to night for the purpose of committing their depredations because they had nothing to fear from anybody.

Then Sir I will skip over many other statements. Now I will come to the statement made by a Government official a lady (Miss) in charge of the Vernacular Training School a Government institution. Referring to the looting which was being carried on in the neighbourhood she says

There were several policemen present on the spot and they were loitering in the street without caring for what was going on. I also saw that an iron safe was broken with an axe and as soon as the safe was broken some policemen who were armed with guns came forward and fired blank shots as a result of which the goondas moved in. The contents of the iron safe were currency notes etc. These were then hurriedly taken by the policemen who pocketed them inside their coats.

This is the testimony of a lady who is also a Government servant.

I will not trouble the House with my further extracts from her statement although it is very interesting. Then I will come to the testimony of a European Mr. Hodgen the Agent of the India General Navigation and Railway Company the representative of the steamer services at Dacca. I may mention that for several days the steamers carrying passengers did not stop at Dacca such was the seriousness of the situation. He says

I am the General Agent of the Badamtali

steamer that I am a European. As far as I remember steamers from Barisal arrived at about 11 p.m. on the 21st May, 1930. All passengers except a very few were looked to Narayanganj that very night under my instructions'—because he did not consider it safe for the passengers to alight.

One gentleman with his family stopped in my office that night. I phoned to the police for sending armed guards but got no response that night. I know of one occurrence just outside the station in the afternoon. One man was fatally wounded and two others were injured. These wounded men were sent to the hospital by a boat from the steamer station.

And here Sir let me pause for a moment and pay my tribute of admiration and thankfulness to this European gentleman who is all accounts rendered great assistance to the people in distress (*Dr. Van Lal* hear hear). Then he says

On Sunday morning the 21st I saw a crowd of Muhammadans collected before the rice shop to the east side of the station. The shop is owned by a Hindu. The police came and went away from the spot. The shop was looted by Muhammadans. The Hindu owner left the rice shop on Monday morning by boat for Larpas and told me verbally before his departure that Rs. 1,500 in cash and his stock of rice had been taken away by the looters. No booking of passengers was made from the office as the clerks were afraid to attend office at night. Barisal steamer was directed to go to Narayanganj. Some motor launch services and the Dhaleswari (Mankang) service were stopped for some days. Goods were reloaded to the cons goods. I have no gun. The Muhammadans and the police of the station are unarmed.

Now Sir I come to another Government officer another lady the Principal of the Government College for Girls at Dacca. She says

Since the 21st to 23rd May the period of the riot I was here stopping in the school premises. I did not know what sleep was. I do not remember how many times I phoned to the police to send me some pickets to protect this locality which is very lonely and isolated but every time I was told either let me note it down or none available.

These are the two replies which she got and remember this was the case of a lady official living with some other ladies who were in her charge in that isolated place.

In the evening I again phoned to the police officer. I told him that being the Principal of a Government institution for women I could naturally think of protection but nothing was done for me. This reached their climax on the 26th on which day about 1 p.m. a huge mob of ruffians rushed towards us from the Bucklandbund (This is a promenade running right along the river). They all carried with them deadly weapons—daggers, big lathis and a few guns. In the crowd there were some dressed in khaki European uniform. The mob returned from the direction of Sadarhat and *lathi* and shouting. I noticed a man among them over whose head an umbrella was held by another and I was told by one of my servants that I was—

(I do not propose to give the name here but I was a prominent man at Dacca.)

of what they have been doing while this state of things was taking place in Dacca and its neighbourhood. It would do for my Honourable friend the Home Member to say that the Government of India are not primarily responsible. If he accedes to my Resolution by publishing the correspondence that has taken place between this Government and the Bengal Government, we should be in a position to judge as to how far the Government of India were discharging their obligations which have been imposed upon them by the Government of India Act for the direction, supervision and control over the Provincial Governments, particularly in respect of the vexed subject of which law and order happens to be one.

The Assembly then adjourned for lunch till 2 O'clock to Three of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after lunch at 3 O'clock to Three of the Clock. Mr. President in the Chair.

### RESOLUTION BY OUTRAGE OF LAWLESSNESS AT Dacca— contd.

Mr. A. H. GHURNAI (Dacca Division, Mahanagar Rural).—Sir, I had not the least inclination to make a speech on this Resolution of my Honourable friend Mr. Begoy, if only he had restricted himself to the terms of the Resolution. In the Resolution it asks the Governor General in Council to publish all correspondence that has passed between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal in connection with the recent outbreak of lawlessness in the City of Dacca and its neighbourhood. In moving the Resolution I am very sorry that he has brought in a certain amount of communal feeling. (In Honourable Member His hon.) Another note that is what I have understood from his speech (Mr. Gajra Prasad Singh). Your misunderstanding is very defective. I am his speech as far as I am able to follow. I find that his grievance is that the police in Dacca deliberately did not give my friend's community the protection that they needed. Furthermore, so far as I have been able to understand his speech, he went on to say that the looting continued and that in broad daylight and that when the police protection was asked the men concerned were referred to the Congress. He said that the looting continued from day to day and that the police did not give them any protection at all. There was a certain amount of insinuation that the police were conniving at the looting and murder of my Honourable friend's community by the Muslims. (In Honourable Member No.) That charge is absolutely unfounded. It may be that the police did not give them the protection that was needed but who is responsible for that? How was the police going to give my friend's community the protection that they needed when the whole city of Dacca was up in arms? Continuing the civil disobedience movement? (In Honourable Member The cat is out of the bag.) (Mr. Amar Nath Dutt Therefore.) Will the Honourable Member let me proceed? With this small number of police in Dacca, it was impossible for them to

give the protection. Have the police been able to give the protection needed by my community? They failed to do that in the case of my community also but not as my Honourable friend would say deliberately but they were unable, they were helpless and the situation was out of hand.

So when I got notice of this Resolution I telegraphed to my constituency and to the leading men of Dacca to send me a full report of the incidents that had taken place during the 6 days. Here I shall read from the testimony of an esteemed Hindu friend of mine. He writes to me to say:

Whatever reports have appeared in the press the impression is abroad that in Dacca the Muslims have done all the mischief and the Hindus have done nothing.

And you this is a Hindu gentleman (Mr. Gajra Prasad Singh). What is his name? I will tell you presently. He goes on to say:

This is not correct. Whatever may have been the unfortunate cause of the outbreak the Hindus and the Muslims have both suffered and according to the reports of very reliable Hindus there has been more loss of life on the Muslim side than on the Hindu side.

If the Hindus have suffered more loss in property according to his information there were 13 deaths among Muslims and 11 deaths among the Hindus.

So there is another Report which has been sent to me with the concurrence of the Nawab of Dacca, Khair Bahadur, Alauddin, Mr. Sush Chandra Chatterjee, Mr. P. K. Bose, Khair Bahadur, Zahirul Haq, Mr. Alauddin, Khair, Mr. Nizamuddin Ahmad and Khajaj Shujaabuddin\*. Let us see what that Report says. With your permission I will read only a few lines from the various pages of the Report.

Of late it has been apparently a disease with those who fancy the re-establishment of a Hindu

\* The following contradiction to this statement from Mr. P. K. Bose appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 24.10.30.

### A CONTINUATION To The Editor

Sir—I have read a copy of the uncorrected proof of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly regarding the Dacca riots which has been circulated at Dacca. I find therein a speech of Mr. A. H. Ghurnai, M. L. A., about the Dacca riots in which he referred to a Report which was alleged to have been sent to him with the concurrence of the Nawab of Dacca, Khair Bahadur, Alauddin, Khair Bahadur, Zahirul Haq, Mr. Alauddin, Alamed, Mr. Nizamuddin, Alamed and Khajaj Shahabuddin. I have absolutely no knowledge of any such Report referred to by Mr. Ghurnai.

It appears that he read some extracts from the alleged Report in the Assembly. The views repeated there were diametrically opposed to my own views about the Dacca riots. The statement appearing in the said uncorrected proof that it was sent with my concurrence is a pure concoction without any shadow of truth.

I K. Bose

Dacca  
18.10.30

Bar at Law  
Dacca



Mahasabha reporter. That was a brutal party and as such it did not take any hue, nor was there any police order to stop it. The Hindu party did liberally misrepresents as a pre-arranged procession reached Baboo Bazar in front of the Bedford Hotel when a trucklet was pelted at the corps from the roof of one of the two-storied buildings there belonging to and inhabited by the Hindu. Just at that time the news of two more Muslims having been stabbed one at Mohlari and another near Victoria Park spread throughout the town. When the dead body of the unfortunate victim reached the place where the skirmish over the top had taken place the Hindu community of Nawalpur who had already been in temper since the top funeral began to attack the Hindu party and pelted at the dead body whereupon a riotous tumult ensued in which the aggressors of Nawalpur and the funeral party which was subsequently strengthened by detachment from Birgaon on the rumor that the Hindus had seized the corpse and set fire to it. At this time the information that the two Muslim shops and some residences of Nya Bazar had been set fire to by the British Hindu further enflamed them. The Nawalpur volleys of brickbat pelted both the Muslim mob and horizontally against the wall, replied to by arson committed on five or six Hindu houses on the spot. The dead body over which the Nawalpur trouble arose was removed by the police and the configuration began practically all over the city almost simultaneously. The riot was prepared by the Hindu Mahasabha leaders promoters of the civil disobedience movement delivered speeches threatening the Muslims for their indifference towards the movement.

Mr. PRADEEP: The Honourable Member will realize that he has already exceeded his time and I hope he will try to finish soon.

Mr. A. H. GUTZAVI: Thank you, Sir. I will finish very soon. Then, Sir, it goes on giving a description of the various incidents that had taken place involving looting and arson and it is pointed out that everywhere the Muslims have been attacked first. Although in property the Muslims have not lost much because they are poor and have not got much property to lose yet in lives. As I have shown they have lost more than the Hindus. I will not go into the harrowing details but all that I can say is that so far as I have been able to find out the police were absolutely helpless having regard to the situation created by the Report says that the Hindu Mahasabha and also by the civil disobedience movement. It was not that the police deliberately did not render the assistance that they should have done. I have been able to hope to demonstrate this fact clearly that not only the Hindu but the Mussalmans also have suffered and if my friend's view was to be taken as correct then the Mussalmans would not have suffered either in loss of life or loss of property. With these words, Sir, I oppose the Resolution.

Mr. S. C. SEXTON (Calcutta, Non-Muslims): I rise, Sir, I do not think that Mr. Neogy had either raised any question of communal feeling or even hinted at or made any insinuation against any community whatever. His motion is a production of certain papers and the

correspondence between the Government of Bengal and the Government of India so that the people might know what steps the Government of India took in connection with this matter. There was no question of communal feeling in this matter. I declare that Mr. Gurnani in his speech has referred to and brought out communal feeling. Hindus are Hindus all over the world whether Muhammadans, Hindus or even Government servants (hear hear) wearing the King's uniform. I am a Hindu. I am a Hindu. Quite so, I said, and we all declare that in this matter although the hoodlums had their tamins for over a week nothing was done by the Government or by their responsible officers who duty it is to keep law and order. That is the point, Sir, I do not blame the Muhammadans nor do I blame the Hindus, but I blame the Government officials there for not trying to take any proper steps (hear hear). I declare, Sir, that they are here to keep peace and order. They declare that India had not had law and order for a considerable time and it is British rule which has enabled the people to live in peace. But the incidents at Dacca show clearly what we can expect from these men when their turn comes to molest other people.

Mr. A. H. GUTZAVI: But my community had already been molested first.

Mr. S. C. SEXTON: I am coming to that. Government are quite able to take care of themselves and they do not want your help. But they do sometimes want help and on the present occasion it has been said that the Government were helpless, there were no police, no adequate means to check the lawless Dacca and it is admitted that lawlessness continued for several days. It would therefore be interesting to know what steps the Government took to stop the disturbances. Dacca is not a small city; it is second in importance in Bengal. The Governor goes there every year and stays there for a month. It is the headquarters of the Divisional Commissioner and also of the Eastern Frontier Rifles—a regiment on whom rests at present the task of keeping peace and order throughout Bengal. Their services are requisitioned wherever there are disturbances in Bengal and with all these things it is idle for Government to pretend that they had not a sufficient police force at their disposal during the time of the disturbances or that they had no means to get to either any adequate force at that time.

Dr. A. SHARMA (Burdwan and Presidency Divisions, Muhammadan Rural): They were busy in Calcutta.

Mr. S. C. SEXTON: I will read for my friends a notice a Press communiqué published by the Government in the last portion of which it says:

The police force now in Dacca are reported to be at quite and every attempt is being made by the local officers to restore confidence.

The Honorable Member Mr. H. G. HUGO: Would the Honorable Member kindly give the date of that communiqué?

Mr. S. C. SEXTON: It is dated May the 29th. The view of the Inspector General of Police was made there on the 29th with 100 armed police and 100 rifle men of the Eastern Frontier Rifles. Now, Sir, it is interesting to note what steps the Government usually take and took on similar occasions before. This is not the first occasion when there

order. Thus all of us here and those who are outside this Assembly Chamber will enjoy life under the protection of law.

Now the sad accounts which have been narrated by my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy, are very heart-rending and if all of them are true, then I must say that a blunder has been committed by the Government servants who in the act of extending their sympathy towards the people who were injured, punished them. They cracked jokes at them. People were deprived of their property which is the sinews of life. They were crying, lamenting and seeking for sympathy and help. And what did the Government servants do? They simply told them to go to the law or that Mr. Neogy mentioned those names and I am not going to mention them again. Is it not said it is true? It is the still thing. I submit Sir the Government of India will hardly keep a note of it that they will be respected when they see that every person every subject here in this country is treated in such a way that he may have a grievance against a Government servant. As I said Sir there are special privileges attached to those who enter Government service. On the other hand there are also some responsibilities which are thrown on their shoulders. One of the responsibilities is that they will maintain a balance of mind; they will be impartial; they will be just and they will try to see that a good name is given to Government as to their employees. If I were to be one of the servants of the Government I should try to see that every act of mine might reflect credit on my employer and I might not bring any kind of discredit so far as my employer is concerned. In that case alone I am a good servant otherwise not. Practically my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy's complaint is against those Government servants who really did not realize the weight of their responsibility as such. Therefore my submission is that these accounts which have been placed before this House deserve full investigation and an impartial enquiry must be made and if there is any truth in these allegations the wrong doers must be punished. I believe my Honourable and learned friend was one of the Members of the Enquiry Committee. Therefore there must be great truth in the evidence and statements which he has read out before this House. It is quite probable that some of the allegations might be considered as exaggeration is unfortunately exaggerated is sometimes resorted to in such cases. But apart from that, if there is some truth in it, there is some recurring some correctness in these accounts then I submit that the Government of India will be pleased to take effective measures so that in the end may be put to such things and these things may not recur. It is unfortunate that a communal question has been introduced. I am averse to it otherwise I would have been able to give an answer to my Honourable friend who has associated himself with this communal question. But since I am averse to it I cannot go against my creed. My creed is to be a Nationalist always to see that the rights of Hindus and Muhammadans are safeguarded. Since in this affair since in this occurrence the rights of the public have been ruthlessly violated they are entitled to protection. They are entitled to be in such a predicament and condition that their property and lives are safe

and that they are not injured. Since everything that has been narrated is contrary to what ought to be I regret, and you Sir will kindly permit my rejection that the Government will be pleased to see that these grievances are properly redressed and that proper enquiry is made. If some of the Government servants have behaved in the manner in which they have been depicted to have behaved then punishment may be given to them and that punishment may be notified so that it might constitute an object lesson to others so that they may come to know that certain Government servants had not behaved properly and so they were punished. Thereby the honesty, the impartiality and sanctity of the administration of the Government will be maintained before every person in the country. With these remarks, I submit that I support this Resolution which has been moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy.

MR. SARAJIT MUKHERJEE (Calcutta Suburbs, Non-Muhammadan Upan). In rising to support the Resolution I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that the Honourable Member has come to the wrong place to redress his grievance. He is quite wrong if he thinks he can get any redress from Government for the wrongs that have been perpetrated in Dacca. Sir we saw that in 1907-08 the Government tried this method and there was a good deal of repression on our community. I will not mention who over the other. The only remedy that was found was the establishment of the *Anushilan Samiti* and if Government would permit us to establish such societies in these times my advice to my Honourable friend would be to try for the same. However, Sir we are not concerned with 1907-08. We are now concerned with 1929.

DR. A. SUBRAMANIAM. Was that not an anarchist organization?

MR. SARAJIT MUKHERJEE. I do not think that the *Anushilan Samiti* was an anarchist organization. That society was devoted to physical culture and other similar things and my Honourable friend knows perfectly well that whenever and wherever a society is founded for the purpose of physical culture or similar of the purpose of being bound to do declared for the motive it is. In Dacca what happened was that first of all the male members of the families were arrested and then their houses were looted. That shows the hand of Government in it.

MR. A. H. CHITRAVI. In what place did you find that?

MR. PRESIDENT. Order order.  
MR. SARAJIT MUKHERJEE. Sir my Honourable friend Mr. Chitrawati has introduced a communal tone in our discussion which I want to avoid.

MR. A. H. CHITRAVI. You have never been to Dacca?

MR. SARAJIT MUKHERJEE. Yes I have been.

MR. A. H. CHITRAVI. When?

MR. SARAJIT MUKHERJEE. Some months before the occurrence of the Dacca riots.

MR. A. H. CHITRAVI. Had you been there after the occurrence?

MR. PRESIDENT. Order order. This sort of conversation cannot be allowed.

MR. GAY PRASAD SACH. The Honourable Member Mr. Chitrawati himself had never been to Dacca after the riots.

is a time and I was struck by the reply which I understood she repeatedly received—None available. That Sir I think probably represents the facts. There really was not a sufficient police force to deal with the situation that arose. Well had the Government of Bengal do nothing, on this I do not quite know how long it takes to get from Calcutta to Dacca, but at any rate I have here information that on the 26th the Inspector General of Police moved at Dacca with 21 men and I should say—I do not want to be too minute on the subject that after the arrival of the Inspector General of Police with his 21 men on the 26th May most of the serious trouble was stopped. I do not think that after that date though no doubt isolated incidents occurred that it was anything of a serious and widespread nature.

There is another point that I should like to mention in my mind and that is that a very great difficulty always confronts the police when dealing with the communal disturbances. It is a rule the case of a single crowd or mob which has to be dealt with but experience is not only in Dacca but in many places in many localities throughout India has been that when the communal disturbances start there are violent acts in all parts of the town and when there is any question of looting and burning the loot and bringing talis placed sporadically all over the town it is exceedingly difficult to deal with those conditions unless you have a really considerable force and the only effective way in which they can be stopped is by patrolling the whole area concerned—I mean picketing in the street sense (laughter).

Well Sir I do not wish to be thought to be giving a complete answer to the charges that have been made today for I do not profess to have in my possession anything like complete information.

MR N G RAY: When will the Government of India give complete information?

MR HONOURABLE MR H G HALL: I will deal with that in one moment. As I have already said the Government of Bengal realised that there was a case for the Government to meet and on 25th June they appointed a committee on the 12th June consisting of a High Court Judge from Calcutta and a member of the Board of Revenue and I would invite the attention of the House to the terms of reference to that Committee in order to show that Government are quite aware of their position and of their responsibility. The terms of reference to the Committee were to inquire into the causes of the disturbances and to inquire into the measures taken to deal with them—the causes the facts and the measures taken by Government. Therefore the question which has been raised by my Honourable friend today is one of the definite points which has been referred to that Committee which will report in a short time. That Sir is my answer to any suggestions that I should give a reply at once on the various points of fact that I should give an explanation and that I should say whether the action taken was adequate or inadequate. That is a matter which is now under the consideration of the Committee.

Now Sir I come in conclusion to the actual form of the Resolution which has been moved by my Honourable friend. He has asked for the publication of certain correspondence. Our corre-

spondence with the Government of India has been comparatively limited.

MR PRINCEPATY: The Honourable Member has not pressed that point. In his speech he did not press that point at all.

THE HONOURABLE MR H G HALL: Perhaps I should make a brief answer on that point because that forms actually the terms of the Resolution. To a large extent the correspondence which he has had with the Government of Bengal represents facts which have already been published and the republication of which would be no good to the extent to which any views may have either been expressed or suggested in that correspondence. I do feel quite definitely that it would be undesirable now to publish them. All the committees are coming under the review of the Committee and it is undesirable that we should load it upon their labours by the publication of any tentative or incomplete views. Any views that Government may have on the subject will have been placed before the Committee and until the latter has reported I do not think it would be wise to publish anything which would suggest definite conclusions by Government. I would go further Sir and urge that at a time like this Honourable Members should refrain from making any allegations and I gladly recognise that in the most part they have either on one side or on the other which might be likely to mislead the situation and to embarrass the inquiry. Though the Committee is not a court of law still it is engaged in the same functions as a court of law. It is endeavouring to ascertain facts and to come to conclusions and it can only be fair to its work that the matters into which it is inquiring should form the subject of public controversy. I would therefore Sir approve the motion.

SEVERAL HONOURABLE MEMBERS: I move that the question be now put.

MR PRINCEPATY: Mr Deputy.

MR K C NEOG: Sir, I promise to be very brief in my reply and I am going to do so point my Honourable friend Mr Ghoshal by refusing to walk into his parlour. I am not going to raise a communal issue in my reply just as I did not in my last speech. My Honourable friend Sir mostly depended upon second hand information. While the Districts were going on for most of the time oscillation between Snaik, Dargachar and Calcutta.

MR H G HALL: I had never been to Dargachar then.

MR K C NEOG: He found no time to go down to his constituency, although the most important spot in his constituency had been this. The Honourable Member had very responsible duties to shoulder at that moment because the Simon Report was about to be published and the proper atmosphere had to be created for its reception and I am not surprised at the tone of official responsibility which he adopted in opposition. This Resolution it seems he already feels the weight of the responsibility of Government resting on his shoulders.

MR HONOURABLE MEMBER: Or he might have been thinking of the Royal Table Conference.

MR K C NEOG: Sir my Honourable friend relied on a particular version of certain incident. I possess complete papers on each and every

hope the Honourable Member realises the seriousness of the allegations that have been levelled against Government. Does the Honourable Member know?

MR. FRANCIS M. MANN (Burma Non-Franchise). Will you permit me Sir to intervene on a point of information? Will the Honourable Member give an assurance to the House that after the report of this Inquiry Committee he will publish the correspondence with the Government of Bengal on this subject?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. G. HALL. I am not prepared to give any assurance.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER. It will be published after the Round Table Conference has finished its labours.

MR. K. C. NEOG. Do I take it then that the Government of India have fully approved of what the Government of Bengal have done by not sending down any responsible officer to the locality? I may inform the House that not one single soul stirred out from Darjeeling, neither the Chief Secretary nor Mr. Pratice who is in charge of this portfolio not to speak of the Governor himself.

An reference was made to a funeral procession. I have the statement of the officer in charge of the cremation ground at Dacca. The House will remember that whereas a funeral procession which started the rioting was allowed to be taken through the leading streets of the city without any let or hindrance the Hindus could not take their dead bodies for cremation to the cremation ground. And when this officer approached the Chairman of Municipality the Chairman sent him with a letter to the Thana (the Police Station) he says:

A Muslimman Sul Inspector was at the time then. I delivered the letter to him and on perusing the same he told me, 'You in India in Swadeshi and shout *Bande Mataram* why then do you come to us with a letter from Swadeshi wallah Satis Sarkar (Chairman)?'

The Sub-Inspector then handed over the letter to the officer in charge of the thana who ordered it to be filed and said, 'You won't get any police for guarding the burning, what? Several people who had gone there carrying their dead bodies for cremation were murderously assaulted and one of them actually lost his life. Since that incident took place no Hindu has any protection in the matter of carrying the dead bodies to the cremation ground and the dead bodies had to be cremated inside their own houses. Look at this picture and the other one! A huge procession carrying a dead body was allowed to be proceeded with throughout the streets. It consisted of several thousands of people by the time it had reached the mosque.

Then again with regard to the question of interference of the police force. Mention has already been made by my Honourable friend Mr. Sen about the action of the police in snatching away the guns from people who were attempting to defend themselves with their help. Here is the statement of a Government officer, a lecturer of a Government College:

I then met the hoodlums with my gun and after a few shots were fired the rascals fell back. I was waiting with the gun in hand when to the relief I found a short Anglo-Indian officer on the roof of my house recosting me even though he was pointing his revolver to me. He asked me to

put down the gun which I did and without entering into any reasoning or arguments with me told me that the Deputy Inspector-General of Police was coming up and that I might tell him anything I liked. The latter came up soon after and to my surprise he wanted me to deliver up my gun which he would seize although I pointed out that I was a Government servant and fired in self-defence. There was another gun in the adjacent house which he also seized.

Does the Honourable Member mean to say that whatever the Committee of Inquiry may have to say with regard to these incidents the effect of the statements of responsible people like those whom I have quoted can be taken as is? What is the use of waiting for the Report of this White-Washing Committee?

MR. SEN. Another point has not been investigated. All the burning that has been done has been done with the help of petrol. Petrol was smeared on the doors the windows and the rafters of brick-built houses. A large quantity of petrol was required for the purpose. Will the Honourable Member make an inquiry and find out as to whether the police have as yet tried to discover the source from which this petrol came? It has been openly alleged that the petrol was carried in private cars belonging to certain particular persons and yet no action has been taken in this direction. Even if I were to concede for the sake of argument that the police force was inadequate at the time what have the police done since to arrest the people who were named by the aggrieved persons as having been their assailants and having looted their property? What action has been taken to try and discover and seize the looted property? The Honourable Member will take it that it is this that although the strength of the police was not sufficient when the riots actually took place it is quite sufficient now. Will the Honourable Member find out as to why it is that no serious attempt has been made to recover the looted property worth at least 25 to 30 lakhs. I know that in a few instances, make-believe searches were made. And would it be believed by this House that before the searches were made, people were cautioned by beat of drum in the city of Dacca that searches might take place. This statement has been made by responsible people. The House can easily imagine what came out of these searches.

Sir, I am about to close my career in this House.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER. And so say all!

MR. K. C. NEOG. I may be permitted to say that when I came into this Assembly ten years ago I had great confidence if not in the Government at least in the Constitution. God knows that I did not come here to advance my personal interests in any way. And when I go back today may I tell this House that that faith has been rudely shaken by the recent incidents that I have myself witnessed with my own eyes and about which I have made personal inquiries. I feel that it is extremely difficult for any one to do any real service to his country as a Member of this House. If I have said anything which might have irritated the Honourable Members opposite it is because I expected a very high standard of conduct from the Government which they have failed to attain.

Mr. PRESIDENT Resolution moved

This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council to publish all correspondence that has passed between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal in connection with

the recent outbreak of lawlessness in the City of Dacca and its neighbourhood

The question is that that Resolution be adopted. The Assembly divided. The motion was negatived

## False Pride or Statesmanship ?

By TARAKNATH DAS Ph.D

THE writings of Dr Masaryk and Dr Benes of Czechoslovakia supply food for thought to all statesmen, especially those of subject nations. They indicate the course of international politics and the efforts of Czech patriots, to make the question of Czech independence a factor in world politics. To promote the cause of national independence, they brought about the destruction of the Austrian Empire.

Recently, the *Pester Lloyd* (a semi official paper published in Budapest) has made a very interesting revelation regarding the activities of the Czech patriots during the world war. This shows that while the Czech patriots were carrying on secret negotiations with Austria's enemies so that they might recognize Czech independence at the same time an eleventh hour offer by the Czechs to co-operate with Emperor Karl of Austria to preserve intact the Austrian monarchy was made by Czech statesmen. A Budapest despatch of August 5 1930 published in the *Chicago Tribune* (Paris) describes the incident in the following way —

On the night before the coronation of Emperor Karl a deputation of Czech parliamentary deputies and the president of their organization M. Stanek came to Budapest. Stanek privately called at the office of the *Pester Lloyd* and produced a document signed by himself and approved by all Czech deputies, promising in return for definite concessions in the matter of racial autonomy and language privileges to bind themselves with Austria in all future developments and that the Czech national hopes should be made only within the monarchy under Emperor Karl's rule. The editor submitted the document to the Hungarian Premier Count Tisza, who immediately telephoned the Austrian Premier Count Clam Martiniz. Vienna newspapers had already under Government instructions, refused to publish the document. Count Clam Martiniz himself rejected the Czech offer in view of his knowledge

of simultaneous secret negotiations by the Czechs with the Allies. Austria thus threw away what its sponsor M. Stanek described as the last chance of a final guarantee for the preservation of an undivided monarchy. Karl was crowned Emperor the next day without the Czechs' proffered oath of allegiance, and the Czechs devoted themselves thenceforth to the disruption of the monarchy.

It is conceivable that if the above offer had been accepted it might have preserved the unity of the Austrian Empire. False pride and inflated sense of prestige of worthless Austrian statesmen brought about the destruction of the Austrian Empire. It was also the false sense of pride of British statesmen who tried to impose the authority of the British Parliament upon the American colonists that led to the American Revolution and the loss of the most valuable of Britain's colonies. The refusal of the Manchu autocrats to reform the system of government in China and to establish a regime of constitutional monarchy aided the cause of the Chinese Revolution. Stubborn opposition of Sultan of Turkey to confer autonomy on the Arabs furthered the cause of Arab revolt and the subsequent dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Tsarist autocracy and the Duma without any real power directly and indirectly strengthened the cause of the Russian revolutionists who put an end to the rule of the Romanoffs.

While the Austrian statesmen refused to accept the Czech offer and promise autonomy within the empire British statesmen were clever enough to proclaim that in recognition of the services rendered by India "in the darkest hours of the empire" the people of India would be granted self government and equal partnership within the empire. Indian support saved the British Empire during the world war, while the Czech

*Thought about the destruction of the Austrian Empire*

It seems that at the present time the sense of "false pride and prestige" is dominating the activities of British statesmen in relation to India. Lord Irwin, Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Bann and others are fully aware of the extent and depth of the Indian unrest. They realize that, if India is to be a willing partner in the British Empire, they will have to make a very substantial concession at least Dominion status. But they are victims of the false pride of British authority in India. They are anxious to uphold the "prestige" of the British officials and the British Parliament which *supposedly* has the sole power and right to decide the destiny of 320,000,000 people. They are misled by their own weakness based upon false pride, and are following an uncertain and vacillating course caring more for the so-called prestige than the actualities of the situation. They wish to induce Indian nationalist leaders to come to a Round Table Conference for a free conference yet in actuality they wish to dictate terms and demand that the Indian nationalists first must capitulate to the absolute authority of the British Raj before the Indian political prisoners can be released and military and police repression can cease.

The British Government has been very badly served by the Simon Commission whose recommendations are characterized even by Indian Moderates as reactionary. This is fully recognized by many British statesmen especially Lord Irwin and Messrs. MacDonald and Bann. Yet they have not the courage to face the realities of the Indian situation and declare that the coming Round

Table Conference to be held in London will be for the purpose of drawing up the constitution of India on the basis of Dominion status. Unfortunately British statesmen are much concerned in saving face and upholding false pride and inflated prestige of British politicians and officials who wish to keep India in subjection so that they and others may grow rich by the exploitation of the people. This policy may ultimately cost Britain an empire.

History teaches us that there is not an instance when awakened nationalism has agreed to surrender unconditionally to the terms of an alien imperialism. Indian nationalists cannot be persuaded to accept the British offer of a free conference as a sincere one so long as the reign of repression continues in India. Taking the actual situation of world politics into consideration, British statesmen should not forget that they are living in a glass house and the security of the British Empire depends more upon Indian cooperation than any other factor. An autonomous and free India is an ally may again aid Britain in future dark days of the Empire, but if Indian patriots be forced indefinitely to prolong their intransigence it will surely have serious consequences affecting the security of the British Empire.

Repressive measures based upon false pride will never be able to crush the Indian Nationalist movement, but it may breed hatred which will dominate Indo-British relations for a century or longer. Let us hope that statesmanship will take the place of false pride.



# REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

{Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanaree, Malalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazines and articles, addresses etc. will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer etc. according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book reviews and notices will be published.—Editor M.R.

## ENGLISH

MR. GODFREY HIGGINS' *APOLOGY FOR MUHAMMAD* [a verbatim reprint] edited with Introduction, critical notes, appendices, and a chapter on Islam by Mirza Abul Fazl (Reforms Society, Allahabad, 1894).

This bulky volume (of 529 pages) contains a formidable but miscellaneous armoury of Muslim polemics. The work which gives it its title occupies less than half of it (only 247 pp.) while the notes, appendices and essays that encompass this kernel make up 282 pages. The *Apology* was written early in the 19th century in the infancy of Islamic studies in England and therefore it represents a rather primitive phase of scholarship and thought. To us the introduction (142 pages) and the essay and comparative sketch on Islam (44+17 pp.)—which come from the pen of Mr. Abul Fazl—appear as far more valuable than Higgins' own work of which the only interest now consists in the fact that in it a fair-minded, professed Christian defends the founder of Islam with such knowledge as was available to him.

But the bounds of our knowledge have immensely increased in the century following the publication of Higgins' book—thanks to the efforts of Continental scholars. This aspect of the subject is unfortunately not at all represented in the editor's notes and essays as he relies entirely on Muir, Bosworth Smith, and Lane Poole. Herein he lies vulnerable to legitimate criticism.

Coming to the book itself, certain portions of it are tarred out of our consideration by reason of the fact that this *Review* cannot discuss the respective merits of different religions or their relative running power as transport agencies to heaven. We can consider only the history of a religion or the philosophy underlying it.

It is not true that the founder of Islam has been calumniated only by Christian bigots. His earliest biography in Arabic, written by Muhammad Ibn Ishak for the Abbaside Khalif Mansur (circa 150 A.D.), throws an unfavourable light on the

Medinan period. Higgins never heard of this work and his editor a century later is no wiser.

The once popular Christian view of Muhammad as an impostor is wrong. Equally wrong is Carlyle's view that he was a fiery mass of life cast up from the great bosom of Nature herself to kindle the world—a deep-hearted son of the Wilderness, a silent great man—a vehement single-minded fighter against simulacra and compromises—with his vein swelling under honest indignation. Holdeke was the first to point out how the Prophet's wonderful diplomatic skill had been ignored by his biographers. And the later studies of Margolouth and Carl Becker have worked this neglected line of research, proving (what was to be expected) that such an immense revolution in human thought and history as Islam represents could not have been effected except by the use of a masterly elasticity in the choice of means, unusual diplomatic finesse and sure tact in perceiving and seizing the realities of every situation that faced him. This aspect of the subject is entirely untouched in Mr. Abul Fazl's book. It is not by ignoring modern higher criticism that any apology—Christian or Islamic—can establish its place in the estimation of the learned.

Mr. Abul Fazl dismisses the affair of Mary the Copt as a myth and explains away the incident of *Yusuf* only to glorify the Prophet's magnanimity and readiness to sacrifice himself (ccxxvi—cxlii). He claims:

Mohammedanism came upon the world as a kind of reformed Christianity' (quotation from the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* 1868). Islam has done more for civilization than Christianity. Islam has abolished drunkenness, gambling and prostitution,—the three curses of Christian lands' (Quotations from Canon Isaac Taylor).

His defence of the Prophet against the charge of illiteracy (*ummija*) is very interesting. (pp. 11, 12, 11)

SIX LECTURES ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ISLAM. By Sir Muhammad Iqbal (*Kapur Printing Works, Lahore*). Pp. 219.

"During the last five hundred years religious thought in Islam (mourning Sir M Iqbal) has been practically stationary. No wonder then that the younger generation of Islam in Asia and Africa demand a fresh orientation of their faith. Besides this it is not possible to ignore the generally anti-religious and especially anti-Islamic propaganda in Central Asia. Surely it is high time to look to the essentials of Islam (and to) understand the meaning of Islam as a message to humanity.

Of the three great expositors of Islam in modern India Sayyid Amir Ali is best known in Europe. He dealt solely with its intellectual and cultural side from his standpoint of a professed Muslim free-thinker (*Mutazzalite*). Cheragh Ali concentrated on the social reform side while Sir M Iqbal (hitherto known to us as a mystic and poet) has now undertaken the re-interpretation of its philosophy from the modern point of view.

The six lectures range over the following subjects: (1) knowledge and religious experience (2) the philosophical test of the revelations of religious experience (3) the conception of God and the meaning of prayer (4) the human ego—his immortality and freedom (5) the spirit of Muslim culture and (6) the principle of movement in the structure of Islam.

It is difficult to compress his ideas into a short space, but we may briefly say that the entire attitude of Sir Muhammad is diametrically opposed to that of another modern philosopher Count Il Keyserling who has asserted—

This military basis of Islam explains all the essential virtues of the Muslim. It also explains his fundamental defects—his unprogressiveness, his incapacity to adapt himself, his lack of initiative and invention.

Sir M Iqbal on the contrary asserts that as a cultural movement Islam rejects the old static view of the universe and reaches a dynamic view (p. 200). All lines of Muslim thought converge on a dynamic conception of the universe (192). While Greek philosophy very much broadened the outlook of Muslim thinkers, it on the whole obscured the vision of the *Quran* (p. 4).

Humanity needs three things today—a spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual and basic principles of a universal import directing the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis. Modern Europe has no doubt, but it idealistic systems on these lines, but experience shows that truth revealed through pure reason is incapable of bringing that fire of pure conviction which personal revelation alone can bring. The idealism of Europe never became a living factor in her life, and the result is a perverted ego. Europe today is the greatest hindrance in the way of man's ethical advancement. The Muslim on the other hand is in possession of these ultimate ideas on the basis of a revelation which internalises its own apparent externality. In view of the basic idea of Islam that there can be no further revelation (implying on man we Muslims) ought to be spiritually one of the most emancipated peoples on earth (pp. 3-219).

Iqbal takes his stand on the *Quran*—i.e., his own interpretation of its philosophy and rejects all later glosses and importations even Ghazali. He justifies the finality of the prophet hood in Muhammad the idea of which has a high cultural value missed by Spengler (p. 201).

"The Prophet of Islam seems to stand between the ancient and the modern world. In so far as the spirit of his revelation is concerned he belonged to the modern world. The birth of Islam is the birth of inductive intellect. In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition. This involves the keen perception that life cannot for ever be kept in leading strings; that in order to achieve full self-consciousness man must finally be thrown back on his own resources. The abolition of priest hood and hereditary kingship in Islam the constant appeal to reason and experience in the *Quran* and the emphasis that it is on Nature and History as sources of human knowledge are all different aspects of the same idea of finality (pp. 176-177). A prophet may be defined as a type of mystic consciousness in which unitary experience tends to overflow its boundaries and seeks opportunities of redirecting or refashioning the forces of collective life (p. 174).

But this view of the matter is unmetrically opposed to that held by the largest dissenting body in Islam we mean the Shura. As the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (viii 697) points out. From the first many Persians refused to believe that the cycle of revelation had closed with Muhammad, and the dedication of Ali seems to have begun even before his death. This mystical belief in a continuous revelation and a divine presence different in kind from anything found in the *Quran* developed into the doctrine of the *imamat*.

Iqbal argues on another point. I want definitely to eradicate the misunderstanding that Greek thought in any way determined the character of Muslim culture for purposes of knowledge, the spirit of Muslim culture fixes its gaze on the concrete the finite. The birth of the method of observation and experiment in Islam was due not to a compromise with Greek thought, but to a prolonged intellectual warfare with it (pp. 189-193).

These views absolutely original to most of us, have not been developed methodically and in detail nor supported by a concrete historical presentation of facts in the course of these lectures. They will therefore fail in their present form to convert those not already converted. It is unfortunate that in view of Sir M Iqbal's capacity and reputation, that in the present work he gives no evidence of his equipment in the course of Islamic literature and a detailed growth of thought, and presents us often with *ipse dixit*.

We draw the reader's special attention to the lecturer's remark on the causes which have retarded the law of Islam practically to a state of immobility (pp. 209 et seq.)



the nature of a free State is not in my judgment consistent with the character of our institutions in this country, or with the extraordinary nature of our dominion in India.

To this we might add the no less frank admission of Sir George Campbell once Lieut Governor of Bengal who says

My own opinion always has been that an entirely free Press is inconsistent with a despotism of Government even if it be a paternal despotism. (*Memoirs of Mr. Indian Career*)

BRAJENDRA NATH BAYERI

SOME PROBLEMS OF VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY By Dr G Narayana Rao M A L I Ph D Reprint from the Ceded Districts College Mangaone

A pamphlet of 35 pages in which the author examines two problems, (i) foundation of the Vijayanagara empire and (ii) alleged murder of Sadasivaraya

The author devotes 28 pages to a polemical discussion of the reign of the Vijayanagara Kingdom about which scholars are divided in their opinion. He opens with a quotation of 7 pages from Dr Venkataramanayya's monograph on Hampi and Vijayanagara, in support of the Telugu theory against the theory of the Hoysala origin of the Vijayanagara kingdom. His own contribution to the controversy is an attempt to prove that the identification of Vijayanagara with Virupakshapattana—which forms one of the main planks of the Hoysala theorists—is false. Virupakshapattana according to Dr C Narayana Rao is the present day Tiruvannamalai. We fail to understand how the whole Hoysala theory falls to ground even if his contention proves true. Next he tries to buttress up the Telugu theory by maintaining that Madhava Vydyaranya a Telugu man had some connection with the foundation of Vijayanagara. Some inscriptions are also referred to wherein the city of Vijayanagara is called Vidyanaagara after the name of Vydyaranya. Father Heras who is competent to speak with authority on the Vijayanagara history rejects these inscriptions as fabrications imputing sordid motive and philosophical unscrupulousness to the later historians of Brinigeri. Dr Rao should have reopened the controversy in some learned historical journal instead of making such a futile attack on Prof. Heras who is not to be easily overthrown.

A HISTORY OF INDIA PART II—MEDIEVAL INDIA By C S Srivinasachari M A 1 and M S Ramaswami Murthy M A Madras Srivinasachari & Co 4 Mount Road price Rs 3 1p 411

This is a readable and handy volume dealing with the medieval history of India from the Arab conquest of Sind down to the third battle of Panipat. It contains five good maps a pretty exhaustive bibliography and a full index. The authors have evidently taken great pains in compiling this volume which is undoubtedly an improvement on many text books.

Prof. M Habib of Aligarh in an eloquent introduction speaks highly of the authors and their work. The authors also claim to have embodied in the treatment the results of the latest researches. We regret to remark that the authors have in some

places relegated the results of latest researches to footnotes while exploded myths and historical heresies shine prominent in the body of the text. *c f* the story of the foundation of the Bahaman Kingdom by a Brahman slave (p 129 footnote p 121). The latest research on the Laddimi episode is perhaps absolute silence which the authors so wisely maintain in the body of the text. But the insertion of a footnote repeating the popular fiction of Tod deprives them of credit. What is worse they make a Rana of Bhim Singh who even according to their own story namely Tod was the uncle of Rana Lakshman Singh. Though Turbode an authentic history of Mewar in Hindi holds that Alauddin's infatuation for Padmini wife of Rana Ratan Singh was the cause of war it hardly stands criticism. Amir Khusrū who accompanied Alauddin to Chitor makes no mention of Padmini either in his history Tarikh Alai (Tilak and Dowson in '7) or in any of his poems. Alauddin Barani in the 14th and the gossipy Budayuni in the 16th century do not refer to the episode. Ferihta whose authority on such a topic is no greater than that of curious modern travellers who swallow with avidity tales of ignorant guides to historical places—gives the first hint to a Rana's daughter who befell the Sultan. The Bundi poet and historian Surajmal in his *Vamsabhaskara* a comprehensive history of Rajputana in verse and based on bardic tales does not mention at all names of Bhim Singh Padmini Gora and Badal rejecting apparently Khuman Raso the authority of Tod as unreliable. He says that Alauddin invaded Chitor because Garhlakhhan Singh Rana of Chitor refused to surrender Ratan Singh son of Hamir the redoubtable castellan of Rantambhor (Vol III, p 1694). This seems to be the real cause of Alauddin's war against Mewar. We wonder how for generations students of history could allow fictions like this to go unchallenged.

Another instance of a legend of Rajput history, passing for authentic history is the story of Humayun's glorious effort to succour Rani Karnavati of Chitor against Bahadur Shah Gyrati, Jahangir and Gulbadan Begum who accompanied Humayun during this expedition say nothing about it. Even the liberal minded Abdul Fazl, presumably on the authority of Jahangir says that Humayun made a long halt at Mandasor out of a pious consideration of giving time to a brother Muslim to finish war with the infidel. The authors of the history under review mention these authorities and yet repeat Tod's story unsuspectingly. But history suffers sometimes from research itself. V A Smith seriously challenged the truth of the story of Akbar's refusal to cut off the head of the half-dead Humu at the request of Bairam Khan. As there was no rejoinder from any scholar he boldly incorporated his views as a piece of genuine research and since then our boys are unlearning the old story. The authors of this history can not certainly be blamed for quoting V A Smith's opinion with nervous emphasis. V A Smith is right in pointing out that noble sentiments put in the mouth of Akbar by Abdul Fazl and the justification of the incident as told by Jahangir are untrustworthy. We also admit the logic of his contention that for an unregenerate lot of 13 presumption is rather against his refusal to comply with the request of the dethroned regent. But we should remember that Akbar was a Turki boy not an English lad and

not ethically perfect but are less not good than their opposites as for example killing in self defence legal punishment to maintain peace compulsory education to diffuse enlightenment birth control to prevent starvation of excess population war of the League of Nations upon the State that disturbs the world's peace

A thoughtful person who has lived under Prussian militarism and then through the horrors of the late war and the bloodless revolution in his own country till the advent of the League of Nations ushered in a new era of political understanding and roused hopes of a federation of states into a world commonwealth in the interest of culture and peace Prof Driesch has delineated with a bold brush the ethical conditions under which alone private life can be purified social life enlarged and ennobled political life shorn of its corruptions and international life moulded in the interests of perpetual peace. A pacifist by temperament and training he forbids killing in all its forms and extols the Indian doctrine of *ahimsa* condemns capital punishment and even corporal punishment in education outlaws war and conscription and advocates passive resistance and boycott against an enemy that has unjustly overrun and occupied a country. He has not a word of praise for the forcible domination of foreign races under the complacent cloak of education permits the secession of a homogenous population from a State under which it does not wish to live and where as in India, religion complicates the question of homogeneity he advises the minority to yield and the majority to show magnanimity.

According to him the pacifist is a cosmopolitan and his ultimate aim is one single State in which all mankind will live together in peace and justice. The function of a State is to transcend itself in two ways—first, by merger in a world state (with either English or an artificial pictorial language as of the Chinese as the medium of communication) and secondly by endeavouring to promote such matters within itself as would ultimately lead to anarchy or negation of all constitution. But so long as these two are not achieved the State should be governed by an aristocracy of intellect (and not of birth or money) elected through different grades of electoral colleges by the suffrage of all normal and educated adults supplemented by such additional voting powers to those who are adjudged superior to the rest by special intelligence tests. Citizens and not subjects have alone duties towards the State and those that are qualified but are not enfranchised are under no moral obligation to obey the laws—even the good laws and those that have votes are under a moral obligation to disobey laws that are against the dictates of conscience. As the State exists solely for the improvement of individuality it has no right to protect it off by penal enactments or stifling freedom of speech.

Within the State the rights of the individual are limited by the needs of the community as a whole and so an inordinate personal possession of land coal and minerals is not permissible nor is a person entitled to anything which he has merely seized by right of first discovery and not earned by his own bodily or mental effort or got by valid transfer from one who did so.

The author refers to political movements in the

East quotes Tagore and Gandhi and deprecates the Hindu Muslim quarrel. He condemns in no uncertain terms the racial arrogance of the West and hopes that at no time would the world be federated under rival continental leagues of nations warring with each other for supremacy. Besides war there are enough fields for showier heroism when human health wealth and progress are far from being perfect.

Strewn here and there are to be found ethical precepts enunciated in the noble manner of Kant, and although it must be admitted that their intuitive character is not always evident they seem eminently reasonable and just. Driesch believes that though ethical theory is possible without assuming the freedom of the will ethical practice demands its existence and that although ethical effort demands a faith in the operation of a supra-personal spiritual entity there would be no joy in freedom and immortality. Thus ethics culminates in religion—not of the church-going type but as an ethical faith in the power of goodness to overcome an evil in man and of education to dissipate dogmatism in religion and politics alike.

The reviewer contents himself with a brief summary of the main teachings of this extremely interesting publication and hopes that in India at least the book in spite of its slight metaphysical bias and occasional exaggeration of Indian practices in religion would be widely read. The agreement with the major tenets of Indian nationalism is so striking that its teachings though not to the taste of the jingoistic West are sure to find a sympathetic echo in the pacific breast of the East.

H. D. BHATTACHARYA

A LOVER'S LUTE by B. B. Foy Chaudhury  
Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd London, 15 pp

Mr Roy Chaudhury's poems are of surpassing interest. Dawn, Cyclone and other pieces manifest rapturous emotion. The author is studying journalism in England, and is as usual tempted after the fashion of the ill-informed to copy some of the London vulgarisms like alright, comed, remaind him that the Indian Telegraph department. We must notices — When alright is written for trans mission instead of the correct form all right it is charged for as two words. It would be difficult to adduce adequate grounds for. In the soft bed of grave, I am born with an ill fate. My sweet wrong queen divine. Why he phens that make confusion with ill fate which takes the hyphen. The poems are full of wrong hyphens. I am never perit. The word is blush rose. The tint produced in the act of blushing—Oxford English Dictionary. It is no poetical licence to say The Mount of Everest is thy crown. We do not say Mount of Everest or the river of the Ganges. Even Byron, Milton or Shelley dared not put in an of — Mount Blank is the monarch of mountains. Mount Oreb or Sinu. The word mountain does take in of — The Mountains of Lebanon. Mount is not an abbreviation of mountain. Mount is an entirely different word with its own abbreviation Mt. The function of this word

along with the famous Sakya republican state had been absorbed in the powerful kingdom of Kosala. This so far as we are aware was the first step in that long process of unification which was to reach its climax under the Mauryas. It was however not to Kosala but to its eastern neighbour that there fell the subsequent stages of the task. The land of Magadha unlike Kosala and Kasi which were famous seats of Vedic culture in the period of the Brahmanas and the Upanishads was associated even in the late Shrautasutras with the unorthodox Vratyas and its people are declared in one of the existing Dharmasutras to be of mixed origin. With the reign of Bimbisara (c. 550-500 B.C.) the kingdom of Magadha entered upon that career of expansion which was closed only with the conquest of Kalinga by Asoka. When Bimbisara came to the throne he ruled only a small state with his capital at Rajagriha (modern Rajgir). To the north beyond the Ganges lay the powerful republican confederacy of the Vajjis of which the far famed city of Vaesali was the capital while his western frontier was skirted by the powerful kingdom of Kosala. With remarkable prudence Bimbisara formed alliances with these powers while devoting his attention to the absorption of Anga, the rich kingdom to his east, which is now represented by the Bhagalpur district. The annexation of Anga raised Magadha to the rank of a great power in Northern India. If we may credit a historical tradition the king of distant Gandhara sent an embassy to Bimbisara probably with the object of invoking his assistance against the threatened advance of the Achemenid power. Ajatasatru the son and successor of Bimbisara was cast in a different mould from his father. Bold and impetuous he seems to have passed his whole reign in warfare with his neighbours especially with the formidable Kosala and Vajji states. We may imagine that, as in the parallel example of the Macedonian kingdom under its king Philip, the resources of Magadha had been sufficiently augmented in the peaceful reign of the father to permit the son to launch a vigorous foreign policy. The war of Ajatasatru with the Kosalan king was protracted and attended with various turns of fortune but it ended in the triumph of Magadha and from this time Kosala is never again heard of as an independent power. Equally bitter was the struggle of Magadha with the Vajjan

confederacy but in the end victory rested with Ajatasatru whose northern frontier was probably pushed at this time to the foot of the Himalayas. The result of these brilliant military exploits was that Magadha could now claim to be the leading power in Northern India. It was now the turn of the powerful Avanti kingdom which had probably by this time absorbed the neighbouring kingdom of the Vatsas to feel alarmed at the advance of the Magadhan power. We are told how Ajatasatru on one occasion had to fortify his capital against the threatened attack of Pradyota King of Avanti. The issue of the struggle between the two powers who decided in the reign of Susunaga (Susunaga) a later successor of Ajatasatru who is credited by the Puranic evidence with destroying the prestige of the kings of Avanti. Thus was Magadha at length raised to the position of the paramount power in the Gangetic valley and the Malwa tableland. Meanwhile the capital had been removed by Udayin the son of Ajatasatru from Rajagriha to the more central city of Pataliputra where after some shiftings and changes it was finally fixed by King Kalasoka (Kakavarna). The reign of Ugrasena Mahapadma the founder of the famous Nanda dynasty marked a momentous step in the consolidation of the Magadhan power. In the expressive language of the Puranas he was the destroyer of all the Katriyas resembling a second Parasurama, the sole king ruling the whole earth under one umbrella. In the present context these words can only mean that Ugrasena extinguished all the ruling houses of his time consisting no doubt of dependent kings and brought their dominions under his direct rule. In the light of this evidence which can be corroborated in other ways, we can well acclaim Ugrasena as the founder of the first real Indian empire as distinguished from a congeries of dependent states under a paramount power.

The wonderful expansion of Magadha from its beginnings under Bimbisara to the time of the Nandas when it embraced the whole of the Gangetic valley as an integral part of its empire was achieved in the face of difficulties and dangers to which our records amply testify. If we may trust the Sinhalese chronicles all the four kings from Ajatasatru onwards were parricides and king Susunaga was raised to the throne by the citizens who expelled the family of parricide kings while Ugrasena, according to all accounts seized

the throne by murdering the last king. To a large extent the success of Magadha was due to the vigour and energy of its kings but a considerable share of the credit must also be given to the efficiency of their civil and military administration. The *Vinaya Pitaka* affords us glimpses of the administration of Bimbisara showing how he maintained a rigid control over his officers and used to meet the headmen of all the villages of his kingdom (perhaps an Ancient Indian parallel of the Anglo-Saxon folk moot while the beginnings of the bureaucratic organization are indicated by the division of his principal officers into three classes. The practice of appointing royal princes as governors of provinces, which was in use in the Maurya period can be traced back to the reigns of Bimbisara and Susunaga. To what extent statecraft of the type described in the text books on politics was applied by the Magadha kings in their bid for dominion it is not possible to state from the available records, but this no doubt was considerable in amount. In so far as military strength is concerned we may refer to the accounts of the classical writers regarding the huge forces at the disposal of the Nanda king who advanced to his frontier to meet the threatened advance of Alexander of Macedon.

The final and the most momentous stages of the unification of India were attained under the sceptre of the Mauryas whose unification of the Nandas was beyond doubt the greatest dynastic revolution in ancient India. Fortune favoured Chandragupta Maurya shortly perhaps after his accession to the Magadha throne with an immediate expansion of his power. The Indus valley had just paid the penalty of its isolation and its political disunion by bearing the brunt of the full might of Macedon under its greatest sovereign. When Alexander's victorious career was cut short by a premature death (323 B.C.) Chandragupta headed the Indian "war of liberation" against the foreigner and expelled the Macedonian garrisons from the Punjab and Sind which were quickly absorbed in the empire of Magadha. The attempts of Seleucus the lord of Western Asia, to recover the lost Indian dominion ended in his surrender of a number of satrapies which pushed the Maurya frontier to the coveted line of the Hindu Kush. With the enormous prestige of his victory over the dreaded Greeks and with the resources

of the whole of Northern India at his command the victor now turned his arms against the South. The campaign against the Deccan was completely successful, though all details of it have been lost. Indeed if some references in the ancient Tamil classical literature have been rightly interpreted this would point to the extension of the Maurya power as far south as the Tinnevely district. The complete subjugation of the Deccan was probably attained in the reign of Bindusara. Amratraghata the second emperor of the dynasty when the great Andhra kingdom ranking as the second military power in India in the time of Chandragupta appears to have been absorbed in the Maurya empire. There was now left only one independent power in India which could venture to measure swords with the Mauryas. The kingdom of Kalinga lying along the eastern sea board to the north of the Andhras was estimated by Megasthenes to possess a formidable force of 60,000 infantry and 700 war elephants besides 1,000 cavalry. The war for the conquest of Kalinga was begun by Asoka in the 9th year of his coronation (c. 261 B.C.) and it ended in the annexation of the kingdom to the Maurya Empire. Thus the last obstacle was removed from the path of Maurya sovereignty over the whole of India and it could be easily predicted that the subjugation of the petty Tamil states in the south was only a question of time. At this point however by one of the strangest surprises known to history the progress of conquest was abruptly stopped. The Emperor who had been moved to passionate remorse at the sight of the bloodshed and misery of the Kalinga war forsook aggressive war and turned to preach and practise the law of Dharma. Thus the cause of India's complete unification under a common sceptre was deliberately sacrificed when the goal was in sight in the interests of a high idealism. The expansion of India's culture and especially of Buddhism beyond the seas which was the most abiding fruit of Asoka's conversion was her consolation for the arrested growth of her political unity.

Let us in conclusion cast a glance at the forces that helped to create and maintain the mighty fabric of the Indian empire under the Mauryas. The strongest of the unifying forces beyond doubt was the personality of the emperors in whose hands was concentrated the whole authority of the state. The Maurya sovereignty however

was deprived by the very circumstances of its origin, of that religious sanction which was the strength of the great Achaemenid monarchy of the West. Next in importance came the steel frame of the Maurya administration, its highly organized civil service which spread like a web over the whole empire. The officials both civil and military seem to have formed a self contained class which under the title of Councillors and Assessors is reckoned by Megasthenes as the seventh and last in his enumeration of the Indian castes. "It is," we are told by the same authority, "the smallest class looking to number but the most respected on account of the high character and wisdom of its members" and again it enjoys the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers, and commissioners who superintend agriculture. Another indispensable limb of the administration was the class of superintendents or overseers probably corresponding to the *Gulapurusas* of the Arthashastra whose function was to report all that happened in country and town to the king. It is against use and wont for them to give in a false report but indeed no Indian is accused of lying. Of other points of interest it is necessary only to refer to the machinery of provincial adminis-

tration which consisted of the Royal Prince or the Viceroy and his high officials and the elaborate organization of the war office which was composed of thirty members divided into six boards in charge, severally, of infantry, cavalry, chariots, elephants, the navy, and transport, commissariat, with army service. It was the strength of this war machine which under Chandragupta reached the colossal figure of nearly 700,000 men of all arms equipped and maintained by the state that doubtless formed one of the main pillars of Maurya rule. Among other influences contributing to the same result may be mentioned the facility of communications for the Mauryas. Like the Achaemenids were great builders of roads of which the chief one connecting Pataliputra with distant Taxila anticipated the Grand Trunk Road of Lord Dalhousie. We may also believe what indeed is hinted at in the legends that sentinels of loyalty grew around the Maurya throne as the people with the evil consequences of internal strife and foreign invasions in their memory appreciated the firm rule of the first two Maurya emperors and still more the benign administration of the next and possibly because they felt a collective pride in being members of the greatest empire that India had ever known.





### Mr H G Wells's Credo

In a very interesting article in the *Forum* Mr H G Wells tells us what he believes. He does not believe in personal immortality in the conventional meaning of the term. But he does believe that our mortal persons perhaps respond to immortal ideas and it is this which gives to the thought life of men a kind of continuity and eternal life. He does not also believe in extremes of individualism. With regard to this question and its relation to the social life of the human race he says

Man I take it—man in us—is more important than the things in the individual life and this I believe not as a mere sentimentality but as a rigorously true statement of biological and mental fact. Our individuality is so to speak an inborn obsession from which we shall escape as we become more intelligent. And we are under a necessity to escape from it as we become more intelligent, because increasing intelligence brings us more and more clearly face to face with the ultimate frustration of every individual desire in age enfeeblement and death. Personality in individuality is a biological device which has served its end in evolution and will decline. A consciousness of something greater than ourselves—the immortal soul of the race—is taking control of the direction of our lives.

But if I might say a word or so about the views one gets from this credo, I should insist first that the subordination of self to a higher order of being does not mean the suppression of all or any of one's distinctive gifts. We have to use ourselves to the utmost. We have to learn and make to the full measure of our possibilities. It is a sin to bury the talent, the individual gift which we possess for the good of the master being Man.

Nor must you imagine that the subordination of self to the immortal being of the race means a subordination of one's narrow self to the equally narrow selves of other people. It is for them also to give themselves to that life and all that increases knowledge and power. I do not believe in the surrender of one jot or one tittle of one's intelligence and will to the greatest happiness of the greatest number or to the will of the majority, or any such nonsense. I am not that sort of democrat. This world and its future is not for feeble folk any more than it is for selfish folk. It is not for the multitude, but for the best. The best of to-day will be the commonplace of to-morrow.

If I am something of a social leveler it is not because I want to give silly people a good time but because I want to make opportunity universal and not leave out one single being who is worth while. If I want economic change it is because the present system protects and fosters a vast swarm of wasteful spenders no better in their quality and much worse in their lazy pretensions than the general run of mankind. If I am opposed to nationalism and war it is not merely because these things represent an immense waste of energy but because they sustain a cant of blind discipline and loyalty and a paraphernalia of flags, uniforms and parades that shelter a host of particularly mischievous unintelligent bullies and wasters because they place our lives at the mercy of trained blockheads. Militarism and warfare are childish things, if they are not more horrible than anything childish can be. They must become things of the past. They must die. Nationalism, my idea of politics is an open conspiracy to hurry these times of wasteful evil things—nationality and war—out of existence to end this empire and that empire and set up the one Empire of Man.

And it is natural that I should exalt science. In the scientific world I find just that disinterested devotion to great ends that I hope will spread at last through the entire range of human activity. I find just that co-operation of men of every race and colour to increase Man's knowledge. We can all be citizens of the free state of science. But our political, our economic, our social lives have still to become illuminated and directed by the scientific spirit, are still sick and feeble with congenital traditionalism.

### American Opinion and India

After Professor Rushbrook Williams Dr Thompson, then Sir John Simon—and the latest cables announce that Lord Meston is also going to America. There seems to be a trek of British politicians and publicists to the West to state the British case there. No reasonable person will grudge Great Britain her desire to retain the good opinion of America, if in her turn she would only not grudge other nations their wish to win the support of American opinion and deny to Americans their right to have some independent and intelligent opinion of their own mistake to have been committed.

Thompson at any rate, who has gone out of his way to make some recitations against *The New Republic* for having the temerity to state the Indian case in the United States. *The New Republic* replies to his charges in a leading article in course of which it makes the following observations:

The British have suddenly become disturbed about the American attitude towards India, and quite properly so. There is hardly any other question at present which constitutes a more serious threat to the friendly relations between the two powers. Moreover, American support for their aspirations is an important factor in determining the attitude of some of the chief Indian leaders.

It is regrettable however that some of the British discussion of the American attitude has thus far been conducted in unrealistic terms. To read certain comment on this subject in the British press no one would suppose that the Indians had any sort of legitimate grievance or that any American except one very stupid or shamefully misled could support their aspirations. Two blanket charges are made first that American periodicals which present the Indian case are deliberately unfair to Britain and second that due to the false statements about India in American journals and books opinion in this country has been led astray, the inference being that were it not for these falsehoods opinion here would favour the British case.

Mr Thompson's major point in his series of articles in the *The London Times* that America has been misled by erroneous statements about India is fallacious. It is one of those easy generalizations about America into which visiting Englishmen often when they are as intelligent as Mr Thompson are so easily betrayed. Only one book about India has sold in large numbers in the United States in recent years or has had any appreciable effect upon opinion here. That is Katherine Mayo's *Mother India*, a work which is cruelly unfair to the Indians and their cause and is the most effective pro-British propaganda ever written. Aside from this book the one important source of American opinion has been the Indian news reports in the columns of our press. Very much of this news probably more than half of it, has come from British sources through Reuters, the British news service which has a co-operative arrangement with the Associated Press. This news written by Englishmen for Englishmen and passed by the British censorship certainly has not been unduly tender of the Indians.

We do not pretend to say how numerous are the Americans who sympathize with the Indians but however many they may be it is naive to suppose that they are the victims of a special Indian propaganda. The attitude of these Americans is substantially that of many people in England. It is the same recorded by Ramsay MacDonald in his books written within the past four or five years after he had visited India, where, as a former Prime Minister and as the leader of the Labour party he must certainly have had the case for English rule put to him as strongly as possible. In short we feel confident that if Mr Thompson and his friends will make a careful

investigation they will find that British propaganda in America is quite as extensive as the Indian or more so and that it has been skilful and persistent. If in spite of this fact many Americans lean to the cause of India we suggest that perhaps that cause has some innate merits which are deserving of consideration.

### The New Sexology and After

In a state of midsummer madness induced by reading and reviewing too many books about Sex the Libido, the Oedipus Complex, and the premarital customs of the Trobriand Islanders I began to speculate on the future of Love as foreshadowed by that science or religion known to its adherent as the New Sexology. So writes Mr Malcolm Cowley in introducing his delightful article to the readers of *The New Republic*. It is impossible to quote it in full as we wished to do. But the following extracts from it will give not an inadequate idea of the trend of his thoughts and conclusions.

The reforms proposed by leading sexologists in their eagerness to end our present state of erotic bankruptcy and guide us toward the brisk future of love are numerous in every field but especially in that of education. By liberating the children of today from their repressions, compulsions, psychoses, neuroses—by giving their little libidos room to grow and kick and squirm—they are training the triumphant lovers of the future. But let me give a few concrete examples.

In the Haseupfeffer on Hudson Experimental kindergarten at Haseupfeffer on Hudson the happiest results have been obtained by substituting Floyd Dell's *Love in the Machine Age* for McGuffey's First Reader. A kind of shorter catechism based on Mr Dell's ideas has been prepared for the benefit of the tots who are still unable to read. It is an inexpressible pleasure to hear them repeating in their fresh voices:

Q What is our aim?

A To follow the higher mammalian mating pattern.

Q And why should we follow the higher mammalian mating pattern?

A In order to achieve wholly adult lives lived from almost wholly instinctive motives.

Q And why should we achieve such wholly adult and almost wholly instinctive lives?

A In order that we may all live happily ever after in heterosexual matehood.

An even more interesting experiment in education has lately been proposed by Hyman L. Jones and Imogen Smeeth. It is based on a fundamental doctrine of the new sexology—namely that every thing goes by opposites. Thus men of the Don Juan type are really homosexual as is obviously shown by the way they run after women. Messianists so called are the blameless victims of their frigidity. Philanthropists says Dr. Fritz Wittels, a very distinguished pupil of Freud are suffering from a sublimated form of sadism. People are cleanly because they love dirt masculine because they are feminine feminine because they are

neuter and neuter because their mothers dreamed of snakes, trees, the Woolworth flunking vacuum cleaners, Mussolini or fried herrings. Now the Jones-Smeeth System consists in applying this know edge gained from the battl-field of love in the arena of education. To give a very simple example the little boys who pull cats' tails will no longer be whipped. Instead they will be chered on to other ventures—tying tin cans to puppy dogs sticking pins in their baby brothers, darning their mothers' evening gowns with their sister be-trouse and exploding giant fire crackers under their fathers chairs. Other children will be encouraged to imitate them and thus by developing millions of little sadists under the Jones-Smeeth System, we shall develop millions of asexual philanthropists. Poverty and Bolshevism will be abolished in the next generation.

But what of the little boys who cannot sublimate their sadistic impulses? What of the adolescents who still dwell in the infliction of pain on their parents, their teachers, their schoolmates? Under the Jones-Smeeth System they too will have their useful place. They will be taught the history of Tiberius Nero, Genghis Khan, Ivan the Terrible and the Spanish Inquisition; they will be encouraged to improve on ancient cruelties by the methods of modern science and then, when they grow up they call all be dentists.

Yes, in the future in the bright sociological sky and by every day will be Sunday for happy lovers. Every day will be Sunday for almost everybody. The world will have been a safe place for the universal libido. Divorce, fraud, in men, Bolshevism, crime, the drug habit, unemployment, hippophany, athletes' foot and neuro-depressive insanity all will have been cured by the new sociology. Everyone will be normal—perfectly, unquestionably, altogether normal. Everyone will be perpetually in love. The libidinous natures of men and women, says Dr. Schmuhaizen who knows so much about them, "for so long, cramped and mutilated and sorely wounded within the straitjacketing confines of family life, will break beautifully and abundantly into acts of social compassion and humanistic love. Men and women will love one another. Boys and girls will love one another. Cats and dogs will love one another. Freud, Jung and Watson will love one another. The lion will be down with the housewife one day and the ewe-lamb on the other. Nation will yearn for nation, and there will be a great outpouring of French love into Germany, of German love into France, of British love into America, of American love into those Caribbean countries that he panting for our embrace.

### The Red Menace in China

The renewed civil war in China has in the opinion of journalists, revived the danger of Bolshevism in that country. Commenting upon the editorial opinions expressed in different periodicals *The Literary Digest* says:

That this new phase of protracted civil war in China should provoke much alarm and speculate in interpretation is not surprising. Its anti-reform

and anti-Nationalist characteristics appear to many commentators as evidence of Russian Soviet penetration to foil Western influences and Chinese Republican development. The outbreak occurs in the region where Soviet organization under Borodin's direction was carried on when Sun Yat-sen's operations swept northward from Canton in 1922. But in 1926 Borodin was sent back to Moscow with disavowals of Communism by the Nationalists. Yet now dispatches detail trade-union and peasant league organization armies marching with Communist slogan and reported formation of a native Soviet government for the conquered parts of Kiangsi, Hunan and Hupeh provinces with a Red leader Li Li-shan as President. Our readers will recall the claim of *Peking* the Moscow Soviet organ that the South China rebels against Chiang Kai-shek a Nationalist government are really Soviet Communist revolutionaries with a Red Army 62,000 strong.

It is at least conceivable that the predicted inevitable sometime war between Western Europe and Russian Communism is now being fought out in peace-loving China, observes the *Philadelphia Puller Ledger* which points out that Soviet iteration of the recognized Nationalist government would wipe out such protection as now extends in theory at least to foreign-owned property and such official recognition as now sustains the special privileges of foreign political and trade groups. Further

Soviet strategy in China is identical with Soviet strategy in India. Its aim is the humiliation of foreign interests, political and otherwise in the eyes of the whole Orient. Once you are humiliated in China, once you lose your face, you can never again be the same. Asia, dominated economically and politically by Moscow would be a spectacle vastly disconcerting to all Europe. More than one great empire would feel badly shaken.

### Machinery and Unemployment

The relation between the adoption of machinery and unemployment is dealt with in an editorial note in *Scientific American*.

The blame for unemployment has always been placed, more or less upon machinery and, in times past, labour has fought its introduction into industries where handwork had been the rule. Even at the present time there are numbers of pessimists who deprecate the increasing use of machinery and hubristically point out that it is a Frankenstein monster. Their memory is short; they have been told time and again of the wage-earner's gain through machinery but they seem never to learn. Thus it is necessary to repeat.

Machinery made it possible for one man to do in 1922 what 43 men did in 1911. Thirty years ago 500 unskilled workers were required to do the work now performed by one steam-horse. In the glass industry or machine takes the place of 600 skilled glass-blowers of a few years ago. In 1920 there was perfected an automatic machine for producing electric light bulbs, that displaced 904 men and recently this machine has been so improved that it now displaces something like 3000 men. Many other cases of a strikingly significant



From these figures, it would seem that the statist assumptions are correct. They are not. The number of wage-earners increased 1 per cent during the eight years between 1919 and 1927 but—and this is far more important—our production increased 50 per cent! With increased industrial prosperity better wages have been possible and at the same time the worker has been freed from the bondage of labour. Working hours have been cut down first from a 12 hour day to a 10 hour day then down to eight hours; and now proposals have been made to make a further cut to six hours. The workingman's week was cut down from six to five and a half days and it is now proposed to cut it to five.

Better pay and more leisure in which to enjoy the fruits of his work—the dividends of the American wage-earner. There is bound to be some temporary unemployment caused by machinery but this is in an unimportant proportion to the benefits accrued. Nevertheless certain adjustments are necessary and it is up to the workman himself as well as to industry to study the question thoroughly so that as more and more machinery is put into operation these adjustments may be made with the least loss and an economic balance may be reached.

### The Daily Herald on the Simon Report

The *Daily Herald* had the following editorial on the second volume of the Simon Report

If the purpose of the Simon Commissioners was to devise ways and means of improving the Indian Constitution while retaining the present régime in all essentials then they have succeeded. But this is scarcely the problem which confronts the two countries to-day. The British nation is pledged to the establishment of dominion status for India. Honour and wisdom alike demand that the pledge should be fulfilled, and on this point the Commissioners are rightly agreed. The problem is to provide ways and means of passing through the inevitable period of the transition.

Here the Commission is not overhelpful. Its proposals so far from preparing the way to a rapid transformation seem to us to tend rather to the indefinite stabilizing on essential points of the final authority and power in the present system. Real power is under the *Raj*—a proposal retained in the hands of the Viceroy or the Governors.

The Government of India, in short remains responsible only to the Viceroy. He can, if he so wishes veto all acts of the legislature. He can himself legislate without its consent. He can sanction expenditure and even impose taxation. Even in the provinces where the Report envisages more rapid progress toward autonomous government, the rights and powers of the elected assemblies are subject to the overriding authority of the Governors.

This is not self-government nor is there as one had hoped even the provision of means by which the present order may be gradually but definitely transformed. The proposals concerning the powers of the Viceroy and the Governors—the core of the problem—are a negation of the

machinery of self-government which elsewhere the Commissioners advocate.

Here is the fatal weakness of the Report fatal not only to all hope of its acceptance even by moderate Indian opinion but fatal to all value in the present situation. It has evaded the main problem.

And yet the work of the Commission has not been wasted. For many of its judgments are surely right. It seems to us emphatically right in concluding that the ultimate form of Indian Government must be federal. It is right in emphasizing—though it tends to over-emphasize—the necessity of bringing the Indian States into the future federation. It is probably right in proposing the immediate separation of Burma. In very many details there arise suggestions which the most nationalist of Indians would be foolish to ignore.

All this is unfortunately vitiated by the central weakness—the failure to face the central problem boldly and generously. From start to finish the Report suffers from a lack of imaginative policy. A thousand and one reasons, wrote the Prime Minister in the *Daily Herald* in 1927 are given for just a little more tutelage. That was a prophetic summary of this Report.

Mr Macdonald's remedy still we feel sure, remains the same plain practical common sense. India must be in the Empire on equal terms. The time has come for us to take that step.

Along that courageous line not among the hesitations of the Simon Report, the two countries will find the solution of the problems that face them. If the Round Table Conference to which we still hope that Gandhi and his colleagues will come can freely discuss the way of attaining dominion status in the light of the Commission's Report and of Indian opinion peace and friendship may yet be attained.

### The World Tomorrow on India

*The World Tomorrow* is an American monthly which is neither pro-Indian nor pro-British. It adopts a critical attitude. It thinks—

Death before birth is the chronology of the Simon Commission Report. The Commission itself barely survived the paralyzing boycott by infuriated nationalists who bitterly resented the exclusion of all Indians from its membership. The unfortunate offspring died of malnutrition and racial poison. Its demise is sad but salutary.

That is the reason why British Imperialists have been trying to galvanize it into something resembling life.

The journal proceeds—

We say the Report is dead because we simply refuse to believe that the Labour Government is utterly bankrupt of ideas and courage. If the Commission's recommendations are as far as Great Britain is prepared to go in the direction of Indian autonomy, a day of mourning for the lost dominion should now be proclaimed. The proposed Round Table Conference in October will also die.

before it is torn unless the Viceroy and Secretary of State for India quickly as we Indian nationalists that the Government is ready to travel miles beyond the terminus fixed by Sir John and his colleagues. Semi-autonomy in the provinces subject to British veto on major decisions together with a loose national federation under British domination will not satisfy even the right wing Indian patriots. Only one the moderate leaders are identifying themselves with the civil disobedience campaign. If the men and women now in jail are excluded from the Round Table Conference or refuse to attend that assembly will prove to be a tragic fiasco should the Government be kind enough to proceed with it.

No permanent solution is possible without the participation and support of Mahatma Gandhi.

As regards Mahatma Gandhi's influence it observes:

That the British officials have seriously underestimated his influence is now apparent. An illuminating sidelight on this point is found in the article on Gandhi in the latest edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, published in March of this year. The writer of the article is a former Lieutenant Governor of one of the Indian provinces, says that after Gandhi's release from prison in 1921 "he was no longer a power to sway the masses" and his more recent incursions into politics have been ineffective. He expected too much of human nature. His endeavor to unite Hindus and Mohammedans lacked sincerity.

Yet the response to Gandhi's appeal has far exceeded all expectations. Not the least of the surprises has been his ability to reduce violence to an absolute minimum. When the intensity of the nationalists' desire for freedom and the almost intolerable provocations to which they have been subjected are taken into account it is nothing short of a miracle that so few outbreaks of violence have occurred. Indeed the self-control which enables Gandhi's followers to refrain from retaliation even when physically assaulted by the police is awe-inspiring.

#### American Marnages

A German writer translated in *The Living Age* gives a very interesting description of courtship in America.

What distinguishes the attitude of the average American toward women is his lack of moderation. It is an attitude of either immoderate worship or immoderate contempt. Since the American is very clever at displaying his best qualities to the world, most of us Europeans are only familiar with the attitude of immoderate worship.

The average American's attitude toward love is not based on those sound naturalistic and animalistic foundations which engender a condition of spiritual and physical community. Exceptions of course, occur but the outwardly serene appearance of married couples often conceals debaucheries, especially since Americans pay so much attention to appearances. The American wants to possess in love as well as in life. His erotic career avoids everything spiritual, tense or dramatic. The American merchant has a very special idea of love. He has an ideology of his own based on economics

and best explained in economic terms. The task of the American man is to possess a wife. He must have one just as he must have a bank account. The American woman who is superior to the man in all animal respects has met this crazy theory more than halfway and makes the thing economically difficult for the man as possible. Dismantling all romantic appeals she demands of her suitor as many tasks and sacrifices as she can get him to perform. If he observes the rough rider school of premarital love peculiar to his country the woman bleeds him white but she grits his teeth for he is determined to conquer her. The man knows that during this love game the woman always holds the whip hand but the rules compel him to strike the attitude of a torador. He runs up debts, loathfully invites her on automobile rides and plays the part of a great spender although in reality he may be a clerk earning perhaps fifty dollars a week. When the woman decides to marry him and thinks this gruesome game has gone far enough she lets herself be subjugated. But as soon as the bonds of matrimony are sealed the rules demand that the two players change roles. The wild conqueror becomes the tame husband. The poor little creature that he snatched suddenly expands and becomes a mighty queen. American marriage laws give the woman thousand opportunities to keep her husband up to scratch and since many American women are really much better educated and more intelligent than their husbands their marriages look like very orderly affairs indeed.

#### An Industrial General Staff for India

The increasingly large number of economic questions that modern states are being called upon to deal with has made it necessary for them to have a body of experts at their disposal whom they could consult on these technical and complicated questions. Some years ago a distinguished British economist, Sir William Beveridge put forward a plea for an economic "General Staff" for the British Empire. The idea has taken root, and when the Labour Government came into power last year they established a supreme economic council for Great Britain. A similar suggestion was made for India by Sir Alfred Chatterton in course of a lecture before the East India Association published in the *Journal of the Association*.

The Government of India has however very restricted powers and is without the organization to enable it to frame a broad and effective industrial policy which will take full cognizance of world movements and of the conflicting claims of widely divergent internal interests. It therefore seems desirable that there should be established with the Government of India the necessary machinery for the evolution of an active policy of industrial development analogous to the General Staff of the military department. The Finance Minister has recently promised to set up an advisory industrial

council but something more than this is necessary to meet the needs of the situation. The Council may tender advice of a valuable character but it will be rendered futile unless there is an executive staff competent to work out plans. Such a staff does not at present exist, and it should be created.

India has little to gain by the acceptance of Imperial preference as part of its fiscal policy and there is no hope that in the immediate future proposals leaning in that direction will meet with anything but uncompromising opposition in the Legislative Assembly. At the present time there is a lack of goodwill towards British interests and every measure is minutely scrutinized to discover if it offers any advantage to British trade at the expense of Indian interests. There is however a very wide field which has not yet been explored in which British and Indian manufacturers and capitalists can co-operate to the mutual advantage of both countries. Ideas of this kind are in the air in the cotton trade but no definite proposals have yet materialized. There is still greater scope for action in the chemical and metallurgical industries and with assured markets in India there is some reason to assume that instead of leaving them open to foreign penetration they can be secured to the Empire by commercial arrangements which would protect the Indian consumer and divide the processes of manufacture in a rational and equitable manner between the associated groups in the two countries.

An Imperial industrial staff is necessary to investigate the prospects of advancing along these lines and to indicate what action on the part of the State is necessary to enable private enterprise to embark upon such schemes as may be considered feasible.

That India can ever become a great industrial country is not possible and it must look to the improvement of agriculture for any great amelioration in the condition of its many millions. It can however advance far beyond its present status and it is urgent that progress should be accelerated. To the extent that this occurs external trade will undoubtedly be stimulated, and though the character may change to some extent, the change will be gradual and in the direction of commodities of superior quality and of more complex character.

### Mahatma Gandhi's Programme and Ideas

The editor of this review contributed to the *Asia* magazine of New York an article on the meaning of the political struggle in India. Though some of the facts and arguments must be necessarily familiar to Indians the article is reproduced here in part.

Hitherto wars of independence have been sanguinary. Mahatma Gandhi is the first man in history to wage a bloodless war for independence. It required a man of his spiritual elevation, self-control and profound faith in the perfectibility of human nature to make this new departure.

The Mahatma's march on foot to a seaside village to prepare salt has been taken by some Westerners to be merely a ritualistic and symbolic pilgrimage. Symbolic it may be in a certain sense

It prefigures and symbolizes the funeral rites of armed warfare as a means of winning independence. It symbolically sounds the death-knell of war. It foreshadows the feasibility of a perfectly peaceful revolution by means of civil disobedience. Mr. Gandhi's method no doubt requires infinite endurance, patience and perseverance but these qualities are not unattainable and in his method every failure is a steppingstone to success.

But the march is more than this. The government salt monopoly has been the cause of the disappearance of the indigenous salt manufacturing industry from all seaside places and all inland regions where there are saline deposits and salt-mines. It has impoverished the country to the extent of two hundred million rupees or more—a rupee is now worth approximately thirty six cents—and has saddled it with oppressive taxation amounting to more than seventy million rupees—taxation of which the incidence falls heaviest on the poor because they require more salt than the well-to-do in order to add some relish to their scanty and coarse fare. The vast majority of Indians are poor and live by and on agriculture. They and their cattle cannot get enough salt to eat and hence become sickly. The reason why they cannot buy enough salt is that the monopoly and the tax have made it very many times dearer than it used to be when there was no monopoly and no tax. American and European readers will be able to realize the oppressive character of this monopoly and tax when they are reminded of the historic French gabelle or salt tax. The resemblance between pre-revolutionary France and present day India is an omen.

In Mr. Gandhi's opinion—and he is right— independence is required most for the poor who form the vast majority of our people. The response to his call to break the salt law has been very widespread. There is not a single province of India where thousands of people in hundreds of places are not actively engaged in manufacturing or hawking salt. And for every active volunteer doing such work there are tens of thousands of sympathizers. All classes of people are to be found in varying proportions among both active volunteers and sympathizers.

It would be a mistake to think that Mr. Gandhi has been receiving direct or indirect support only from non-cooperators and members of the National Congress. As a result of the civil disobedience movement, almost all other political movements are at a standstill. The Sapru conference was called to support the proposed London Round Table Conference by bringing together all non Congress parties on a common platform but its sittings have been indefinitely postponed. The Hindu Mahasabha session at Aloha has been postponed *sine die*. The 'untouchable' classes who lately pressed or were made to press Mr. Gandhi to take up their cause first and enable them to enter all Hindu temples threatening to thwart his movement if he did not, have themselves for the present given up their attempt to force entry into temples, and their leaders are selling contraband salt in the streets in many places. Many Indian merchants have given their whole-hearted adherence to Mr. Gandhi, others are neutral—the attempt to incite them to active opposition has failed. The Liberals or Moderates could not of course take a

favorable view of Mr. Gandhi's movement. Some of their organs, most of which have a small circulation, continue to carp at it. The party dares not launch a counter movement. The one big minority group in India of which the attitude of a considerable number of members seems uncertain—perhaps in some cases hostile—is the Moslem community. But the Hindu people would be living in a fool's paradise if they thought that that community as a body is hostile to Mr. Gandhi. Many important Mussulmans, like Mr. Abbas Tyabji, who was appointed by Mr. Gandhi to succeed to the leadership if he should be arrested, have openly and actively joined the movement. Others, not so well known, have become volunteers or manifested sympathy with civil disobedience in other ways. Most Moslem bodies are sitting on the fence watching the developments of the civil disobedience campaign.

The active support which women have given to the cause has surprised many. In the manufacturing and hawking of contraband salt the picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops, the distributing of propaganda for the boycott of foreign cigarettes and cloth, the holding of meetings and processions for popularizing the cause and the resisting of attempts by the police to snatch away contraband salt and to destroy the pans for manufacturing salt—in all these activities women are taking an enthusiastic part. It is not merely the progressive section of Indian women from which the Mahatma has received recruits and supporters. Even women in villages who belong to an older world, so to say, have been enthusiastic in their adherence to the movement. For instance, one such old world village mother has sent four out of her five sons to join it, to face imprisonment and death if need be, and she herself and her daughters have become *satyagrahis*—civil resisters.

The students have been roused. All the teachers and students of Mr. Gandhi's college have joined the movement. There have been a number of student strikes on account of the unsympathetic attitude of the principals of some government and government recognized institutions. Many students and other young men have already broken the salt laws and gone to jail. But whether many others do likewise or not, during the summer when there is a long vacation, large numbers of them will do their best to stop or materially reduce the sale of foreign cloth and cigarettes in their home towns and villages. There is already a perceptible fall in the sale of these articles. In and outside the student group, most of the active workers are young men.

The laboring people have grievances of their own. Since they are poor the salt tax hits them hard. They are aware of Mr. Gandhi's sympathy for the poor and revere him for his saintliness and ascetic life. There is no question therefore that they are with him. As things are there are frequent mill workers' strikes in various places. It has been officially acknowledged that Mr. Gandhi's influence with both mill-owners and mill hands in Ahmadabad has kept that great industrial centre much quieter than its bigger neighbour Bombay. The support and sympathy of the mill hands everywhere are unquestioned.

Since self rule is the birthright of every nation no one need offer any apology for starting a

movement for making his country free and independent and for taking up an attitude of irreconcilability to even the best foreign rule—if such a thing can exist. So, if I mention a few facts to show that Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi called by his countrymen the Mahatma for his great soul has not been an irreconcilable throughout his political career it is not by way of apology, but only to point out that British statesmanship has disappointed and disillusioned the greatest Indian political leader who co-operated with the British government often in the face of the hostile opinion of his countrymen, in a manner and to an extent that cannot be claimed for any other leaders in British India, living or dead, however much they may be commended by Britishers in power for their loyalty and spirit of co-operation.

In the Boer War of 1899-1902 Mr. Gandhi's personal sympathies were all with the Boers. But his loyalty to the British rule drove him to participation with the British in that war. He felt that if he demanded rights as a British citizen it was also his duty as such to participate in the defence of the British Empire. He held then that India could achieve its complete emancipation only within and through the British Empire. So he gathered together as many comrades as possible and with great difficulty got their services accepted in an ambulance corps which acquired itself well. At the time of the Zulu rebellion in Natal after the Boer War, he offered his services to the Natal government and led the Indian ambulance corps attached to the Natal forces. During the World War he raised recruits for the British government. You are a votary of *ahimsa*—non violence—how can you ask us to take up arms? "What good has the government done for India to deserve our cooperation?" These and similar questions used to be put to him during his recruiting campaign.

The Constitution of the Indian National Congress, presented by Mr. Gandhi at the annual session of the Congress held at Nagpur in 1929, stated the goal to be the attainment of Swaraj within the British Empire if possible and without if necessary. This was his oft repeated political creed up to the time when late in December 1929, he was forced to conclude that the Indian people must declare that their goal was independence and must strive to reach the goal. At the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1928 a strenuous effort was made by the more ardent spirits to have the Congress declare that its goal was independence. It was Mahatma Gandhi who then moved a compromise resolution to the effect that if the British government did not grant Dominion status to India on or before December 31, 1929, Congress would declare for independence. Mr. Gandhi personally wanted to give the government two years to make up its mind to grant India the freedom which was its birthright but others did not agree to give more than one year. When on November 1, 1929, Viceroy Lord Irwin made an announcement that Dominion status was England's political goal for India and that a round table conference would shortly be held in London to which representative Indians would be invited, Mahatma Gandhi and some other leaders gave His Excellency credit for sincerity and expressed a hope of being able to tender their cooperation to His Majesty's Government at the conference if certain conditions were

fulfilled. None of these conditions was accepted, nor was anybody able to extract from the government any definite information or promise relating to the time when India might expect to be a Dominion.

All this many Indian publicists including the writer had foreseen—they did not require to be disillusioned. But Mr Gandhi wanted to be charitable and to give all possible credit to the British government for good intentions. On the eve of the historic session of the Congress the last week of December 1929 at Lahore Mr Gandhi and other leaders saw Lord Irwin by request. But the Viceroy was unable to give any assurance that the purpose of the proposed round table conference in London was to draft a scheme for Dominion status. So according to the compromise resolution of the Calcutta Congress Mr Gandhi moved at the Lahore Congress to declare independence to be India's political goal.

Even after the passing of this resolution Mr Gandhi published a list of eleven very simple but all vital needs of India, none of which involved India's independence or the sovereignty of the British connection. And he let the Viceroy satisfy these very simple but vital needs of India. He will then hear no talk of civil disobedience and the Congress will heartily participate in any conference where there is a perfect freedom of expression and demand. There was no response from the government. So before launching the civil disobedience campaign Mr Gandhi despatched to the Viceroy his now historic letter which was an appeal to him on bended knees to consider and remedy the evils of British rule. But the appeal went for nothing. It elicited only a curt, formal reply from the Viceroy's private secretary. Then followed the civil disobedience campaign.

It is necessary to bear in mind all these facts to understand the full significance of Mahatma Gandhi's campaign to free India from subjection to Great Britain. It is not a campaign led by a doctrinaire advocate of independence who does not consider whether the foreign rule to which he is subject is bad or comparatively good but wants to get rid of it simply because it is foreign. On the contrary it is led by a man who at one time believed that India could become free only within and through the British Empire and in that belief served the British people and government and cooperated with them. The civil disobedience of such a man and his co-workers and followers means the bankruptcy of British statesmanship means that the cooperation which the British government expects of Indians is not the self-respecting partnership of free equals but the subservience of slaves. It means that even sincere service in times of the direst need cannot arouse any deep or lasting feeling of gratitude in the hearts of the British people. It means that, argument or no argument, they are not prepared to give up the Indian spoils and that consequently India must think of some other means of freeing itself.

Sufficient pressure of some kind must be brought to bear on England to make it agree to India's acquisition of freedom. Force of argument and the natural appeal of the friendly help rendered in time of need having failed, India could resort either to armed force or to some moral equivalent

of a war for independence. Probably most of those who are against the use of physical force for obtaining independence are so because they believe it to be impracticable, though obviously such a belief cannot be the result of experiment or thorough public discussion. But Mahatma Gandhi is opposed on moral and spiritual grounds to all violence and therefore to any armed war of independence. On the positive side he believes that civil disobedience coupled with the endurance—without even the thought of retaliation—of all sufferings even unto death, which it may bring on the civil resisters is an active force sufficient for attaining freedom.

If the Indian civil disobedience movement succeeds it will be a gain to all humanity. Armed rebellions for independence will no longer be absolutely necessary. That will mean the saving of much expense on both sides—on the side of the patriotic rebels as well as on the side of those desiring to crush them. The economic ruin brought on by war will also be prevented. But the moral and spiritual gain will be of far greater value. The chief redeeming feature of war is the heroism it evokes. In war men bear endless suffering, carry their lives in their hands and meet death with perfect nonchalance. In civil disobedience, while the civil resisters remain non-violent their official opponents can be and often are violent. The civil resisters are violently assaulted and many are clapped into prison and ill-treated in many ways. So civil disobedience does not make men less heroic than does war. There is thus no moral loss. On the contrary there is great moral and spiritual gain.

In ordinary wars keeping one's plan secret, taking the enemy by surprise, ambushes, camouflaging and other falsehoods, treachery and trickery of various kinds are not only considered legitimate and permissible but are taught, recommended and enjoined. In Mr Gandhi's civil fight everything is open and above-board and honourable. His objective and plans have been made known to all the world. He has placed all his cards before his antagonists. He has nothing up his sleeve. He has when necessary acted generously too. In the *satyagraha* or passive resistance campaign in South Africa, he kept his movement in abeyance during the strike of the white railway men in order not to embarrass the government. So that the sugar cane plantations might not be put to loss the Indian labourers joined the strike only after having despatched the sugar cane to a safe place. Similarly when the indentured labourers of the Durban Municipality stuck Indian sweepers and the Indian workers of the hospitals were asked to go back to their work and they did so gladly.

There is no question, then, but that civil disobedience is a more economical, more humane, more moral and more spiritual solution of dispute than war. Whether it will prove more or at least equally effective remains to be seen. But all those who are interested in the peaceful solution of international problems, all who are individually or collectively anti-imperialists, are cooperating to the full extent of their power and opportunities to make it effective. India means to be free and free she can be free either by peaceful methods or by bloody methods, and she has chosen the methods of peace.



# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## The Indian States and the Simon Commission

Sir M Visveswarayya examines the proposals of the Simon Commission with regard to the Indian States in *The Feudatory and Zamindari India*. He begins by saying that the people of British India have by prolonged and persistent agitation brought matters to a stage when the British Government has to grant them some sort of self government but that political advancement is lagging behind in the Indian States. Says Sir M Visveswarayya

The Rulers of Indian States have hitherto carried on autocratic or semi-autocratic rule within their territories to the extent permitted by the paramount power. The majority of the Princes though not unwilling to participate in the responsibilities and privileges of a Central Government have shown little enthusiasm so far to introduce responsible Government within their States. The people of Indian States though in many respects circumstanced like their compatriots in British India, are not in a position to put pressure on those in authority over them for similar concession because they are controlled by two masters namely the Rulers of Indian States and the Paramount Power—the British Government.

There is some kind of alliance and unity of purpose at the present time between the British Government and the Rulers of Indian States mainly because the control of the subject populations is shared by them. A quarter of a century ago, the Chief Minister of an important State now living in honourable retirement, was questioned by the writer in regard to the general trend of administration of Indian States in those days and his answer was summed up in these words — "When the British Agent supported the Maharaja, the Maharaja became the Ruler. When the Maharaja made mistakes and was at the same time disliked by the Agent, the Agent took control and became the Ruler. Matters continued in this state down to the time of the Minto-Morley Reforms about the year 1905 after which the British Government gave the Princes some liberty of action, presumably with a view to win their support in the fight against democracy and nationalism."

Then he comes to the specific proposals of the Commission

In the case of the Indian States the Commissioners are for the maintenance of the status quo. To them the Princes in the States are everything and the subjects nothing and it has not occurred to them that the States subjects are also likely to have ambitions and desires for the betterment of their condition

The Commissioners seem to imply that the Princes are opposed to a Federal Union. This is hardly correct. More than a dozen years ago, the question of a Federal Government at the Centre was considered by a Committee of Princes and Ministers of Indian States, when, in the capacity of a Minister the writer happened to be a member of that body. Even at so early a date, a few leading States considered the proposition as quite feasible and were prepared to send representatives to a Federal Legislature.

The Commissioners have made no effort to present the case for a federal constitution in a favourable light. While protesting that they are preparing the country for an all India Federation they have suggested the setting up of a Council composed of representatives of British India and Indian States to serve as a permanent machinery of consultation and they talk of the creation of a tradition in the working of that Council. The words quoted here either misrepresent the intentions of the Commissioners or they indicate a desire on their part to relegate the question of the Federal Union to the Greek Kalends.

No one reading the recommendations of the Commissioners on this part of the subject can escape the conviction that the hesitation of the Commissioners proceeds from a general disinclination on their part to facilitate constitutional advance, whether in British or in Indian India.

The encouragement that is being given to the Princes to rule as they like is deprecated by Sir M Visveswarayya

No help has been given to the Princes to understand that it is more honourable and comfortable for them to be constitutional rather than autocratic rulers. There will be no guarantee that in this democratic age any but the most capable and efficient among them will be able to hold their own. Some of the changes suggested may not be palatable to them at first but reflection will show that whatever the character of the ruler a constitutional government will always keep up a respectable standard of Administration in the interests of its subjects. It should be remembered that whatever the defects of the ruler may be, monarchical succession in his line and the privy purse will be more assured under a constitution broad based on the people's will.

It is hoped that the Princes and Chiefs will not be misled by the Commission's view but will take time by the forelock and initiate a movement to demand a Federal Legislature from the start. A strong legislature representing all the interests in the country with an Indian Cabinet giving effect to the wishes of the people under the orders of the Crown should be welcome to the Princes on grounds both of common interest and patriotism. By the States people and British Indians coming to other constitutionally national solidarity will

be promoted and the Princes will feel that they have a share in the Government of their motherland

### The Problem before the Cooperative Movement

In course of the Presidential address before the 10th Bengal Provincial Co-operative Conference Mr S. K. Ganguly the officiating Registrar of the Co-operative Societies of Bengal dwelt on the educational problem of the co-operative movement. As the personal factor is in every way the most important aid to the success of co-operative movement, this is undoubtedly a very grave question Mr Ganguly's suggestions are as follows:

The co-operative movement itself may provide for the training or recruitment of men or Government may be asked to find such men for the societies concerned. If we are to follow the practice of western countries we should adopt the former course.

In this connection I would commend to your notice the following advice that Sir Horace Plunkett gives to Indians in the course of his memorandum to the Agricultural Commission. What stands out in the Irish Movement, as I remember it and have tried to present it—with what measure of success I shall shortly know—are principally, Sir Horace says, its humble beginnings sustained by the allying faith of my fellow workers in the efficacy of self help. This was surely remarkable in a community taught for centuries to believe that the paralysis of abstraction. The Government was the cause of all evil and the potential source of all good things. Even more strange was it that when the Government was appealed to the demand was not for demoralising doles but for education, in the broadest sense of the term, to fit the chief wealth producers of our country for their work.

If it is desired that the progress of the co-operative movement should be more rapid than is the case at present co-operative societies should instead of waiting for help from outside themselves undertake the work of expansion and organisation. In matters of education and training help from Government should of course be asked for and I believe if properly considered schemes of co-operative training and education are prepared, such help if sought, cannot be withheld from the movement. The movement cannot be expected to be based on a solid foundation so long as arrangements are not made for the introduction of a regular system of co-operative training and education. Any such scheme to be effective must consist of three distinct parts. First there should be a wide extension of general education among the vast mass of people. Secondly a training in the principles and practice of co-operation is to be imparted to all persons connected with co-operative societies whether official or non-official. Thirdly arrangements should be made for the training of experts for the management of various types of co-operative societies. This work has already been begun though on a modest scale in some of the provinces in India. Bengal should not lag behind other provinces in a matter

of such supreme importance. The attention of the more important among the co-operative societies in the province should be directed to this question.

I have dwelt on two of the more important among the problems facing at the present moment the co-operative movement in this province namely a development of the movement commensurate with the economic needs of the vast mass of its people and the pressing need for the introduction of a suitable all round scheme of co-operative education and training.

### First Things First—Swadeshi

A strong plea is put forward by *Shri dharma* for the promotion of Swadeshi.

The movement for supporting Home manufacture moves ahead. The necessity of buying things develops on everyone. Every buyer has the right of choice. With a right and a necessity, there is also a responsibility. People have learnt that they are not serving their country if they buy the products of other countries thoughtlessly or in preference to their own manufactures. Especially in the matter of cotton cloth people had taken a wrong turn. But we are changing all that. Now we hear that there is hardly a yard of foreign cloth sold in the bazaars in Delhi. Bombay merchants and small traders are making patriotic sacrifices rather than sell foreign stuff. Ninety thousand bags of foreign manufactures are lying unclaimed on the docks of Bombay. Many towns are holding Swadeshi Exhibitions and these enormously stimulate and enjoin industry. After they are over Emporiums for certified home manufactures are opened and directories give addresses of shopping centres. Khaddar Vastralaya Depots have become centres of pilgrimage and taken on a shrine-like quality. Gandhi caps are sold by the thousand and women are taking the greatest pride in finding nice bits of khaddar for little kurtas for the toddler little khaddar frocks for the girls going off to school and they are determined to have at least one khaddar saree each for all public functions. In Cochin this month full half the town turned out to walk in procession in honour of the khaddar movement after the opening by Mrs. Consins of a Spinning Home given by Mr. Lyda Venkatarayana, a local zamindar. A procession proper had been banned by the Magistrate but as the leaders elected to walk the mile and a half to their bungalow after the function and refreshments were to be served there to the public no one could prevent the thousands who had been at the meeting from walking home with their host and thousands more joined in. A typical incident happened. The procession met a motor in which was one of the chief members of the All India Women's Conference for Andhradesa. Her heart was with the procession but she would not walk with it because she had not on a khaddar saree and she would feel ashamed.

## Internal Security and British Soldiers

Sir P S Sivaswamy Aiyer contributes a very important article to *Trium* on that portion of the Simon Report which deals with the Army in India. Sir P S Sivaswamy Aiyer deals with all the points raised by the Simon Report, out of which we can only quote his remarks with regard to the need for maintaining British soldiers in India for the sake of keeping internal peace.

It may be said that the position of the personnel of the army is also a matter for military experts and that we must take their *ipso facto* as to the necessity for British troops and officers and the proportion of the British element to the Indian. The views of the military authorities upon this question cannot be accepted without a heavy discount owing to their interest and prejudices. For the benefit of the lay reader it may be stated that the purpose of the army in India is defence against external danger and the maintenance of internal security and that it is divided into three sections: the covering troops on the frontier, the field army and the internal security troops. It will be a matter of surprise to the reader that, while the ratio of the British element to the Indian in India as a whole is about 1 to 2½, the ratio of British to Indian in the covering troops which have to resist the first onslaught of the invader is 1 to 6, and in the internal security section it rises to 1½ to 1 or in round numbers, about 8 to 7. The extraordinary disparity in the proportion of the British element required in the internal security calls for explanation. The only reason attempted to be given by the Simon Commission is that, owing to the communal tension which prevails in India, the British troops of the army are called into requisition for the purpose of putting down internal disturbances almost universally and that this is due to the fact that the neutrality of the British soldier unlike that of the Indian is above suspicion. For various reasons this explanation of the high ratio cannot possibly be accepted as convincing. In the first place, the primary agency to be employed for maintaining internal order and tranquillity is the police force. The neutrality and loyalty of the Indian police forces have never been questioned. On the contrary tribute has often been paid to the faithfulness with which the police have discharged their arduous duties in the most trying circumstances of civil disorder. Otherwise, one would have expected a proposal to have been put forward for a high admixture of the British element in the police force also. If a requisition is made for the employment of the regular troops it is not because the neutrality of the police cannot be depended upon but on account of the fact that they are not adequate in numbers and armament. There is no real ground for suggesting that the Indian soldier who has gone through a severer training and discipline than the police officer is not dependable in dealing with communal disturbances. But it is urged that, though the Indian soldier may be quite as reliable as the policeman or the British soldier, his neutrality would be suspect in this country. It has been also urged that as a matter of fact requisition have been made for the employment of British troops. No figures are given as to

the manner in which these requisitions have been complied with by sending British or Indian troops alone or both combined. It has to be remembered that the requisitions are made by the governments and not by any responsible ministry and that they cannot be used as evidence of the want of popular confidence in Indian troops. That the local governments may have more confidence in the British troops is beside the question. Moreover, even assuming the undesirability or inexpediency of employing troops likely to be swayed by partisan feeling or local attachment it should be quite easy to send Indian troops free from any probable bias to the affected areas. Granting even that the use of British troops may be necessary for the purpose of dealing with internal disorder one would be disposed to think there is no justification for the enormous disparity in the British ratio between the internal security troops and the field army. The only credible explanation is that this enormous British element is maintained not for dealing with inter-communal strife but for the purpose of putting down any national uprising against the Government.

## About Indian Insurance Companies

The Government Actuary's report on the Indian Insurance Companies furnishes an occasion for the editor of *The Indian Insurance* to put forward some constructive suggestions on the subject.

There are some very constructive suggestions in the report of the Government of India Actuary in regard to the working of insurance companies in this country. It is true that in general insurance business the position is that the bulk of the premium income is still going to non-Indian companies. As against 8 or 9 general Indian insurance companies of which only 5 are doing all classes of business, there are over 100 foreign insurance companies in our midst to compete for the Indian insurance business. General insurance business however is largely of an international character and companies try to spread their risks as wide as possible by making arrangements for the sharing of the business. Taking the British companies alone, even today 70 per cent of the premium income in their fire, marine and motor car business is derived from outside Great Britain. But one redeeming feature to the advantage of the British companies is that the British people wherever they are exclusively insure with British companies no matter whether they are in a civilized city or in the remotest corner of the world. Recently when a question was put to Mr. Henry Ford where he effects the insurances of his various factories spread over several parts of the world he replied that all his insurances were placed with American companies. Probably if a similar question was asked to the Japanese people doing business in India, the same answer that all their insurances were being placed with companies of their country would be given. It will be so with regard to many other nationalities as well. It is this spirit of looking to one's own country at all times for all things, that has been responsible for the building up of large insurance companies



and we commend this spirit to the people of our country at a time like the present when it is engaged in getting freedom in all spheres of activity.

Touching on the suggestions of the Government of India's Secretary we have already pointed out in the previous issue that his opinion is that no life company should be brought into existence in India unless it is assured of 2 lacs of paid up capital to start with. We trust that not only promoters of future life companies will take this to heart but we would suggest that even some of the new companies that have been formed will do their very best to amplify their capital to as large a figure as possible. Life insurance it must be understood is a long time contract. It is provision made in many cases for dependants such as widows and children. No trust money is more sacred than life insurance monies and it is the bounden duty of the management of life insurance companies to see that nothing happens to life insurance contracts, which are entered into with them. The difficulty with many of the new life insurance companies has been that the small paid up capital with which they start business leaves little or nothing after the company has worked the first two years. Naturally when the first valuation had to be made to know the real position of the company it was found that policyholders' interest was jeopardised. If only proper precautions were taken even from the very beginning to have as ample a paid up capital as possible the interests of the policyholders would have been intact. In life insurance it must be understood, it is the policyholder who is the mainstay of the business, the shareholder taking only a secondary place.

### Should we have a Universal Language

Mr K Venkatappayya B.A., B.L., B. Ed., argues the case for a universal language for the whole of world in the *Educational Review*, and in this connection surveys the attempts that have recently made to establish one.

Among the many attempts to establish peace and harmony in the world and to bridge the gulf between races speaking diverse languages the invention of a universal language deserves the best consideration of all lovers of mankind. A common language sufficient to serve as a medium of thought is nothing short of a necessity in these days of inter-dependence of nations. Modern European linguists have spared no pains to solve the problem of inventing such a language. The attempt that is being made in India of making Hindi the *lingua franca* of this country also lends support to the importance given to the problem by the cultured minds of the East and the West.

The invention of a universal language based upon scientific principle is, however a desideratum. For a long time Latin was the common learned language in Europe. The rapid development of modern science and modern thought dislodged it from that position long ago and various proposals have been put forward for the establishment of a Universal language in Europe. The adoption of an existing European language was one of such

proposals but such a course is neither easy nor practicable. A second proposal was to promote a particular language like English, Spanish or French to the honour but such a procedure would obviously result in giving undue advantage to the native speakers of that language. It would also create national jealousies and wound the patriotic feelings of the speakers of other languages. A third proposal was to select one of the classical languages like Greek or Latin for the purpose but this method also is out of the question for being dead languages it would be impossible to give dead bones life. Lastly the adoption of a language like Norwegian spoken by a few and possessing a simple structure was proposed. The objection to this suggestion is that Norwegian is a natural language and as such it is not easy to learn nor is a natural language a perfect expression of thought.

He then goes on to enunciate the principles on which an artificial universal language should be constructed and gives a lucid account of artificial universal languages.

### Christian Missions on the Cross roads

Are Christian Missions out of date?—this is the question asked by Rev. Dr Wilbur S. Deming, in an article contributed to the *National Christian Council Review*. The mediocre success of the Christian missions in India ought to have brought the question of the fore even before this Dr Deming would suggest that it is not so much the spirit of the whole movement, but the methods which need revising.

During the past year the Christian world has been faced with a somewhat new situation, namely a defeatist attitude on the part of some of its friends. The idea has been spreading that Christian Missions may be out of date and that the West has little to share with the East. In the Orient today nationalism is the movement of the moment. And while this has brought a curious co-mingling between cultural borrowing and cultural reassertion it has not made the East any more friendly to outside religious influences. Turkey and Japan have borrowed freely from the West, yet Turkey with its materialistic bias is not friendly to Christian evangelism. While the news from China may be exaggerated it cannot be denied that the atmosphere in general is not helpful to Christian preaching. Communism, materialism and the reassertion of Chinese culture are three influences which are becoming dominant. As the national movement in India gathers momentum what will be its effect on Missions or Christian evangelism? This is a question that is in the thoughts of many today. The Christian pronouncement at Allahabad had a great reception but this was due to its patriotic tone rather than any tribute to the value of the Christian viewpoint as such.

In the face of growing opposition cultural and materialistic, can we say that evangelism or Christian Missions are out of date? Have they shot their bolt? Only one answer can be given

So long as there is a Christian religion so long will evangelism be a potent force in the lives of Christians. In saying this however it must be recognized that methods do change. Some methods have become out of date. For example securing Christian decisions by coercion as it has been known in past centuries is entirely out of date. Whether this coercion be by official pressure as in the case of Ignatius Xavier at Goa or in the form of material inducements the issue is the same. Similarly, when working with school children evangelists or teachers must take great care in seeing that all Christian decisions are spontaneous

and not forced. Our own observation is that such coercion today is very rare.

Primary education as an evangelistic agency is nearing the end of its era, owing to governments and local bodies taking over this essential public duty. Missionary publicity has undergone radical changes this past century. It is no longer good form to make unfair comparisons between religions. The survival of a religion does have a vital relationship to its value for human beings and its influence on life. While inferior religious beliefs will thus gradually be discarded the process need not be hastened by invidious or provocative attacks.

## FINANCE AND INSURANCE

### The Jute Disaster

Considerable anxiety is caused throughout the country as a result of the publication of the final jute forecast in the first week of September. Jute is by far the most important product of Bengal, bringing to this province no less than Rs. 50 crores per annum on the average. More than fifty per cent of the cultivators of this part of India are dependent on the production of jute, and the amount of capital and number of persons engaged in jute trade and industry far exceed these in any other manufacturing industry or external and internal trade. A danger to such a

product must necessarily shake the placid tranquillity of various sections of our countrymen.

The final forecast of the jute crop of 1930 shows that, taking the consolidated statement for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and Assam into account, the revised estimated area for the three provinces is 3,485,600 acres, an increase of 70,635 acres, as compared with the revised final forecast for 1929. The crop, it is estimated, will yield 11,231,000 bales of jute or about 560 lakhs of maunds, exceeding last year's revised total by 845,800 bales. The summary of the forecast is given below.

Province	Area in acres		Difference	Yield in bales		Difference
	1929	1930		1929	1930	
Bengal (including Cooch Bihar and Tripura)	3,020,365	3,062,300	+41,935	9,264,200	9,966,000	+701,800
Bihar and Orissa	238,000	238,000		769,400	670,000	-99,400
Assam	156,600	165,300	+8,700	351,600	595,000	+243,400
Total	3,414,965	3,485,600	+70,635	10,385,200	11,231,000	+845,800

The departmental final forecasts for the three provinces give us some idea of the position that has led to this state of superfluity.

In Bengal, the districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Rajshahi, and Malda had marked absence of rainfall in May and early June. In June and July rainfall in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions as also in East Bengal tended towards an excess. On the whole, the conditions for growth had been favourable. The production averages were calculated on the basis of divisional normals as follows, Dacca and Chittagong divisions—37 bales per

acre or about 56 maunds per bigha, Rajshahi division—35 bales per acre or 53 maunds per bigha, and Presidency and Burdwan divisions—32 bales per acre or 48 maunds per bigha.

In Behar the preliminary estimate was for some reduced acreage but subsequently the estimate was raised to 238,000 acres, the figure attained last year. The conditions of production were not so favourable and at first it was believed that only about 58 per cent of the normal crop would be obtained. Subsequently however, the return was estimated to be 791 per cent of the

normal and the average outturn was calculated to be  $3\frac{1}{2}$  bales per acre or 5 maunds per bigha.

In Assam the season had been generally favourable for the crop except in Sylhet and although some damage was caused by earthquake hailstorms and insects it places the return was estimated to be 97 per cent of the normal per acre against 64 per cent of last year. The average was estimated to have increased from 1st 600 to 185,300 and the average yield has been taken to be 3½ bales per acre or 5 maunds per bigha.

It will be observed from the above that in each case the authors of the forecast have been particularly liberal in their calculations this year and there should be no great surprise if the estimates given above prove to be far out of the mark. We feel that taking the figures as they are there is some room for doubt as to their exactitude. Perhaps some portion of the present anxiety is without proper foundation. But surely that may offer only a small relief to the cultivators. In any case however in view of the serious implications involved in a crisis in the jute trade we cannot afford to sit idle at the present juncture and the attempts that are being made by various bodies to find out ways and means to ease the acute difficulties of the moment are welcome.

Speaking at the quarterly meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce nearly three months ago Mr D P Khaitan the President dwelt at length upon the gloomy outlook of the trades and industries of the country. While drawing special attention to the jute trade that is passing through a severe depression for some months past, Mr Khaitan observed: "The price of both raw and manufactured jute had declined to a level which was considered low even in the pre-war period. Further although the full effects of the depression were not yet felt by the industry the mills were carrying on a precarious existence. The Calcutta Gunny Bazar could no longer absorb the output of the mill which they used to do months ahead of actual production. Steps were taken by the Jute Mills Association to rectify the mistake prompted by them two years ago when they increased their hours of work from 54 to 60. They not only reverted to the 54 hour week but decided also to close down the mills one week every month for the present. Even this decision

failed to improve the situation. Owing to excessive production by the mills at a time when consumption was on the decrease large stocks of manufactured goods accumulated in all centres. The prices of hessian and gunny having reached an inordinately low level the mills find themselves in a most unhappy situation. Whatever little they may produce at the moment only goes to add to the difficulties and the raw materials in their hands are accumulating. It was estimated that on July 1 the stock of raw jute in the hands of merchants in Calcutta together with that held by them in the mofussil aggregated 37 lakhs of bales. Taking into consideration the critical condition of the jute industry abroad it was believed that the total requirements in the current year would not exceed 90 lakhs of bales as against an estimated total stock of nearly 15½ lakhs of bales. This means that by the end of this year nearly 60 lakhs of bales or more than six months requirements of the world will be carried over. If the present position is therefore permitted to continue unchecked there is no knowing when the tide of the depression can be stemmed.

The depression in the jute trade is bound to have serious repercussions on the entire economic life of the presidency. Besides aggravating the state of unemployment in the country it is bound to adversely affect every other trade and industry. Owing to the decline in his income the cultivator will not be able to make his usual purchases and the sale of all sorts of goods consumed by the ryot must necessarily decrease thereby throwing numerous traders and manufacturers into a state of distress. Nor can the Government go unaffected by the difficulties. The collection of income tax and many other dues in the country must be materially reduced and there must be serious deficiency in the finances of Government. It was therefore urged that both in their own interests as well as in the interests of the ryots the Government should come forward to take measures for improving the present situation in the jute trade.

Such was the warning issued over two months ago and yet nothing could be done. Nature has proved herself to be unusually bounteous at a time when the market is already overstocked and the slackness in demand is most acute.

In recent weeks pointed attention has been drawn to the question by several

newspapers. During the last few months there has been a big fall in the price of jute and the present price in the market is from Rs 28 to Rs 3-8 a maund. According to the figures supplied by the Director of Agriculture to the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee the cost of production of jute is estimated at just below Rs 6 per maund. The present price therefore is nearly half of what it cost the cultivator to grow his jute. Of the total estimated production this year of 11½ lakhs of bales or 100 lacs of maund only about one fourth has been marketed already. It is difficult to say at what price the remaining three fourths can be sold. However taking the present price as the minimum that the cultivator can be forced to go down to the total net loss to them will be about Rs 90 crores. If the losses that are likely to be incurred by the mills and the merchants who help in the collection and distribution of the raw material and the product are taken into consideration the total loss to Bengal will be incalculable.

Along with the fall in the price of raw jute there has been a severe fall in the price of manufactured goods. The price of a porter Hessian has fallen to Rs 88 which is the lowest price for 15 years.

The total value of exports of jute and jute manufactures during 1929 was about Rs 90 crore. Assuming that the quantity exported this year will be the same as last year the total value at the present market rates will be about Rs 40 to 45 crores. This means a reduction in the income of Bengal to the extent of about Rs 40 crores.

As a result of the condition in the jute trade the economic situation in the whole of Bengal has become serious. Hardly any section of the population—the landholders, professional and business men—has escaped its effect although the cultivator is the worst sufferer. The question that one is naturally inclined to ask is what is the fundamental cause of this distress in the jute trade and what might be the remedy for it. It is argued that this plight is due to world causes and world depression. While admitting that the falling prices all the world over have to some extent influenced the market for jute it is no use dismissing the whole issue by attributing the entire distress to world conditions. India commands a virtual monopoly in the supply of jute and there are few contending interests in the

organization of its trade. With some judicious measures it should be possible to take concerted action not only to relieve present difficulties but also to make the repetition of the same phenomenon impossible.

Putting it in a nutshell the present deplorable plight is due to over production. This is merely a relative expression for it involves both the question of consumption or demand and production or supply. Summarizing the causes and conditions that have led to the distress we find the following:

(a) Shakening in world demand for jute.  
(b) World depression in agricultural prices.

(c) Holding of large stocks over and dealing in futures.

(d) Nature bounteous yield for two or three years.

(e) Manipulation of prices of raw jute to the detriment of the trade and promoting production through the raising of false hopes at sowing time.

(f) Deflation of currency which has accentuated the evils of falling prices.

(g) Complete maladjustment between production and consumption of jute and absence of any machinery for effecting harmony.

Over some of these causes we have perhaps little control but there is no reason why our business men and financiers as well as representatives of the Government and of the producers, should not be able to devise means to check the evils arising out of the others.

Coming now to the remedies it has to be pointed out that these must be classed under two heads namely, those directed to effect immediate relief and those meant to remove the difficulties permanently. We give below the various suggestions that have come to light and deserve attention.

Regarding present distress the remedies proposed have been:

(a) Deputation to Government for advances to cultivators and for the suspension of payment of rent for the Aswin Kist.

(b) Deputation to landlords for the remission and suspension of rent collections and for loans to enable the ryots to tide over their immediate difficulties. They may also be requested to accept part of their dues in kind in jute which they will hold back for the time being.

(c) Appeal to Government to impress upon them the seriousness of the situation.

ad to ask them to help in withholding from the market a part of the stock. This can be done if Government agrees to purchase about 30 lakhs of bales with about 5 crores of rupees and to keep this in reserve in warehouses. The finance for this measure may be obtained by issuing paper currency to the required extent against the security of such goods held in stock.

(d) Propaganda amongst the villagers bringing them a message of hope and asking them to hold back as much stock from the present market as possible.

It must be realized that no amount of attempt at relieving immediate distress can be successful without a simultaneous endeavour to stop the possibility of future over production. Much of the trouble is due to the fact that we have this year one of the biggest jute crops ever known coinciding with an acute trade depression. While there is yet time we must try to prevent another big production next and subsequent years. With that in view as well as with a view to increase the price of manufactured goods the following remedies have been suggested.

(a) Declaration of a bold policy by the jute mills to bring about an effective curtailment of the present stock of manufactured goods and to reduce future production substantially.

(b) Legislative provision to control the production of jute under licences obtainable from Government.

(c) Reforms in the present arrangements for collection and publication of forecasts and the dissemination of information about approximate annual requirements and probable prices to the cultivators sometime before sowing season.

(d) Propaganda amongst the cultivators asking them to distribute their agricultural activity and to restrict the production of jute generally.

It is yet premature to say which of these steps will really give permanent relief. But obviously there is something to say for all these suggestions. In consideration of the seriousness of the situation we believe that there should be no further delay in the adoption of some measures. The efficacy of the measures may be watched and the procedure may be modified gradually.

It must here be observed that in matters financial and economic no useful purpose is served by being an alarmist. It is easy to add to the despondence of the people and to

create a feeling of conflagration amongst our countrymen. But it is difficult to inspire hope and create confidence. At a time like the present there is great need for bringing to the cultivator the message of patience and perseverance, courage and industry. World demand must soon show signs of improvement, and who can tell that the gloom will not disappear at an early date.

NATIAKSHA SANYAL

### Polish Independence and Insurance

How independence of Poland has been quickly followed by striking development of indigenous insurance business in that country was related at the 1st Congress of Actuaries in Stockholm. In 1914 there were in Poland only two proprietary and eight mutual national insurance companies transacting life accident fire and plate glass business. Other classes of insurance were entirely in the hands of foreign insurance companies.

At present there are fifteen proprietary and eleven mutual national insurance companies transacting thirteen kinds of insurance business in Poland. Legislative restrictions have been imposed on the activities of foreign insurance companies—only three of them are licensed to transact business throughout Poland and four are permitted to write insurances only in certain districts of the country. In 1928 the total premium income of Polish companies amounted to nearly 7L 8½ crores while the corresponding figure for foreign insurance companies came to only 7L 2½ crores. It is quite evident that non national insurance companies have lost their footing in Poland. Besides now under law foreign insurance companies transacting business in that country must appoint a Polish citizen as their chief representative in Poland.

### Life Insurance and Mussolini

An interesting question has been raised in the Insurance world whether policies on the lives of Dictators can be issued at ordinary rates. After the last war Dictatorship had been established in several countries e.g. Primo De Rivera in Spain, Prof. Valde maras in Lithuania, Pilsudski in Poland and Mussolini in Italy. The first two have since been overthrown. Several attempts have been made on the lives of these dominating personalities and there is no indication that

no further attempt might not be made. At present informations are required from the proponent as to his making aviation a full or part time job, proceeding on active war service, etc. An ingenious insurance expert suggests an additional question—Do you intend to become a Dictator—which seems to be a more dangerous occupation.

The question came to the fore in connection with a recent attempt made by an enterprising Insurance agent to tackle the great Mussolini for a life policy. The world renowned Dictator is as much if not more in need of protection for his wife and children as any other responsible head of a family.

This "live-wire" life assurance man wrote policies on the lives of two Presidents of the United States. He sought an interview with the Duce (meaning the chief as Mussolini is popularly called in Italy) in Rome with the help of his country's Ambassador but he was informed that the great man was so much taken up with important matters that it was impossible to grant him an interview unless he waited for a month or six weeks. The Insurance agent then straight went to the hotel where Mussolini resides to catch an informal talk. On return he said, "I never know so many soldiers could be crammed into one place. They came out in droves. Some secret service may also join the crowd." Asked if he could see Mussolini he replied, "No but I wasn't arrested either."

#### Insurance Year Book 1929

The Insurance Year Book which has just been published by the Government of India reveals certain interesting facts. Altogether 215 companies are transacting insurance business in India. Of them 97 are constituted in India, 72 in the United Kingdom, 29 in the British Dominions and Colonies, 13 in the United States of America, 19 in the Continent of Europe, 10 in Japan and 1 in Java. Life assurance business is carried on by 102 companies, Fire or Marine insurance by 151 companies and other classes of insurance by 171 companies.

The total premium income derived from life assurance business in India amounts to Rs. 2½ crores of which nearly Rs. 3 crores go to non-Indian companies. Besides about half a crore of rupees is derived from Postal Insurance Scheme which is run by the Government of India. The premium income of non-Indian companies from

General Insurance business comes to over Rs. 2 crores, out of a total of only Rs. 2½ crores. So altogether we are placing annually over five crores of rupees out of our savings in the hands of foreigners.

The average sum assured under a policy of a non-Indian company is Rs. 3,500 while only Rs. 1,500 represents the average policy value of an Indian concern. It is evident that comparatively well off persons patronize foreign institutions in preference to indigenous concerns. This stands in striking contrast with the records of other countries where people lend their support exclusively to national concerns. Foreign companies transacting business in those countries are patronized by their own nationals only.

#### Propaganda against Indian Insurance

A sinister propaganda is being carried on to discredit Indian insurance companies. Anonymous leaflets have been distributed at various places and recently in Bombay was circulated an interesting leaflet printed at the Government Press and presumably issued under the authority of the Bombay Government. The latest Insurance Year Book also appears to be an indirect propaganda against Indian insurance. Attempts are being made to arouse suspicion in the minds of people with regard to the financial stability of Indian concerns and it is alleged that they are not prompt in the settlement of claims.

With regard to the first point it may be pointed out that in spite of defects in some small concerns, average Indian insurance companies are as sound as the British ones and the better class of them can stand any test to prove their soundness and security. On the other hand British insurance companies are not like Caesar's wife above suspicion. Instances of failure of British concerns are not rare and only recently a life office of London went into liquidation under regrettable circumstances.

The allegation that Indian insurance companies do not settle claims promptly is also unfair. The delay in the settlement of claims in India is not due to any defect inherent in the companies concerned. The real explanation lies in the social and legal complexities of the people and their habits and disabilities. If particulars can be obtained regarding outstanding claims with reference to their Indian

business perhaps it will be found that their experience is worse than their Indian rivals

### International Congress of Actuaries

The ninth session of the International Congress of Actuaries met in Stockholm during the end of last June. The Congress was originated in 1857 and usually it meets every three years. But owing to the intervention of the war there was no sitting for twelve years. The most important question discussed at the Stockholm Congress was with regard to distribution of surplus. The

Actuaries are trying to determine an equitable method for the bonus distribution in conformity with fluctuations of interest mortality and expenses. Another important task undertaken by the Congress is to investigate the mortality of persons with a personal history of diseases with a certain or supposed connection with tuberculosis. The question of tubercular risk is of considerable interest to Insurance companies and it is hoped the efforts of the Congress will contribute materially to the solution of this problem.

S. C. RAY

## Indian Womanhood

Mrs. SRICHAND LALL, nee Dharmasida Jayaswal has sailed for England for a degree in English literature in London University and to qualify herself for the Bar. She is the second Hindu lady from Bihar to go to

course and obtained that degree as a private candidate. She passed her M. A. examination in English from the Benares Hindu University. She is the daughter of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, Bar-at-Law, of Patna.

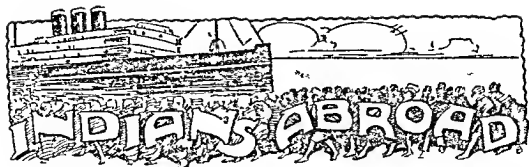


Mrs. Dharmasida Jayaswal



Mrs. Jyotsna Mitra who has been sentenced to imprisonment for picketing foreign cloth shops

England for general education and the first from that province to go there for legal training. She studied at home up to the B. A.



## By BEN ARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

### Returned Emigrants at Matlaburz

It was in the year 1931 that Mahatma Gandhi and Dinabandhu Andrews asked me to look after the emigrants who were returning from Fiji during that year in such large numbers. Since that time I have visited Matlaburz quite frequently. For outside readers I may add here that Matlaburz is a dirty suburb of Calcutta full of slums where more than a thousand returned emigrant from colonies are living in a wretched condition.

Though as I have said I have visited this place frequently never did I see such pitiable scenes as I witnessed in my last visit. Formerly these people could get some employment and they were pulling on somehow but now they are mostly unemployed and this unemployment has brought them on to the verge of starvation. Some of them were turned out of their houses (if those places could be given this name) and had to pass their days and nights under the trees during the rainy season. When I was visiting some of the houses a returned emigrant remarked "Look here Pindilip, are not the houses worse than pigsties?" I could see that there was no exaggeration in this remark. The lanes through which one has to pass are full of mud and stench. There are pools with stagnant water—breeding places for mosquitoes and malaria and consequently a large number of the returned emigrants are often suffering from malarial fever.

Matlaburz has been a death trap for hundreds of returned emigrants during the last ten years and it is a disgrace to the municipality and the town that such an abominable slum quarter is allowed to exist at all. How these returned emigrant got

there is a long story. From the days of the indenture slavery the place has been associated with emigrants. There was a coolie depot at Garden Reach from where thousands of Indians—men and women—were shipped to colonies every year under that hated labour system founded on fraud and carried on through falsehood. A large number of people who return from the colonies are absorbed in their village population but a certain percentage—probably 20 per cent—get stranded and they come to this congested quarter of Calcutta. The problem of these returned emigrants has engaged the brains and energies of Mr. Andrews, Mr. F. L. James (formerly of the I. M. C. A. Calcutta) and others but has not yet been tackled successfully. There are several factors that have stood in the way of a successful solution of the problem. Take the social side of it. There are a number of people among these returned emigrants who have married outside their caste and they have their families and surely it is almost an impossible task to get these people taken back in their respective social organizations. The question of marriage of their children raises another serious difficulty. Then the children who were born in the colonies find it most difficult to adjust themselves to their new surroundings. Having been accustomed to live in the socially free atmosphere of the colonies where they could get a living wage these colonial born children chafe at the caste-ridden atmosphere all around. Add to these the economic distress—the want of employment—and you can imagine the miserable lot of these people.

Here are some cases. Two sons of a Bihari Brahman returned from British Guiana more than a year ago with their



parents they looked quite healthy when they came to the Vishal Bharat office just after their return. The elder child could speak English fluently and there was a colonial air about them. Evidently they were reading in some school in British Guiana and I advised the father of these sons to take them to Benares to get them admitted in some school there and gave him letters of introduction. But the poor man could not succeed for none could promise any help beyond free studentship. If the parents had not made the blunder of returning to India both the boys would have been getting their education in some colonial school but now there seems no possibility of their getting any education at all. The elder child is earning three or four annas a day by working in a match factory where he is paid at the rate of three pice for filling two hundred match boxes. He looks a mere skeleton of his former self and it was difficult to recognize him in his dirty rags so different was he from the decently dressed colonial boy who came to my office a year ago. I asked him

How do you like this place? Would you not like to go back to Demerara colony again? The question moved him and I could see tears in his eyes. He realizes that gone for him are the days when he could move freely when his father could earn enough by working as a priest in British Guiana. That an intelligent boy of his tender age should be engaged in the monotonous work of filling match boxes in a factory day in day out instead of getting his education in some school is a pathetic thing indeed.

There is another colonial born boy who was working as a jockey in race courses in British Guiana. He is a decent looking boy and his father who was a Sardar of labourers relates with pride how his son used to win in race courses. The poor boy cannot find any employment here. It may be mentioned by the way that a system of bribery is prevalent in many offices at Calcutta and the ill paid clerks of these offices insist on being paid five rupees or ten before they give employment to labourers.

The case of those unhappy people who have left their birth and kin behind in some colony is very tragic indeed. Here is an old lady who has lost one eye and who left her sons and grandsons in Demerara. Bitterly does she weep for those children whom she will never see again in her life for British

Guiana is fourteen thousand miles away and the passage costs not less than Rs 375—an impossible sum to manage for a poor woman.

A Vmshya of Jhansi district who has taken to begging bewails his lot more than any one else. He was not taken back in his caste. His people refused to recognize him even. No one in my family has ever been a beggar, he says and sobs aloud.

On 25th September 1929 when the Honourable Mr. Ramaprasad Mukerji asked in the Council of State if the Government had made any effort to alleviate the grievances of these returned emigrants. Sir Fazl Husain replied—"Government are considering whether anything can be done to help the repatriates."

A year has now passed and we do not know of anything done by the Government for these poor people. It is to be noted that the problem of these returned emigrants are after effects of the hated Indenture system and the Government that was responsible for this system cannot escape its moral responsibility so far as these people are concerned. The least that they should do is to establish a semi-official organization like the Indian Emigrants Friendly Service Committee to do some social service to these people and to help them in getting employment. It is a pathetic sight to see the children in these wretched surroundings. There is a look on the faces of these children which betrays want of nourishment and joy and it seems that these children have never smiled. And what can be more moving than the sight of girls who have not got enough of clothing to cover their body?

In the name of these people who are starving these boys and girls who have not got even clothes in the name of suffering humanity I would appeal to the readers of these notes to do what they can to help these returned emigrants.

Any help in money or clothes should be sent direct to Jatra (of British Guiana) Banari Thakurs House, Mathaburz P O, Garden Reach Calcutta.

#### News from Fiji Islands

An esteemed correspondent writes in his letter of 12th August 1930

I believe that you are already aware of the fact that after the resignation of the three Indian Members from the Legislative Council the Governor proclaimed a fresh election and though

a month was given not a single man came forward to file a nomination. Having failed at this game the Government called several prominent Indians at a conference, with a view of course to force upon them the unwanted and *there* rejected communal franchise. At this so-called round table conference our representatives made it plain that the Indians will not be satisfied with anything less than common franchise.

Subsequently in opening the Council the Governor stated that should any of the Divisions desire a fresh election he was prepared to accede to the request. No one as yet has taken the bait nor there is any likelihood. What a disappointment to the Governor and his advisers!

While lethargy prevails amongst the workers of the cause dear to our hearts the government supporters are busy in spreading all sorts of rumours to mislead the Indians from the determination to achieve their aspirations in regards to common roll. Opinion already seems to be divided amongst our people and if nothing is done soon, things may take a turn for the worse.

Next Sunday the 17th inst. we are holding a conference of the prominent Indians with a view to decide something definite and concrete. It was our intention to send a deputation to India but as things are so unsettled in India we have given up the idea. It is now our intention to send a deputation to London with a view to press the Colonial office to extend the East African policy of common franchise to Fiji. Of course every thing is in the melting pot and I am not in a position to say whether or not this will appeal to our friends. Financially we are very weak indeed and that is where all our misery lies.

The economic condition of our countrymen in Fiji seems to be going from bad to worse and every one is feeling the pinch of it. There has been no rain to speak of for the last few months with the result that the cane crops—the only crop that brings us our livelihood—have dried out and if there is no rain for another week or two the next year is going to be one of the worst in the history of Fiji. Wherever one may go from Ra, Tavua, Ra, Lautoka, Nadi and Suva, there is just one gloomy picture to see. Things are really very disconcerting and one does not know what to do. The price of sugar seems to be going down daily with the result that the cane-growers are becoming hopeless in regards to their future.

The Arya Samaj which until recently was one of the best Indian institutions is now degenerating and if the Samajists don't soon wake up they will find themselves left in the lurch.

The Fiji Indian National Congress which was established last year has already become defunct with its president Mr. A. D. Patel and secretary Mr. A. Rahimani Sahni. As one of the admirers of this great institution I have been trying to bring life in it but I find little enthusiasm in the office bearers of the Central Congress Committee—the Executive—and this is very disappointing indeed.

The Indians in Suva seem to have nothing else to do than to sit on one another's throats. They are creating parties like mushroom which help them a great deal in bringing about more and more misunderstanding and personal bickerings. The Christians and Mohammedans who until a few years ago had the field quite clear for converting Hindus to their fold find that their monopoly has

been suddenly snatched away by the Arya Samaj and this has naturally upset them. Both the Christians and Mohammedans are out to enlist the sympathy of the Samajists—a great majority of whom are illiterate and ignorant with a view to run down the Samajists and thus lump them in their work. In this respect they have to some extent succeeded in creating bad blood between the Hindus and the Samajist.

The Samajists have recently got a preacher from India to go about preaching. The idea seems to be to run down the Samajists.

The Mohammedans are trying to induce the government to grant them a separate electoral roll. The less said the better.

The government is out to make cultivators of us all. It does not suit them to have educated Indians in Fiji.

Whichever way you turn your attention you find trouble and disaster awaiting you. So on the whole this is our lot in Fiji and if I am feeling dependent on the subject I am sure that I am not the only one.

### Foreign Department in the Sarva Deshik Arya Pratidin Sabha

The joint June and July issue of the *Sarvadeshik*—the organ of the Central Bureau of the Aryasamajists—contains a scheme of work for the Foreign Department of the League. The scheme is no doubt quite elaborate and workable but it requires men of energy and imagination to carry it through. There are unfortunately very few Aryasamajist leaders having the organizing capacity of Swami Shruddhanda or the propagandist power of Swami Darshananda. Most of our present-day Arya Samaj leaders lack creative imagination without which there can be no possibility of spreading the Vedic message far and wide among Indians settled in distant parts of the world. More than six years ago the following resolutions were passed at the time of Dayanand Centenary at Muttra.

(a) Every educational institution of Aryasamaj shall admit one (or more than one if possible) student from colonies giving him free studentship and free boarding.

(b) A scheme for doing religious and educational work among Colonial Indians shall be prepared by a committee which shall include some prominent Colonial workers also.

(c) A full report of the work done by the Aryasamaj in the Colonies shall be prepared and published.

(d) Help shall be given to Colonial institutions and journals which are doing religious, educational or Hindi propaganda work among Indians abroad.

(e) Every Aryasamaj shall help the returned emigrants in being admitted in the society.

The *Sarvadeshik Sabha* neglected these resolutions for a long time till its attention was drawn towards it by Sannyasi Bhawanji.

Dayal of South Africa. He prepared a scheme for the Foreign Department of the Sabha and this is being circulated among Aryasamajes in the colonies and opinions are being invited regarding it. We are glad to note that now the Sabha has taken up the work seriously. First of all they are going to publish a survey of the work of Aryasamaj in the colonies. We would request the workers of the Sabha to push on the work vigorously. They have neglected it so far and their negligence has caused considerable despair in the hearts of our workers in the colonies.

### Christianity and Imperialism

It is our conviction that so long as Christian preachers ally themselves to the British Imperialists true teachings of Christ will never make any headway among the intelligent classes in India. In fact, these Imperialist preachers of Christianity have done greater harm to the cause of Christ than any one else. We have therefore sorry to note that one of our own countryman Rev. J. W. Netram, Indian Evangelist of Theological College Indore is following the objectionable ways and methods of the white Imperialists in his preachings in Trinidad.

Here are some extracts from an interview given by him to the *Trinidad Guardian* and published in that paper of 3rd August.

The people of India seem to be beginning to feel that Christ is the solution of India's problems—economically, socially, mentally, politically and spiritually. The old faiths of India seem to have failed her in the hour of her greatest need. They have had a trial long enough and instead of solving India's problems they have actually aggravated them until India has begun to feel very keenly the weight of the dead hand of the past.

### EXTREMISTS AND LIBERALS

Asked for the views on present conditions in India, Mr. Netram said: "I know Mahatma Gandhi personally. I have been at his home as his guest, and I have met most of the leaders of India."

"The situation in India is just this. There are at the present time two important political parties. On the one hand there is Mahatma Gandhi and his party called the Extremists. On the other hand, there are the Liberals. Both are equally strong and have equally good brains and influence."

"The Extremists have no use whatsoever for the British Government in India, and therefore they are asking for complete severance from the British Empire."

The Liberals are all for Dominion status. They have no intention whatsoever of going outside of the British Empire."

Then there are between six and seven hundred native States ruled by Indian Chieftains.

of the people of India live in these native States. Every one of the native rulers is loyal to the British Crown, but mainly I suppose in their own interests because they get British protection both from foreign invasion and internal encroachment.

### HOOLIGAN ELEMENT

Thirdly, there are the merchant classes. The merchants know that they cannot carry on business successfully under chaotic conditions. India holds the joint monopoly of the world and since the British Government maintains peace and order in the country in the interest of business at least the merchants of India want the British Government to stay.

Fourthly, there are great masses of the people living in the villages most of whom are dependant upon farming. These poor illiterate people have learnt from experience that invariably they can get justice and fair play in a British law court, more than they can ever hope to get in the court of a native ruler. Therefore naturally they want the British Government to stay.

"This leaves a very small section of the country for the Extremists to work upon—mostly composed of the student class. Some of these young students not having the advantage of native judgment, get out of hand and clash with the constabulary."

There is also a hooligan element which tries to make capital out of the present political situation. Therefore you read in the newspapers of so many killed and wounded. About half of them are just hooligans.

There is however plenty of quiet goodness in India which never gets into the newspaper.

Rev. Netram thinks that the Simon Commission has taken a very sane view of the whole situation and that with the progress of Christianity India will find the unifying force and the dynamic which she needs.

We are afraid the Reverend gentleman has gone absolutely on the wrong track in some of these statements.

By saying that the Extremists and the Liberals are equally strong and have equally good brains and influence he has betrayed his crass ignorance of the Indian situation.

His statement that about half of the killed and wounded are just hooligans is not only untrue but also uncharitable. His views about the merchants and the masses are coloured with prejudice and ignorance. By doing this sort of Imperialist propaganda Rev. Netram is doing disservice to himself, his cause—the spread of Christianity—and also to his motherland.

### Wanted Correspondents

I shall be much obliged if some of our colonial friends will send me the names and addresses of their friends in Jamaica, Surinam, Australia, New Zealand, Rhodesia, Portuguese East Africa and Madagascar. It is rarely that we read anything in the papers about our people in these places.



# NOTES

## Personnel of the Round Table Conference

It was shown in a recent issue of this review that the conference to be held shortly in London between the representatives of the three British political parties and the Indian nominees of the British Indian Government could not be called a "Round Table" conference. It is also known that the Congress which in the opinion of *The Leader* of Allahabad (a Liberal organ) "represents the strongest and most influential political organization in the country will not participate in the Conference directly or indirectly. In the absence of Congress men the Conference could have been claimed to be representative of other political groups and other communities if those had been asked to choose their own men. They have not been so asked. It is true that if they had been so asked the choice of some of them would have fallen on some of the British nominated Indians. But as this has not been done no political group no religious community and no other kind of group will be bound by the speeches and actions of any British nominated Indians however distinguished they may be. For the groups to which they belong have not given them any mandates.

It may be interesting to scrutinize the manner in which the British Indian Government has made use of its self-assumed power of choosing the so-called representatives of India.

The two main divisions of India are British ruled India and Indian ruled India. The latter also is in reality British dominated. But let us stick to the external and apparent division. The total population of these divisions with the number of men chosen by Government from them is shown below.

## Population Number of British nominees

British ruled India	247 003 293	01
Indian ruled India	71 939 187	16
India (including Burma)	318 942 480	67

The nominees from British ruled India number fifty one. The name of Dr Shafiat Ahmed Khan has been added later but this does not increase the number of nominees as Dewan Chamanlal one of the original nominees has refused to accept the nomination on the ground it is reported that his voice at such a conference would be a cry in the wilderness. If the population of British India were taken to be 100 the population of the Indian States would be 29. But the nominees from the States would be represented by the figure 3, if the nominees from British India were represented by the figure 100. The population of the States is very much less than one-fourth of the whole of India but their nominees are very nearly one-fourth of the total number.

Coming to the religious or other groups in British ruled India, one finds that there has been discrimination in favour of some and against others. The population figures are taken from the *Statesman's Year Book* for 1930 page 121.

Groups	Population	No of Nominees
Hindu	163 144 700	23
Sikh	2 367 021	2
Jain	400 500	Nil
Buddhist	11 490 810	2
Parsee	88 464	2
Muslim	50 444 331	10
Christians	3 077 681	3
Jews	19 221	Nil
Aborigines	6 904 167	Nil
Others	17 740	Nil
English speaking	300 071	

It is to be noted that the Depressed Classes who are *officially* estimated to number 60 000 000 have only one nominee—Dr Ambedkar—though their numerical strength is equal to that of the Muslims

Proportionately a very small number of nominees has been chosen from the Hindus and an excessive number from the Muslims as the following table will show

Province	Total Population	Hindu	Muslim	Number of Hindu Nominees	Number of Muslim Nominees
Assam	7 606 230	11 32 968	2 202 460	1	nil
Bengal	16 151 536	20 206 851	25 210 802	3	2
Bihar & Orissa	31 002 181	28 161 159	3 610 182	1	1
Bombay Pres	19 318 219	11 816 236	3 820 153	1	3
C P & Berar	13 912 760	11 12 011	5 63 571	2	nil
Madras	42 318 985	37 311 231	2 840 189	9	nil
N W F Province	2 251 310	149 881	2 067 786	nil	1
Punjab	20 685 021	6 579 60	11 111 321	1	5
U P	45 376 787	38 610 162	6 181 032	2	1

Roughly the Hindus form two thirds of the population of British ruled India but British nominated Hindus form less than half of the total number Moslems form less than one fourth or less than 25 per cent of the total population of this area but about 30 per cent of the nominees came from that community. Buddhists are much more numerous than Sikhs Parsis Indian Christians and Europeans. In view of that fact the number of Buddhist nominees is very small Parsis and Europeans are very much over represented.

We have all along been opposed to communal representation in the legislative and other really or nominally representative bodies. Our analysis of the figures given above must not be taken to mean that we have receded from that position and now want any such kind of representation or nomination. We want only to show the absurdity of the claim that there has been or can be any equitable communal representation.

The opposition of the bureaucracy and of the hard Britishers to Indian Swaraj is

claimed by them to be due in part to their anxiety to safeguard the interests and welfare of the Depressed Classes the Aborigines and other unimportant minorities. The figures given above do not show that this anxiety is more than a profession. Should it be urged that these groups did not contain a sufficient number of men qualified even to cry ditto to the dicta of the bureaucracy at an English-speaking conference one would be entitled to ask whether that fact was a measure of the beneficence of British rule for more than a hundred and fifty years so far as these minority communities were concerned.

It would be interesting to note the number of nominees taken from different provinces, in order to ascertain whether the nominations were in proportion to population. But as in many cases it is difficult to know to what province a nominee belongs we cannot draw up an accurate statement. But we shall try to give a fairly accurate idea of how some of the provinces stand. *Justice* of Madras states that out of the fifty nominees ten belong to the Madras Presidency. Some other figures also can be ascertained and are given below.

Province	Total Population	Number of Nominees from each Community	Total No of Nominees
Assam	7 606 230	1 Hindu	1
Bengal	16 691 536	{ 2 Muslim 2 European and Anglo Indians 1 Bengali Hindu Zamindar 1 Bengali Government Servant, 1 Bengali Hindu Moderate 1 Hindu Zamindar 1 Muslim 3 Muslims 2 Parsis 4 Hindus (including 1 non Brahmin and 1 Depressed Class	7
Bihar & Orissa	34 002 189		2
Bombay Pres	19 318 219		9

Province	Total Population	Number of Nominees from each Community	Total No of Nominees
Burma	13 169 099	3 Burmans and 1 European	4
C P & Berar	13 912 760	1 Hindu non official, 1 Hindu Govt. Servant	2
Madras	42 318 943	9 Hindus, 1 European	10
N-W F Province	2 251 340	1 Muslim	1
Panjab	20 685 024	1 Hindu, 2 Sikhs, 5 Muslims	8
U P	45 975 787	2 Hindu 1 European, 3 Muslim non-officials, 1 Muslim Government Servant	7
Total Number of Nominees			51

As regards the Muslim community the following figures show the proportion of their representation

Province	Muslim Population	No. of Muslim Nominees
Assam	2 202 460	nil
Bengal	21 211 802	2
Bihar & Orissa	3 090 182	1
Bomb & Pres.	3 940 153	3
C P & Berar	63 674	nil
Madras	2 840 488	nil
N W F Prov	2 067 786	1
Panjab	11 444 321	1
U P	6 481 032	4

The Hindus in the Panjab number 6 579 260 and the Sikhs 2 294 207. But two nominees from that province are Sikh and only one a Hindu. In Bihar and Orissa the Hindus number 28,166 459 and yet there is only one Hindu nominee from that province. Orissa has not a single nominee chosen from it.

As regards the Indian States (we are not taking Burma into consideration), out of a total population of 69 162 521, the Hindus number 53 389 886 and the Musalmans 9 290 902. Out of this vast population of Indian States' subjects, there is no nominee who has been chosen to 'represent them. Only sixteen Ruling Princes and their officers have been nominated. The Indian States' peoples do not count. Of these peoples the vast majority are Hindus. Of the sixteen Princes and their officers nominated by the Government of India four are Musalmans. The figure would have been different if due importance had been attached to the numerical strength of the communities and the progressiveness of the administration of the different States.

Nothing is yet known definitely of the number and the names of British representatives of the three parties who will attend the conference. Nor has the name of the chairman of the conference been definitely

announced. But whoever they may be, they will be entitled to speak and act on behalf of their parties as they will be chosen by their party leaders and organizations. They will be representatives of the three organized British political parties and, collectively, of Great Britain as a whole.

The same cannot be said of India as has been indicated above. The Congress, incomparably the most influential and best organized political body in India is entirely out of the show. None of the other political bodies were allowed or asked to elect their representatives. They were not even asked to place in the hands of the Governor-General a panel of names from which he might choose the requisite number of persons. The religious and other communities have received the same kind of autocratic treatment. The British bureaucracy have chosen men to suit their own convenience, just including in the list a few really distinguished men, who tower in comparative political solitude, to lend it a 'representative' colouring. But even the most distinguished among them have very little following. All the persons in the list taken together cannot 'deliver the goods', because they have never taken any risk and will not do so in the future.

Those officials who have chosen the men betray by their choice their prepossession in favour of communalism which is calculated to keep India divided and weak, and their bias against nationalism, which is calculated to make the country united and strong.

Quite unabashed the official selectors have nominated three Indians who are members of three provincial executive councils and one Khan Bahadur who is only a deputy commissioner of a Punjab district. They are certainly representatives of India *par excellence*.

### Work and Procedure of R T C

Nothing has been definitely announced as to the work to be done by the "Round Table Conference" and the way in which it will be done. The name of the chairman has not been definitely announced nor those of the representatives of the British political parties.

In the absence of definite information about the kind of work to be done at the conference it would not be unfair for the present to assume that the work of the Indian nominees would be to put India's case before the British representatives and indirectly before the British people. We need not stress the point that this has been done repeatedly and *ad nauseam* by Indian Nationalists of various schools during the last few decades and that if that has not produced sufficient effect on the British mind the speeches and arguments of some Indians not the most freedom loving cannot possibly produce a greater effect on that mind particularly as care has been taken to choose Indians of a different kind who of themselves or under inspiration would make the opposite kind of speeches. No we would not stress that point. What we wish to say here is that the Indian nominees would be somewhat like witnesses before a committee or a commission allowed to place their views and facts before the representatives of Britain. We say this because there is not a single Indian in the British side of the Conference or in the British Cabinet or in the British House of Commons to modify or try to modify in the slightest degree the proposals based on the greatest measure of agreement reached at the Conference to be placed before Parliament. The position is thus substantially like giving evidence before the Simon Commission. One may object that the Indian members of the so called round table conference would be entitled to argue. But witnesses before the Simon Commission were not precluded from doing so.

Let us now see why the Congress the Muslim League the Indian National Liberal Federation and the Hindu Mahasabha and perhaps some smaller bodies boycotted the Simon Commission. Broadly speaking some at least of the members of these organizations wanted self-determination they did not relish the idea of being examined school boy-like as to their fitness for political graduation.

And all of these organizations resented the underlying false assumption that Britishers and Britishers alone were impartial judges of India's fitness for self-rule—the assumption which led to the appointment of an all-white Commission except the Simon Commission.

Now the same thing is being repeated in a cleverly camouflaged form. The British side of the Conference is all white the British Cabinet is all white the British House of Commons is all white, and, except for the present Lord Sialha (whose pardon we beg for saying that he is a non entity) the British House of Lords is all white. And it is these all white collections of men who are to judge and dispose of the greatest measure of agreement which may be reached at the Conference. But except the Congress none of the boycotters of the all white Simon Commission find anything humiliating or illogical in appearing as glorified and comfortably provided witnesses before other all white bodies.

It is not known how the greatest measure of agreement at the Conference is to be arrived at. If unanimity is to be understood by that kind of agreement, we are afraid nothing of importance nothing politically worth having would form part of the unanimously agreed upon conclusions. For there would be a sufficient number of "extremists" among the British and Indian members of the Conference to oppose any advanced political constitution for India. Some have said—and it is a fact—that among the Liberal Indian members there are advocates of Dominion status. But it is certain that there cannot be unanimity on that subject in a conference so carefully packed. And it is also almost certain that even if proposals carried by a majority were to be held as agreed upon by the conference, there would scarcely be a majority for Dominion status at such a conference. We need not examine the chances of other similar proposals being accepted by it unanimously or by a majority of votes.

Confining attention to the Indian side of the Conference one would like to know whether the Indian States members would be allowed to have their say on the constitution and political status to be given to British ruled India. If they are to be so allowed would any of the British ruled India members be allowed to say that they would like the Indian States subjects to become citizens being given effective power to

mould their destinies? We are afraid few Indian States potentates would relish the idea of being shorn to any substantial extent of their autocratic powers. If so would it be logical for them to take part in discussions relating at least to the internal problems of British ruled India? And would it promote the self respect of British ruled India members if they were not given exactly the same opportunity to discuss Indian States problems as might be given to the States rulers to discuss British ruled India's problems?

The Conference has been so constituted that it would afford ample scope for British journalists and news agents to present it to the world as an epitome of an excessively divided India which does not know its own mind and cannot frame its own constitution and for which therefore the 'supremely benevolent and altruistic Simon Commission have taken philanthropic pains to provide a constitution act' in their disinterested labours as the agents of a still more disinterested and philanthropic British nation. "The world may not stop to reflect that from any independent country men could be chosen by an alien party to show up that country's divided opinions and sectional bickerings and jealousies. Nor may the world understand that the Indian members of the Conference are British nominees holding a position really inferior to the British members not India's representatives sitting as equals of the British members.

#### What R T C Indian Members Should do

In his note dated 23.7.30 to the Nehrus, Mahatma Gandhi made the following observation which the Indian members of the R T Conference should treat as a suggestion which ought to be acted upon.

Even if the foregoing terms are accepted, I should not care to attend the Conference unless in the event of going on of principle I gain'd the self-satisfaction which I have not at present and unless among those Indians who would be invited there was a preliminary conversation and agreement as to the minimum by which they should stand under all circumstances.

#### Congress Unwisdom

Much has been written about the fanaticism of the leaders and rank and file of the Congress and their unwisdom in not accepting Lord Irwin's terms—assuming that there were any definite ones—and in not calling

off civil disobedience. We have never supported everything done or said by the Congress leaders and Congress workers. We may therefore entertain some faint hope of being forgiven if we say that non Congress people derive most, if not all of their importance at the present juncture because of the presence of a strong body of opponents of the British bureaucracy in India. To think otherwise now or in the near or distant future would be perfectly foolish and unhistoric. To build high hopes on the cessation of opposition and on the consequent reign of ease-loving sweet reasonableness all round would be equally foolish.

#### Failure of Peace Talks

The voice of frank criticism has been silenced in India. It has therefore become very easy for all Anglo Indian papers some Indian papers and most British papers to lay all the blame for the failure of the peace talks through the medium of Sir T. B. Saproo and Mr. Jayakar on the shoulders of the Congress leaders. It is not necessary however to take up the cudgels on their behalf. Let us try to understand the situation and the preliminary condition a little.

Why did the Congress leaders want some definite and dated assurances from the Government? Why could not they depend on the vague and dateless promise of that far off divine event, the attainment by India of Dominion status made by this British statesman or that? Plainly because of the deep-rooted distrust that there is of British promises in general. It is usual to support and justify this distrust by a long array of broken pledges and promises and by quoting the well known sentence in a no-longer confidential document indited by the Viceroy Lytton wherein he spoke of breaking promises made to the ear. We will refer to a more recent piece of writing. It is a book called *The Brainstruckness of India* by Mr. Edward J. Thompson published on the 28th of August last.\* He is the same Mr. Thompson who has been doing pro-British propaganda work in America and Great Britain and picking holes in the armour of American protagonists of Indian freedom. This is what he writes on page 52 of this his latest work.

"The Indian Government has long had a reputation magnificently earned and set down in

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the admissions of high authority such as cannot be dismissed as envious or seditious for making fine promises and then shirking them. It has always played for time and postponed the evil day when unwholesome voices would make themselves heard in the inner sanctuaries. In John Company days it was the interper (the unauthorized trier) who was rewarded as the extreme of honour and gravity. In later days it was the person who used the licence of interpellation who asked questions instead of looking at gratitude for information vouchsafed. During the last forty years it has been the half-faked so-called educated Indians the seditious (we say) represent no one but themselves (as if it were not important to represent yourself if there is no one else to represent you).

On an allied topic Mr. Thompson delivers himself as follows in the same book:

"There is Dominion Status—the right war out but how to set with difficulty. Dominion India unless the best brains of all parties in the India problem put their work into its marvellous perplexity is going to take over a heritage of emasculation that will take generations to dispose of. Yet any delay however necessary will be so little in my understanding that the Extremist ranks will be augmented by moderate and reasonable men. This is the penalty of having let resentment and wounded self-esteem fester through so many decades and grow to intolerable exasperation of having for so long refused to give any considerable training in self government or any fair expression to promises often made and with especial solemnity set forth by Queen Victoria and each succeeding King Emperor. (p. 10-11)

Many promises have been tried to be explained away and belittled, and quite recently the promise of dominion status, even in the distant future, has been denied by British die-hards.

It has been said that neither Pandit Motilal Nehru nor Mahatma Gandhi adhered to the terms set forth in the interviews they gave to Mr. Slocombe, the representative sent to India by the *Daily Herald* of London. Before examining or seeking for an explanation of this indictment, let us ask a question. Assuming that the leaders did deviate substantially from their previous position and supposing that they had not done so where is the indication not to speak of the guarantee, that Lord Irwin would have accepted their previous terms? We have read all the papers placed by the mediators before the public, but we do not find any such indication. There is in fact, little firm ground in what the Viceroy has himself written and what he is reported to have told Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar on which Indian Nationalists could or can take their stand.

In the note, dated 23-7-30 from Yeravada central prison which Mahatma Gandhi gave

the mediators to be handed over to the Nehrus he expressly says:

"This opinion of mine is purely provisional because I consider a prisoner has no right to pronounce any opinion upon political activities of which he cannot possibly have a full grasp while he is shut out of personal contact. I, therefore, feel my opinion is not entitled to the weight I should claim for it if I was in touch with the movement. Mr. Jayakar and Dr. Sapru may show this to Pandit Motilal Nehru. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and those who are in charge of the movement."

In the "statement submitted to Pandit Motilal Nehru in Bombay on June 25, 1930 and approved as the basis of informal approach to the Viceroy by a third party," it is stated in relation to the assurance therein asked for from the Viceroy that "Pandit Motilal Nehru would undertake to take personally such an assurance" to Mahatma Gandhi and to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. If such an assurance were offered and accepted,

The two foregoing extracts would show that neither Pandit Motilal Nehru nor Mahatma Gandhi thought or stated that what they said were final and binding on the Congress party. The terms or conditions laid down by them were naturally liable to alteration and addition in consultation with other Congress leaders. And such modifications did take place.

Not a single condition laid down by the leaders appears to us to be unreasonable. But it may be questioned whether it was either necessary or tactful or timely to press them all in detail. In our opinion, it would have sufficed if the single condition had been pressed that the 'Round Table' Conference would meet to prepare a Dominion constitution for India, giving her all the rights possessed by all or any of the Dominions, and that this constitution would come into force with the least possible delay, there being the minimum of some transitory provisions for a short period. But we say this with all respect to the leaders, who may have been right in what they did.

Critics have vigorously attacked two of the conditions. One is India's right to secede from the British Empire at her will. Now, this right is tacitly understood to be possessed by the Dominions and there is no reason why India should agree to have a lower political status than they. What is tacitly understood to be possessed by them is going to be made quite clear in the case of South Africa by General Herzog in the coming Imperial Conference.

This right to secede has been asked for not by Congress men alone. The Right Honble S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C. leader of the Indian Liberals and President of the Servants of India Society whose creed includes belief in everlasting Indo British connection has advocated it. It has been supported by such Englishmen as Professor Dr. Gilbert Slater. The advocacy of this right does not mean that, if India got it, she would exercise it at once or at all.

The other most vigorously criticized condition is the right to refer if necessary to an independent tribunal such of the British claims, concessions and the like including the so-called public debt of India, as may seem to the national Government to be unjust or not in the interest of the people of India. This has been interpreted by the Viceroy and most other British critics as the right to repudiate all the public debts of India. The words quoted above certainly do not admit of such an interpretation. It only wants such doubtful item to be examined by an independent tribunal. The proposal is neither unprecedented nor wicked. Have not many post war conferences been held and many plans like the Dawes plan the Young plan been formulated to fix the exact amount of liabilities of Germany etc.? Have these conferences always upheld all the demands of the creditor nations? Is not Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister trying by negotiation to reduce Britain's debt to America? Were all the debts incurred by Tsarist Russia and repudiated by Soviet Russia justly claimable from the people of Russia?

### India's Public Debt

It would be convenient if our readers got a brief survey of the history of India's public debt. The following brief summary given by Mr. N. R. Sarker in the course of a speech at the St. Paul's College Economic Society would be found handy.

Public debt in the sense in which we use it now-a-days was practically unknown in India before the days of the East India Company. It was the Company which was responsible for creating a permanent debt in the country and when its regime ended in 1858, the Indian taxpayers were left with a legacy of nearly a hundred million sterling of public debt. I should emphasize that almost the entire amount of this debt was created by unjustly debiting India with the cost of the various wars, which the Company entered upon, not that India might be benefited but that the

Company's hold over her might be consolidated. In 1797 the total Indian debt stood at £7 millions and in 1858 it had risen to £39½ millions (excluding the mutiny items) most of the items which were thus saddled on the country ought to have been in fairness borne by the Company itself. Then came the mutiny the whole charge of which was again thrown on India, bringing the total debt beyond the one hundred million mark. This included the compensation paid for the East India Company's stock to the extent of £12 million. The humour of the situation—or may I say the tragedy of the situation—was that while India paid for the property the ownership went to Great Britain.

The cost of the Abyssinian and Chinese Wars was similarly debited to India and these together with the expenditure of the Government on State Railways and irrigation works, famine relief and maintenance of the exchange (yes the problem of the rupee has been with us for two generations) raised the total Indian debt to £712 millions at the close of the last century. By March 31, 1930 we have reached the colossal figure of £800 millions or converting the sterling debt at 18½ to the rupee, Rs. 1,132 crores. This phenomenal increase in the public debt in the present century was largely due to the great War during which the debt was considerably increased, first in 1914-17 to meet the general budgetary and other requirements of the Government of India, and secondly on account of the contribution of £100 millions made by India to Britain. In the post war period, the new debt incurred exceeded £200 millions in the last decade, due to the large-sized deficits persisting through five years in the national budget, increased civil and military expenditure, and losses on account of the sale of reverses. The total unproductive debt of the country which came down to £22½ millions in 1916, mounted up to more than £192 millions in 1924, and this was due to the increased expenditure during the war and the post war periods. The chance which presented itself in 1916 for wiping out the unproductive debt, was missed and the country's debt position has since become worse than ever.

As some public works constructed with borrowed money are productive and paying the debts incurred for the purpose are justly payable by India. There may be other similar debts. But it cannot be taken for granted that all items of the public debt of India are similar in character.

### The Viceroy and the Peace Talks

That throughout the peace *pourparlers* the Viceroy stood on his dignity was only to be expected. We do not blame him for it. But it is certainly amusing that he should complain of the tone of the letter of the Congress leaders. Was his own tone unexceptionable? In his letter to Mr. Jayakar dated July 16 he said the civil disobedience movement is doing unmitigated harm to the cause of India. A passage in His Excellency's letter of the 24th August

seems to imply that he wanted the leaders to repent of what they had done. Here is the passage

I fear as you will no doubt recognize that the task you had voluntarily undertaken has not been assisted by the letter you have received from the Congress leaders. [The Viceroy's own letters too scarcely assisted the task—J.L.M.R.] In view both of the general tone by which that letter is inspired and of its contents as also of its frank refusal to recognize the grave injury to which the country has been subjected by the Congress policy, not the least in the economic field, I do not think any useful purpose would be served by my attempting to deal in detail with the suggestions there made and I must frankly say I regard a discussion on the basis of the proposals contained in the letter as impossible. I hope if you desire to see the Congress leaders again, you will make this plain.

Of course, as Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders want a change of heart in the rulers they need not and would not complain that the Viceroy returned the compliment by expecting them to repent. But as the Viceroy has seen nothing wrong in any detail of the programme of repression which is being stiffened every day, he might have been philosopher enough to take the stiff attitude of the leaders as a natural psychological reaction. We do not say that it was a reaction. They were perhaps merely trying to adhere as closely as possible to the Lahore Congress resolution. As Pandits Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru wrote on the 28th July

As representatives of the Congress we have no authority to alter in any material particular its resolutions but we might be prepared under certain circumstances to recommend a variation in details provided the fundamental position taken up by the Congress was accepted.

In the final reply given by Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs Sarojini Naidu, Sriyut Vallabhbhai Patel and Sriyut Jairamdas Daulatram, it is said in relation to the Viceroy's letter of August 28

The letter you have now brought from His Excellency reiterates the original position taken up by him in his first letter and we are grieved to say contemptuously dismisses our letter as unworthy of consideration and regards discussion on the basis of the proposals contained in the letter as impossible.

### The Viceroy's Main Position

The Viceroy's main position is repeated in his letter of August 28 in which he writes

In my letter of July 16 I assured you that it was the earnest desire of myself, my Government and I had no doubt also of his Majesty's Govern-

ment to do everything we could to assist the people of India obtain as large a degree of management of their own affairs as could be shown to be consistent with making provision for those matters in regard to which they were not at present in a position to assume responsibility. It would be among the functions of the Conference to examine in the light of all material available what those matters might be and what provision might best be made for them.

With regard to this vague assurance and the minor promises made by Lord Irwin and in relation generally to the repressive policy pursued and stiffened during the negotiations the leaders (Mrs Sarojini Naidu, and Messrs M. K. Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jairamdas Daulatram, Syed Mahmood and Jawaharlal Nehru) rightly observe

We feel the language used by the Viceroy in the reply given to your letter about the proposed conference is too vague to enable us to assess its value in terms of the national demand framed last year at Lahore.

On the Viceroy's letter of August 28 the Nehrus wrote on 31-8-30 as follows, in part—

Lord Irwin in his letter considers even a discussion on the basis of these proposals as impossible. Under the circumstances there is or can be no common ground between us.

Quite apart from the contents and tone of the letter the recent activities of the British Government in India clearly indicate that Government has no desire for peace. The proclamation of the Working Committee as an illegal body in Delhi province soon after a meeting of it was announced to be held there and the subsequent arrest of most of its members can have that meaning and no other. We have no complaint against these or other arrests or other activities of the Government, uncivilized and barbarous as we consider some of these to be. We welcome them but we feel that we are justified in pointing out that a desire for peace and an aggressive attack on the very body which is capable of giving peace and with which it is sought to treat do not go well together. The proscription of the Working Committee all over India and an attempt to prevent its meetings must necessarily mean that the national struggle must go on whatever the consequences and that there will be no possibility of peace for those who may have some authority to represent the people of India will be spread out in British prisons all over India.

Regarding the Viceroy's main assurance they observe

As we pointed out in our joint letter this phraseology is too vague for us to assess its value. It may be made to mean anything or nothing. In our joint letter we have made it clear that a complete national government responsible to the people of India including control of the defence forces and economic control must be recognized as India's immediate demand. There is no question of what are usually called safe-guards or any delay

Adjustments there necessarily must be for the transference of power and in regard to these we stated that they were to be determined by Indian chosen representatives

### Lord Irwin's Sincerity and Generosity

A British paper has observed that the imprisoned Congress leaders have made no response to Lord Irwin's sincerity and generosity. We can say nothing one way or the other regarding his sincerity. He and God know whether he is sincere. If he has any very intimate friends to whom he has confided himself exhaustively they may also know. Were he a Roman Catholic his Father Confessor might also perhaps have known.

Moreover it is not possible to judge of his sincerity by comparing his words with the actions of his Government. For nobody can say for how much or how little of both he is personally responsible. So we must refuse to discuss the subject of his personal sincerity. But there would be no discount shown to him if it were pointed out with reference to the Government's repressive policy that there was no special appropriateness—to use a mild word—in imprisoning Pandit Motilal Nehru just after he had made a pacific gesture through Mr. Stacombe. It looked very much like trying to frighten into a still greater pacific mood. True he was thrown into jail for something "illegal" which he had done a short while ago. But months before that he had prepared illicit salt and done other unlawful things. If the Government had been forbearing so far what was the sense the statesmanship in clapping him into prison just when peace negotiations could have commenced?

Similarly when peace talks were actually in progress all the members of the Working Committee of the Congress, except two ladies, were arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. True they had disobeyed orders. But why need such orders have been passed at all at that time? They had been doing "unlawful things" for some time past without being punished. Were those in authority afraid that if the Working Committee Members were not brought to book and to their senses speedily people might think that the Government were suffering from defeatism?

The real reasons for some particular

actions of the Government cannot be known. So people may go on guessing that some were done to show that Government were not afraid and some to frighten the leaders. Similarly as the leaders were human beings they may also have been sub-consciously led to do and say certain things by way of "responsive co-operation" and to show that they were not frightened.

Both parties appear to have stood on their dignity and neither can be praised or blamed without praising or blaming the other.

As regards the generosity assumed to have been displayed by the Viceroy during the peace talks we may say without hesitation that we find no trace of it in his letters. Of course if it were assumed that Indians had no rights and were beggars then no doubt the position taken up by the Viceroy could be called generous.

### Terms Dictated by Victors

It is one of the British sarcasms levelled against the conditions for a peaceful settlement mentioned by the Congress leaders that victors in war could not have thought of dictating such terms to the defeated.

If we have understood the spirit of the *satyagrahis* aright, such sarcasm seems out of place. They know that if the whole might of the British Empire were arrayed against them it might be possible to make the present *satyagraha* movement temporarily ineffectual. But even under such conditions of utter defeat, a true *satyagrahi* would not be a consenting party to the British domination which obtains in India. Alike in victory and defeat he is for a free India.

### Flogging for Picketing

The Free Press Journal of Bombay of September 10 prints the following news:

Karachi, September 9

For the first time during the present movement in Sindh a political worker has been punished with flogging. Hussein Bux, a Mohammedan *satyagrahi* volunteer of Karachi was sentenced today to receive twelve stripes on alleged charge of snatching away a bottle of liquor near a liquor shop from a customer. The customer was not produced in court as a witness. The section under which he was charged is one relating to theft. The volunteer was, it is stated, made completely naked in jail while being flogged and was fastened securely. He bore the flogging cheerfully.

There have been some other recent cases of flogging for similar technical offences in some other parts of the country. Even for heinous offences involving moral turpitude flogging has come to be looked upon in enlightened countries as a barbarous and brutalizing punishment. The infliction of such punishment for technical political offences is nothing short of an atrocity.

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#### Viceroy Praises and Blames Peace Mediators

In a letter to Mr Jayakar and Dr Sapru the Viceroy praises them for their courageous efforts to bring about peaceful conditions in the country. There will be general agreement that this praise is well deserved. His Excellency then passes on to express surprise that they should have made public a reference to the private conversations he had with them at Simla. He also complains that they did not show him their note to the Press before making it public. On these points outsiders can say nothing, for they do not know whether Lord Irwin told the mediators that the conversations between him and they were confidential and that if they drew up a note for the Press it was to be shown to his lordship before being used. It is probable that there has been some misapprehension or partial lapse of someone's memory. Ordinarily one would say that one man's memory is more likely to fail than the memories of two men *working conjointly*. But there may, of course be exceptions though one would not ordinarily think that such distinguished lawyers and discreet negotiators as the mediators both have an exceptionally bad memory of a recent conversation. But such speculation is futile.

Though we are unable to say anything as to the understanding if any, regarding the confidential character of any conversation between the parties, we may make a few general observations. The conversations which the parties had related not to the private affairs of private individuals, but to the grave public problems affecting the public relations of two countries. Dr Sapru and Mr Jayakar could not possibly have made the position of Lord Irwin clear to the Congress leaders without reporting the conversations to them. The public also could not possibly understand why the negotiations failed in the absence of full information relating to the Government's position. Hence

publication of the substance of the conversations was necessary. If no public use was to be made of them we do not understand why the Viceroy wasted his time and energy and those of the intermediaries in these private talks.

The Viceroy practically gives away his case when he adds

I understand, however that as the Congress leaders referred in their letters of August 31 and September 5 to some matters touched upon in our conversations you considered it right that the public should be more fully informed of their character. While I readily appreciate your motives I regret that I had not the opportunity of approving the note before it was published as it contains points in regard to which a mistaken impression might, though quite unintentionally on your part, be conveyed of the attitude of myself and my Government.

Lord Irwin then tries to remove a possible misapprehension which may arise from what the mediators have given out in relation to His Excellency's views on the public debt of India. He says that he is opposed to the repudiation not only of the whole public debt of India but of even a single item of that debt. He does not say, however that he did not use the words whose public use by the mediators may in his opinion give rise to erroneous ideas relating to his views on the subject.

The conclusion, therefore, would seem to be unavoidable that Lord Irwin did say that while all financial obligations in the nature of public debts incurred by the Government could not be allowed to be repudiated questions might be allowed to be raised relating to some particular items or other, and that now, either on second thoughts or under instructions or advice His Excellency puts a safe construction on what he said.

We have already shown that the Congress leaders never said that they wanted a self-ruling India to repudiate the whole public debt of India. What they want is an examination of all the debts by an independent tribunal. Of course if on such examination any items appear unjust, then the question of their repudiation by India and taking over by Britain might arise.

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#### Recrudescence of Terrorism

The recrudescence of terrorism is greatly to be deplored. It may spoil the chances of success of *satyagraha*. But whether it does so or not, it would certainly diminish the respect in which India has begun to be held

in foreign countries for the non violent and spiritual valour of many of her sons and daughters. Highly as we may prize the good opinion of foreigners it is not, of course for winning such opinion that we should act in any particular way. It is the high ethical and spiritual ideal evolved in India which we should conform to whether foreigners admire and respect us for it or not.

Men who consider themselves practical may not care for any talk of high ideals. But, practical considerations may also be placed before terrorists and would be terrorists which if pondered over ought to wean them from the wrong course they have chosen. Of course if revenge private or public, be their motive in any particular case only spiritual conversion can cure the desperate among them. But if they think that by terrorism they can put an end to British domination and liberate the country they are mistaken. Success in such a venture would depend on no men being found to take the places of murdered executive or police officers. Now during the last quarter of a century or so several executive and police officers European and Indian have been assassinated or seriously injured. Have the vacancies created by their deaths or disablement been left unfilled in a single instance owing to the paucity of men fearless enough to step into their shoes? There has never been any such unfilled vacancy and never will be. Again the successors of the murdered or disabled officers have generally acted just like their predecessors, undismayed by the fate of the latter.

So ethical, spiritual and practical considerations must lead all thinking men to condemn political assassination and other terrorist methods.

In one of their weekly surveys of the civil disobedience movement the Government say in effect that the failure of that movement would be likely to give a fillip to terrorism. That is a true observation. For terrorism is born of despair of other methods.

But the advisers of the Government also know that in India it is easier to suppress violence which is not organized on a sufficiently large scale and cannot be widespread than it is to suppress a movement of non violent rebellion. Hence they may consider themselves to be between the devil and the deep sea.

### British opposition to Briand's Scheme of European Federation

According to a Reuters message dated London September 14

M. Briand's scheme of European Federation is expected to be shelved at the League Conference at Geneva by a reference to the Committee as the result of the British attitude. Viscount Cecil in the *Petit Journal* says the time is not ripe for a federation on the lines proposed. *Europe contra mundum* would be a more formidable menace to peace than the present rivalry of nations. Even a fiscal union of Europe with the inevitable tariff barriers would be a danger to the world. If the average Englishman were given the choice between European Federation and Anglo-American co-operation he would certainly choose the latter. The British Empire being in effect a federation of closely allied free nations is another reason why Britain cannot enter an exclusive European organization.

As the biggest nation in the British Empire is not yet free it is not true to call it a federation of closely allied free nations. But it is undoubtedly true that insular Great Britain would not find a continental federation advantageous to her.

Speaking from the point of view of India the Maharaja of Bikaner has spoken against M. Briand's scheme. The uncivilized peoples of Asia and Africa cannot but be afraid of a pan European federation.

### Alleged Police Assault on Calcutta University Students

On the day of Miraben's (Miss Slados) arrival in Calcutta the police it is alleged entered the Calcutta University class rooms in Ashtosh Building and assaulted the students so severely that many had to go to hospital and the Vice-Chancellor himself a medical man coming soon after saw marks of blood in the rooms. The police version is that some people cried "shame shame" and threw brickbats from the balconies of the building. Taking this untested and unverified version to be true was it lawful for the police to indulge in indiscriminate assault on innocent and guilty alike? Even those caught in the act of doing something wrong can only be arrested according to the law.

### Death of Ajit Bhattacharya

In a note in the August number of this *Review* we recorded the death of a Dacca University student named Ajitnath

**Bhattacharya** His brother **Sgt. Surendranath Bhattacharya** asked permission of the Government of Bengal to prosecute Mr **Eric Hodson** then Superintendent of Police in Dacca. Permission was refused. The brother also filed a petition against some European and Indian policemen. The Additional Magistrate of Dacca has rejected the petition.

As to the cause of this young man's death there were two versions before the public one, that he died of injuries received during a *melee* and the other that he was only a spectator and was the victim of an entirely unprovoked assault. Owing to the failure of his brother's efforts to obtain what he considered justice the public have no tested data before them to decide which version is true. The Magistrate's inquest cannot have the same value as a regular and open trial.

#### Injuries received by Dacca Medical Students

It having been suspected and alleged that the man who shot two European officers in Dacca is a medical student, the police searched the medical messes there. Many dozens of medical students were injured several rather seriously. There are two versions of how they came by their injuries one that the police assaulted them (and took away some of their property) and the other, that they stampeded on the approach of the police and got injured thereby.

Perhaps the true story may be that they assaulted one another to give the police a bad name.

#### University Action on Alleged Assault on Calcutta University Students

At a meeting of the Calcutta University Senate held on September 20 Lieutenant Colonel **Hassan Suhrawardy** the Vice-Chancellor, referred to the "regrettable and painful" incidents in the Ashutosh Buildings on September 9.

After referring to the resolutions of the joint meeting in pursuance of which the Committee was appointed and the circular which he had issued on the latter a written assurance from the Committee of Police naming certain professors and officials of the University without whose permission the Police would not enter the University Buildings, the Vice-Chancellor mentioned the

representation made to him by the students on the subject.

Proceeding he said that the students had demanded an apology from Mr G. D. Gordon who was in charge of the police party that entered the Ashutosh Buildings failing which they insisted that legal proceedings should be taken against him. The students denied the allegation that the Ashutosh Buildings were used as a rampart from where the Police were attacked or that they threw brickbats at the Police. They further demanded that the Police should not be allowed to enter the University Buildings between the hours of 7 A.M. and 8 P.M. and that the University should issue a statement contradicting the statement of the Police and of one Calcutta paper that the Ashutosh Buildings were used as a rampart for purposes other than those of a seat of learning and that brickbats were thrown at the police from the Buildings.

The Syndicate has accepted the Committee's recommendation that His Excellency the Chancellor should be approached and requested to secure reparation as well as a guarantee against repetition of such incidents. The Syndicate has also recommended that all papers connected with the enquiry should be sent to the Chancellor in his official capacity as head of the University as also as the Governor of the Province. The Chancellor has assured the Vice-Chancellor that when the report reaches him he will give the matter his earnest and sympathetic consideration.

The Vice-Chancellor informed the Senate that the question of taking legal proceedings against the persons concerned was receiving consideration of the Syndicate and it was hoped that a decision would be arrived at at an early date.

There was a discussion at the meeting on the question as to whether the Report of the Committee which was marked confidential should be released for publication. After some discussion the Senate unanimously decided to release the report for publication.

The following were members of the Enquiry Committee:

Dr **Hassan Suhrawardy** Sir **Nilratan Sarkar** Principal **Heramba Chandra Maitra** Dr **W. S. Trilohari** Mr **C. C. Biswas** Sir **C. V. Raman** and Prof **S. Radhakrishnan**.

The following paragraph is taken from the report of the Enquiry Committee:

When the two Professors came out of the Secretary's room they saw the Police Officers coming down the main staircase apparently after having done their work. They noticed also a student being brought along by a sergeant profusely bleeding from the head. Other students also followed with more or less severe injuries on their persons. The Secretary promptly took them to his office and one of the University Lecturers rendered first aid. The two Professors met the Police Officers at the foot of the steps, and demanded what the students had done to merit such treatment at their hands. The Deputy Commissioner of Police, Mr Gordon was among those who were questioned. The reply was that the damaged lot of students were at the foot of the trouble they had been at the Police from the beginning. They had pelted stones and soda-water bottles from the balconies at the Police and the Police had come there on purpose and they would

do so over again, if necessary. One of the officers speaking about the students is alleged to have referred to them as 'undisciplined swine'. One of the Professors having protested against the use of such language, and the unprovoked assault on the students was curtly told that if he argued further he would be held liable as an abettor. The Police then left the buildings. There were no inside the buildings for more than a few minutes.

The conclusions arrived at by the Committee are extracted below

We proceed now to record our opinion that the action of the Police constituted an outrage on the University and its students for which there was no justification. In no conceivable circumstances could there be an excuse for them to have raided the University premises, and indulged in an indiscriminate assault on the students in the way they had done. They did not care to ask the University authorities who were actually available on the spot for permission to enter the buildings nor did they report their complaints to them. We note with regret that those excesses were committed by the Police led by an officer of the rank of Deputy Commissioner of Police. As we have already stated in an earlier part of the report, we do believe the story that bricksbats or missiles of any kind had been thrown at the Police from the Ashutosh Buildings. Not only is such a story improbable, but there is positive evidence to the contrary and it is significant that in the course of their raid the Police did not care to inspect the balconies themselves to see if there were any such missiles collected there.

Upon the facts placed before us and summarized above, we entertain no doubt that reparation is due from the Police to the University and to the students concerned. As to what form such reparation should take, we express no opinion, beyond stating that it should be full and adequate and should include an unqualified apology from the Police and adequate punishment of the delinquents. We recommend that His Excellency the Chancellor should be approached and requested to secure such reparation as well as a guarantee against the repetition of such incidents.

It will be for the Syndicate to decide as to whether any further action in the way of legal proceedings against those concerned should be taken.

### Education in Soviet Russia

The Times of London has published the following

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

RIGA, July 29

A proclamation was published to-day in Moscow announcing the introduction of compulsory universal education throughout the U.S.S.R. before the end of 1931 for children between eight and ten years of age. Later those up to 11 years and eventually those up to 15 are to be included. It has been issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party which declares that it is one of the most important political problems. It is proposed to make use of the confiscated houses of kulaks (rich peasants) for schools.

We have from time to time published other information relating to the educational efforts made in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, briefly known as U.S.S.R. or Soviet Russia.

### Report of the Dacca Disturbances Enquiry Committee

This committee appointed by the Bengal Government consisted of two European members of the I.C.S. and partly for this reason did not enjoy public confidence. The Committee was given 'full discretion' to select witnesses whom it intends to examine. That was another reason why it did not inspire confidence. Other reasons having the same effect will appear from the words and sentences quoted below from its report.

We saw no objection to granting a qualified promise of indemnity to witnesses. Why qualified and qualified in what way?

In the end we found that the promise of indemnity was not really required. What is the process of reasoning by which they arrived at this interesting conclusion?

We do not think that we heard all the evidence which might have been produced bearing on the action of particular police officers and special constables and leaders of the two communities in connection with events which were the subjects of complaint in the press or in the gathering places of the citizens of Dacca. The reason given for not hearing all the evidence which might have been produced is quite unsatisfactory.

The members say on page 6 of their Report 'To save time a few of these witnesses were examined not in public, but in the Circuit House or on the 'lunch.' Yet six lines after this statement they have the assurance to write 'There can be no question that our enquiry was entirely open' (Italics ours. Ed. U.R.)

There are indications in the Report that the members were rather in a hurry and could not or did not give to their work the time and care which so phenomenal an outbreak of lawlessness would have required to thoroughly be enquired into. For instance, they say

'The volume and range of the complaints were so great that investigation by compartments would have been the ideal course, but it required too much time and organization, and would have



entailed the recalling of the same witnesses a man and again.

Learn

It was impossible in the time at our disposal to enquire into all these events with equal thoroughness.

That the Report has been written carelessly will be evident from a single passage though others could be picked out. The members say

"There is an impression that there were no communal troubles in Dacca before 1906. This is not altogether correct. In 1907 there was fighting at Jamalpur in *Mymensingh* between the Muhammadan tenants and their Hindu Zemindars and there is reason to believe that it was only the influence of the then Nawab Sir Salmulla, which prevented the trouble from spreading to Dacca. *Italics ours Ed M R*)

Is Jamalpur in *Mymensingh* from which Sir Salmulla prevented the trouble from spreading to Dacca in Dacca?

In connection with the learning of dagger and *lathi* play by the Hindus the Report says

With the Muhammadans *lathi* and sword play has been practised in connection with the Muharram for centuries and there is no proof of any organized development of the exercise. With the Hindus the habit is new and the dagger can hardly be looked upon as a weapon of defence.

Have there not always been Hindu *lathi* players and swordsmen during centuries past and is there any weapon of defence which is not also a weapon of offence?

Throughout the Report there is so much special pleading for the police and the Muslims and against the Hindus that it is difficult to take it seriously as a piece of judicial writing. We do not wish to play into the hands of our opponents by reproducing passages instinct with communal partiality and communal bias.

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#### Resolution re Outbreak of Lawlessness in Dacca

The Report of the official Dacca Enquiry Committee does not contain the evidence on which it is based. Hence it cannot be decided whether the Report is the unbiassed logical outcome of the evidence however incomplete the latter may have been.

The debate in the Legislative Assembly on Mr Kshitish Chandra Neogy's motion on the outbreak of lawlessness at Dacca was unfettered so far as it went. And in the course of the debate both those who were for and those who were against it could say

much either from personal enquiry and knowledge or from the evidence and report of those who had such knowledge. Moreover, the mover wanted only the correspondence on the subject between the Government of India and the Bengal Government to be published. Neither he nor his supporters gave any communal turn to the debate. That was left for Mr A. H. Ghaznavi to do.

We have printed in this issue the entire official report of the debate in order to enable our readers to judge for themselves.

—

#### Rabindranath Tagore on the Dacca Disturbances

In concluding their covering letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, the members of the Dacca Enquiry Committee observe

"We are afraid that the utmost vigilance of Government and its officers cannot prevent the chance of recurrence.

What then is the exact meaning of *Pax Britannica*? What does it amount to?"

The members add

If recurrence comes, Government can hardly expect by its own efforts alone to be in a position to re-establish peace more expeditiously than was done on this occasion.

While these are the opinions expressed by two members of the ruling race who boast in season and out that they are here to prevent Hindus and Muslims from flying at each other's throats, Rabindranath Tagore has recently written in *The Spectator* of London of the 30th August last

"We have not the least doubt that the most expensively and elaborately organized power which the British Government has in India is more than sufficient in checking at once any symptoms of violence in our communal relationship. We have been brought up for a long time past on this belief.

The significance of this belief of the poet, which is shared by his countrymen, will not be missed.

His letter to *The Spectator* begins thus

A fact of very grave significance at the present crisis in the British rule in India has sorely puzzled my mind. I am impelled to write about it, for I find that its importance is not understood in England even by those who are in touch with Indian affairs.

At Dacca in Eastern Bengal there have been communal riots in which men of vicious character have been brought in so as to increase the mischief and unspeakable atrocities have occurred. While the news of a motor accident in Europe causes a few casualties is circulated in all your

newspapers these crying evils continuing from day to day in the capital city of East Bengal (whereby the whole neighbourhood was terrorized and all work paralysed) have hardly found any mention in English journals. The number of deaths the loss of property the daily sufferings and terrors caused by these events have been enormous and yet they have been ignored with a strange and ominous silence. If a single Englishman were injured or the comforts of English residents were menaced such silence would hardly be kept. Is it any wonder then that we are led to regard ourselves as of no interest or importance in the eyes of the British people who have taken upon themselves the gratuitous task of our trusteeship?

The letter concludes thus:

The British people have their comfortable faith in the conduct of their own officials who rule over an alien people. They feel little direct responsibility. Therefore when our evidence is put against that of their own official representatives we have little chance of credence. Let us acknowledge that this is natural yet at the same time we should be allowed for the same reason to have faith in our own people when under conditions like the present they suffer and complain. For we are very unequally matched and while your opinion vitally affects us at every point, our opinion may easily remain unnoticed or else be even suppressed by you. But silenced though our people may be and ineffectual in their struggle, we judge and in the end it does matter. I know from my own correspondence that this event at Dacca has alienated more than any thing else in Bengal the sympathies of those who were still clinging to their faith in British justice.

P. S. For those of your readers who wish to study our own version of the story about this Dacca situation reference may be made to the *Modern Review* of June 1930.

### Boycott—the Main Success<sup>1</sup>

In one of their weekly surveys of the civil disobedience movement the Government of India observe that boycott of foreign goods remains the main success of the movement. That shows that the boycott has held and may be still more effective as time passes. But it is scarcely correct to speak of this economic boycott as a part of the civil disobedience movement. There is no element of disobedience in it. Even the British made laws in India do not require anybody to purchase British or other foreign goods or to refrain from reselling their use.

The production and use of Swadeshi goods and the consequent disuse of foreign goods must continue until and after India has become self ruling.

### Indian Repression Reports in U S A Senate Record

The reader knows that Senator Hon John Blaine moved the following resolution in the Senate of the U S A on July 17 1930

Resolved that as India is an original signatory of the Kellogg Briand peace pact the United States Senate instructs the State Department to use its best offices to insure peaceful settlement of the Indian struggle with no abridgement of the just rights of the people of India who are seeking to emulate our own National Independence.

In moving the resolution Mr Blaine spoke as follows, in part

Mr President, I have arranged in order a number of newspaper cuttings and articles in reference to the conduct of the British Empire in India newspaper reports and editorials which I assume are based upon facts.

Mr President I desire to offer these articles to be printed in the record and then submit a resolution and ask that the Resolution be read by the clerk and the resolution lie on the table. And it may be if this special session continues for any length of time that I shall ask that the Resolution be considered by the Senate if it is not referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

#### SENATE UNOBTAINS

So Mr President, I now ask to have printed in the record the newspaper articles and editorials in the order in which I have arranged them. The Vice-President: Is there any objection? The Chair hears none and it is so ordered.

#### A PICTURE OF DHARMA

Among the newspaper reports which Senator Blaine read is one from Mr Webb Miller who describes the scenes in Dharman.

### Progressive Muslim Ladies

There has been recently held at Damascus a Congress of Eastern Women attended by delegates from every Moslem country. In it

After much discussion a resolution was passed that the veil be abolished and that women be allowed to appear bare faced in the street.

It was also resolved that Bride and Bridegroom be permitted to see each other before marriage.

The provision of dowry should no longer be an essential *a priori* condition of marriage.

Divorce be regularized and made possible for wife as well as for husband. Instead of allowing the husband unlimited licence in this regard as at present.

The age of 14 be the legal minimum for marriage. Elementary education be made compulsory for children of both sexes.

Children under 14 should not be engaged in employment.

Arabic culture and industry be widely -

In India Mrs. Shireefi Hamid Ali has circulated a note to the members of the Committee of the All India Women's Conference on the rights of Muslim women. It concludes as follows:

I especially want to bring this point to the notice of the members of the Standing Committee that not only can a Muslim woman divorce her husband for various reasons of cruelty, adultery, etc. but can indirectly put a stop to polygamy by inserting a clause against a second marriage in her marriage contract. There would be no polygamy as the first marriage would *ipso facto* be void.

I therefore earnestly and strongly press that we must help in spreading a knowledge of the Muslim Law, so that at every Muslim marriage the bride and her relatives should insist on proper safeguard being inserted in the marriage contract. Just as Mahab is provided for so it should be provided that the wife will have the right to pronounce a divorce.

(a) in case the husband marries another wife (b) acts cruelly to the wife (c) commits adultery (d) refuses to fulfil the conjugal duties laid down in Islam including the duty of maintaining the wife

### Education in Travancore Budget

It is pleasant news that the financial position of Travancore is claimed to be thoroughly sound, its latest budget showing a surplus of Rs. 202,000. Among the many commendable allotments in the State's budget is a sum of Rs. 51,61,000 out of a total revenue of Rs. 2,50,79,000, or more than twenty per cent. of the revenue. In Bengal the total expenditure in 1928-29 on education met from the provincial revenues was Rs. 1,53,04,485. In that year the total revenue of Bengal was we believe not less than 11 crores in round numbers. Therefore, for approaching the Travancore standard the expenditure in Bengal from provincial revenues should have been at least Rs. 2,20,00,000.

### A Depressed Classes Colony in Cochin

During the Dewanship of Sir T. Raghavachari a Pulaya colony was started at Chalakudi in Cochin State for improving the condition of Pulayas, Parayas, Nayadis and other sections of the depressed classes.

A number of huts were constructed in the colony at Government expense and a select number of families brought to live there. There are at present in all 24 huts (occupied) by Pulayas and Parayas with over 170 inmates. A Mahayana primary

school was opened for the children of the colonists while there is now a night school for the adults and there is a paid manager living in the colony who looks after the welfare of the inmates.

An Ayurvedic physician was appointed to attend on those who fell ill. The colony has been receiving from Government a grant ranging between Rs. 2000 and Rs. 3,500 a year. In their land the colonists cultivate bananas, tapioca and other vegetables and fruits. To enable them to carry on their hereditary occupation of bamboo mat and basket making free removal of bamboos from the State forests has been allowed.

A store house has been built and a co-operative society organized and registered and a temple has also been built.

There are also several colonies at Kunnankulam, Palayam and Narakkal. In the colonies at Chalakudi and Kunnankulam poultry farming is being tried under the guidance of a teacher trained in V. M. C. Centre at Ramnathapuram.

With a view to cultivate habits of thrift the system of maintaining home-clothes boxes was introduced and nearly 10,000 boxes have been so far distributed.

### Ceylon Art Exhibition

The 36th annual exhibition of the Ceylon Society of Arts at the Royal College of Colombo held in August last, appears to have been a very interesting, instructive and altogether successful function. Nearly a thousand exhibits of various kinds are listed in the catalogue, which is prefaced by an informing paper on 'Ideals of Indian Art' by Munindra Bhushan Gupta of Santiniketan. Mr. Venkatachalarao, the distinguished art critic of Madras, was invited to deliver a course of lectures illustrated with lantern slides to help towards an appreciation of Indian works of art. It is noteworthy that, though tickets had to be purchased for attending them, the attendance was full. The works of Indian artists, mostly from Bengal, were given the place of honour in the catalogue. They formed about 30 per cent. of the entire collection. Mr. Gaganendra Nath Tagore led off with 33 exhibits.

The promoters of the Exhibition thanked Mr. Gupta of Santiniketan, who was the Society's agent in getting together the pictures in India, and Professor Dr. Satis Chandra Khastgir of the University College of Colombo who was responsible for bringing out the exhibits from India.

### Japanese Imports into India

The *Japan Weekly Chronicle* of July 10 last contains the following—

The outstanding feature is the phenomenal advance of textile imports from Japan, which in

general gained at the expense not only of Britain but of Europe as a whole, and increased her share of the total trade from 7 per cent in 1924-29 to 9.8 per cent in 1929-31. In five classes of cotton goods alone British exports to India declined by £5,800,000 whereas Japanese increased by £1,000,000. In the case of cotton and artificial mixed goods Japan more than quadrupled her imports into India, while those of Britain fell by one-half and of Germany by two-thirds.

In the case of shoes (other than leather) Japan very nearly cleared her other competitors out of the field in a single year. In 1924-29 out of about 3,000,000 pairs imported rather over 500,000 pairs came from Japan while in 1929-30 she accounted for no less than 4,000,000 pairs out of about 6,000,000. Her success was due to low prices with which neither British nor American manufacturers could possibly compete.

These figures serve to show the extraordinary intensity of the Japanese competition which has arisen in the Indian market.

Indian industrialists and Indian consumers should take note of these facts.

### Mr Sastri on Simon "Federalism"

Speaking recently at the Liberal Summer School held at Oxford

Mr Srinivasa Sastri particularly objected to the irresponsible status of the Central Government as laid down by the Commissioners. Where was the advantage of denying to the Centre powers which were to be given to the provinces? He strongly attacked the whole federal ideal as outlined in the report. He could imagine nothing more likely than this scheme to divide the country permanently for it was improbable that a weak Central Government which did not rest upon the popular will would be able to exercise its authority when it clashed with the authority of the provincial administrations.

India, said Mr Sastri, should be one and indivisible. Any scheme which had the effect of splitting Indian patriotism into a series of provincial patriotisms would lead to destroy the best work of Britain in India. One of the first essentials for a successful solution of the problem was the establishment of a real Central Parliament.

In the above extract Mr Sastri has pointed out some of the dangers of the loose national federation under British domination recommended by the Simon Commission. Even if instead of "semi-autonomy" in the provinces as recommended by that body there were full provincial autonomy that would not be desirable. Some of our politicians are so enamoured of provincial autonomy that they forget that India can be and remain free only if she can exert her full unified strength and that unless the whole is free and autonomous the parts cannot have real freedom and autonomy. One of the causes of India's loss of freedom was that her parts had a

separate political existence at the time of their subjugation.

Why the British rulers of India may like to give a sort of provincial autonomy will be partly understood from the following extract from Major B. D. Basu's *Consolidation of the Christian Power in India*—

One of the proposals for the consolidation of the Christian Power in India after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny was what was euphemistically called provincial autonomy, but which was really the policy of Divide and rule. Before the Parliamentary Committee on the Colonization and Settlement of the Britishers in India, Major O. Wingate who appeared as a witness on being asked

"If you speak of the dangers that arise from a central government and you say that it leads to a community of aims and feelings that might be dangerous," answered "Yes, I think that if there be any one subject in which the whole population of India would be interested that is more likely to be dangerous to the foreign authority than if a question were simply agitated in one division of the empire. If a question were agitated throughout the length and breadth of the empire it would surely be much more dangerous to the foreign authority than a question which interested one Presidency only."

"If," Mr. Dandy Seymour  
is what you mean, thus that all the people of India might be excited about the same thing at the same time? "Yes."

He gave expression to the feeling which was uppermost in the minds of the Britishers at that time not to do anything which might amalgamate the different creeds and castes and provinces of India. So everything was being done to prevent the growing up of a community of feelings and interests throughout India which would make the peoples of India politically a nation. Of course they have been a nation in a different sense since antiquity.

### Hindu Gains of Learning Act

The Hindu Gains of Learning Act, for which credit is due to Mr M. R. Jayakar is a desirable enactment. According to it

"Gains of learning means all acquisitions of property made substantially by means of learning whether such acquisitions be made before or after the commencement of this Act and whether such acquisitions be the ordinary or the extraordinary result of such learning and

learning means education whether elementary, technical, scientific, special or general and training of every kind which is usually intended to enable a person to pursue any trade or industry, profession or avocation in life.

Notwithstanding any custom, rule or interpretation of the Hindu Law no gains of learning shall be held not to be the exclusive and separate property of the acquirer merely by reason of his learning having been in whole or in part imparted to him by any member living or deceased.

of his family or with the aid of the joint funds of his family or with the aid of the funds of any member thereof or

himself or his family having while he was acquiring his learning been maintained or supported wholly or in part by the joint funds of his family or by the funds of any member thereof

—

### India's D sun ty—A Symposium

There is no defect of our character and temperament of which a modern Englishman is more woefully conscious than our propensity to be unlike one another. It is to his mind a characteristic and inherent trait, bearing the authentic stamp of India, the land of amazing diversities. Yet a study of all documents and official reports reveals the interesting fact that even two generations ago the whole question of the permanence of this trait was causing his forefathers a good deal of anxiety. The question came up in connection with the Indian Army. The community of feeling in its ranks had resulted in their opinion in the Mutiny, and it was essential to know how to prevent it. The subject was enquired into by the Peel Commission in 1859 and again by a Special Committee appointed by the Viceroy twenty years later. Before both these bodies officers both military and civil carried their fears and expectations.

This was in fact very unnatural and very distressing. But it was very difficult to eradicate the trait. Even twenty years later the military officers were loud in their complaint about this. We give only a selection from the opinions expressed, and no comments at all as none are necessary.

Major Robertson of the 11th Native Infantry said

It is well known that the Sikh by being associated with other races loses his special characteristics and in regiments so composed the peculiarities of race no longer oppose each other in a marked manner. This is seen more especially in certain low caste regiments in which Sikh companies exist. These men by contact with the races which surround them gradually lose their nationality and are Sikhs only in name. (Appendix to the Report of the Special Committee appointed by the Governor General to report on the organization and expenditure of the Army 1859 Vol IV, p. 702)

It Col F B Norman of the 21th Punjab Infantry said

I think it more advisable that Sikhs should be eliminated from Hindu fan regiments. After a few years of service they become Brahminized. (*Ibid.* p. 75)

It Col Hudson of the 28th Punjab Infantry said

I am inclined to think that if we are to reap the full advantage of all that is valuable in the character of each class we should keep that class separately well. If the classes are mixed up I think it is more than possible for the rough edges of caste and class prejudice, valuable elements in the r war, to be rubbed off. (*Ibid.* p. 752)

of the *lathi* charges at the Bombay Esplanade by its special correspondent Mr. Negley Farson who has returned to America. Reproducing the same description, the *Christian Century* of America observes --

After a delay the censors have permitted the accompanying news dispatch by Mr. Negley Farson of the "Chicago Daily News" to reach this country. Mr. Farson speaks of the effect which the sights he is witnessing in India are having on him. A veteran newspaper man yet this clubbing of non-resisting people, whose wrong doing it is that they desire national freedom has in his words made me physically ill and wrung my heart. A reading of his report will have the same effect on many Christians of the West, thousands of miles though they be from Bombay. But this is a wholly inadequate reaction to the tragedy described in Mr. Farson's dispatch. This is the story not merely of a states police clubbing non-resistant patriots into insensibility but of the representatives of Western civilization smashing the prestige of that civilization to bits on the spiritual valour of the East. The thing that is happening in Bombay is so awful that words fail to describe it. Western civilization is beating itself to death with the clubs of the Bombay police. A few more weeks of this sort of thing and it will seem an insult to any self-respecting Indian to find a single missionary or a single representative of the white man's religion left in his land. Every premise of the Christian gospel is being destroyed in India at this hour. And when the destruction of the Christian gospel is complete the spiritual damnation of Western life will follow with swift certainty.

#### Successful Exhibition of Rabindranath's Pictures in Berlin

A very successful exhibition of Rabindranath Tagore's drawings and water colour sketches was held in Berlin in July. German art critics, especially of the modern school, wrote in enthusiastic terms of Tagore's creative genius in plastic art. Information by cable has been received that the authorities of the National Art Gallery of Berlin have acquired five pictures of Tagore for the Berlin Art Museum.

#### The Vivekananda Mission

The Vivekananda Mission was started recently. One of its objects is to help in the spread of education in all its phases. The Mission has started five free primary schools, two of which are located at Dum Dum, two in remote villages in the district of Bankura and the last at the Mission

premises, No. 21 Ramkrishna Lane, Baghbazar, Calcutta. It intends to open an industrial school also. The management of the Mission is in the hands of some noted citizens of Calcutta and some Sannyasis of the Ramkrishna Vivekananda order who have experience of this kind of work.

#### Punjab Nationalism 50 Years Ago

In 1893, the Indian National Society was established at Lahore. The moving



The Titlepage of a Book of Songs published by the Society

spirit of the Society was the late Shri Chandra Basu, founder of the Panini Office, who after completing his brilliant academic career threw himself actively into all the nationalist and social movements at Lahore where he was born and brought up. He made a National flag which was paraded through the streets of Lahore. He was then a young man of 23. He composed national songs in English and made some of his friends compose the same in Hindi and

Urdu. One of his English songs ended as follows

Is there no hope & thine no cure  
For freedom's friendly strife?  
From Ripon's hand and old England  
Sure justice will arrive

That was nearly half a century ago had he been alive today and seen the attitude of some of the noble lords and commoners of England towards the cause of Indian freedom he along with numerous countrymen of his would have changed his opinion

#### Death of Major B D Basu I M S (Retd)

It is with the deepest sorrow that we learn of the unexpected death on the 23rd of September 1930 of Major B D Basu I M S (Retd). At the time of his death Major Basu was sixty. India has lost a great historical scholar and scientific writer in Major Biman Das Basu. He was an accepted authority on the history of India since the coming of the Europeans in the fifteenth century. His masterly treatise *Rise of the Christian Power in India* is one

of the most important works on British Indian history. His *Indian Medicinal Plants* is a standard book of reference for Indian botanists and pharmacologists.

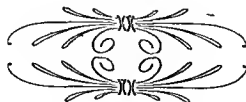
The sudden death of this great and sincere worker in the field of Indian history and science has been an irreparable loss to India. We expected him to enrich India's store of learning for many more years to come and his death has come as a great shock to his numerous friends and admirers.

Major B D Basu had an eventful life and devoted his life to the service of the motherland in diverse fields of activity. A biography of Major B D Basu will be published in a subsequent issue of the *Modern Review*.

We offer our sincerest and heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family.

#### Our Annual Vacation

The *Modern Review* office will remain closed from the 25th September to the 12th October next and will re-open on the 13th October when the work of its editorial and business departments will be resumed.





**INVITATION TO JAVA**  
By Manindra Bhushan Gupta

Dabas Press Calcutta





VOL. XLVIII  
NO. 5

NOVEMBER, 1930

WHOLE NO.  
287

## Our Crime against Trees, Grasses and Rivers

By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE M.A. Ph.D.

I

As we follow the course of the river Ganges towards the delta the rainfall the climate the agriculture the density of population and the culture improve. It is with filial devotion that the Indian of the plains pronounces the sacred name of the historic river bowing to her as Mother Ganges. It is significant that agricultural prosperity which is so closely bound up with the river system fluctuates with the vicissitudes of the rivers streams and drainage. Everything points to a steady decline of old alluvial tracts and the emergence into prosperity and numbers of new alluvial tracts farthest towards the delta. Thus the Himalayan rivers which must once have built up with silt deposit the upper plains of the Gangetic valley have now cut deep channels in the very plains which they originally formed and not only cease to fertilize them with fresh deposit, but actually erode and gradually but continuously carry away the silt which they once laid on them. This work of destruction is assisted by the numerous feeders which are cutting more deeply every year into the rich layers of deposit and carrying the most fertile elements of the old silt into the Ganges, Jumna and other large rivers. There goes on in the old alluvial plains a

continual process of destruction and renewal. At each bend the concave bank is being eroded while the opposite shore receives a new alluvial deposit to fill up the void left by the receding river. After a period of years the process is reversed or the river suddenly cuts a new bed for itself. Between these processes however there is an enormous wastage of soil. The wastage in one district alone viz., Etawah on the Bank of the Jumna has been estimated to be not less than eleven cubic feet of soil per second equivalent to a steady outflow of earth in a stream thirteen feet wide and two feet deep flowing at the rate of three miles per hour. The processes of erosion and ravine formation commenced within the last four centuries. From the prevalence of old stone sugar mills the alignment of the old Mughal Imperial road still to be traced by its *kos* marks the examination of old wells of known antiquity as well as from the study of ancient records it would seem probable that most of the erosion has occurred during the last 400 years. Along the Jumna old stone sugar mills are found in thousands. In two villages alone over 600 mills were found, in one 400 and in another over 250. The loss of fertile soil that has been carried from different districts into the larger rivers during the last three or four centuries, is incalculable. It is in the Chambal-Ji

tract that the tangle of wild and sterile ravines sloping from the uplands to the river bank shows its worst features. There is a rough country along the Chambal which drains the Native States of Gwalior and Dholpur and finally joins the Jumna below Etawah. As far as can be seen one meets here a labyrinth of rugged ravines and green valleys covered with dense jungle every prominent bluff showing the ruins of some robber stronghold. This has been for centuries a No Man's Land occupied by wild Rajput tribes, robbers and rangers by profession who settled on the flank of the Imperial highway through the Doab and were a thorn in the side of the Musalman administration.

The process of ravine formation is aided by the fact that as a result of concentration of population we find in a narrow valley very little of forest belt left on the banks of the rivers which might protect them against erosion during the monsoon rains. There is unlimited and uncontrolled grazing of countless herds and flocks of animals as a result of which the vegetation on these lands becomes very poor after centuries of abuse. There is often a thin covering of scrub jungle which hardly can absorb any portion of the excess water during the heavy rains. With the hardening effect of the tread of animals and rapid drainage the monsoon rains penetrate to a depth of few inches only and this quickly dries leaving a soil almost destitute of moisture down to the underground spring water level 100 feet or more below. This has reacted very unfavourably upon the agricultural population. The gradual loss of fertile lands caused by the extension of ravines along the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna and their tributaries is on the aggregate serious. It has been estimated that the total area of such desert like and inhospitable ravines in the United Provinces alone is between half a million and a million acres.

In some of the densely populated districts along the banks of the Ganges the Jumna and their tributaries while the enormous pressure of population on the soil has led to a most phenomenal expansion of the arable area and shrinking of pastures there is a considerable proportion of wild sterile ravine lands altogether denuded of surface soil

exposing beds of *lanjar* or hard brown friable clay. The increase of such barren lands in congested districts contributes not a little towards lowering the standard of living of the peasantry.

## II

There is another way in which the rivers contribute to agricultural deterioration as the plain reaches maturity. In a flat country which is but little raised above the sea level the rivers checked by the rising level of silt formed plains tend to split into many channels. The distributaries down which the river formerly found its way to the sea degenerate into stagnant lagoons. Many rivers are silted up while the beds of others are gradually raised by the annual deposition of silt. The silting up of the rivers deprives the country of the silt it formerly used to receive. The main stream of the Bhagirathi was the Saraswati to which was due the prosperity of Satgaon as a far famed centre of trade and navigation. Only a narrow and extremely shallow *thal* remains to mark its river bed. Formerly the Karatoya, the deeper portions of the Atrai and the Tista were large and deep rivers affording facilities for navigation and a large export trade. Through the Karatoya in particular was carried on a considerable volume of inland trade and important marts were established on its banks. The Bhagirathi, the Jalangi and the Mathabanga were also the main distributing channels in Southern Bengal. There was indeed an extensive river traffic throughout Bengal which flourished till the middle of the 19th century. Large factories were erected by the East India Company on the banks of many of the above mentioned rivers. Many of these rivers are now silted up while those which are navigable often bring devastating floods. Russell surveyed the rivers of Bengal in 1781. Many of the rivers in his map are now hardly traceable. Some have completely changed the direction and bed others have run dry while still others are choked with vegetation having scarcely any flow of water. There is at the same time water logging due to obstruction of the drainage of the country and malarial fever spreads over the region. This has been the case in the western portions of the Gangetic delta which compare very unfavourably with those in the east. The Bhagirathi through which the main current of the Ganges

formerly flowed southwards to the sea has now become a mere spill channel. In the hot months the connection is lost and miles of sand-banks stand between. The Bhagirathi has been silting up for at least three centuries. Bernier was forced to go overland to Cosimbazar because sand banks at its mouth made the river unnavigable.

Often again the rivers change their course with great suddenness and bring about wholesale devastation. The vagaries of some of the Himalayan rivers like the Yamganga the Gogra the Kosi and the Tista are today a barrier to the expansion of cultivation. Both the Ganges and the Jumna aged mothers, keep sedately within their beds, and only roll wearily from one side to the other. But the rivers just mentioned are gambling vagabonds; they wander at their own sweet will over many miles of country carving out beds capriciously for themselves and leaving them as illogically.\* But it is in the delta that the rivers become more formidable and their frolics cause widespread ruin; they cut away the land in one place and build it up in another in a bioscopic succession, gaily working their way through the friable alluvium behind them and leaving it high and dry as proof of their contempt for humanity and all its works. The Bhagirathi itself has changed its course several times. The Brahmaputra, the Padma and the Meghna have changed and are still changing. The most remarkable change which transformed the river system in Northern Bengal was the result of the Tista floods of 1787. The variations of population in a district like Noakhali for instance in Eastern Bengal due to the constructive and destructive powers of the great rivers are extraordinary in their nature.

Man has aggravated these natural dangers by his unskilful and improvident interference with Nature. He denudes the mountain slopes of forests and thus makes his country a prey to droughts and floods. His fields and grazing lands encroach upon the banks and headwaters of the rivers. These languish in the hot season or become roaring cataracts during heavy rains. He diverts the main stream of the river into canals constructed without full knowledge of the drainage and topography of the region. The whole region

becomes water logged or impregnated with salt. The soil becomes saturated and sour, the well water deleterious to health and cultivation and the climate generally unfit. Elsewhere the canal lowers the well water level which leads to contraction of cultivation. In the delta the marginal embankments built along the banks of the rivers prevent the periodic inundation which formerly renovated fertility. The rivers being confined to their beds, deposit their silts there and thus gradually raise themselves above the level of the surrounding region. The embankments are consequently made higher and higher. Thus if continued for decades, renders the protected country liable to injury in the event of a breach in the bank. When the embankments are breached during a high flood the devastation is much more serious. In the case of a river like the Gunda which flows from the Himalayas to the Ganges with a fairly freight course in a single channel the danger of breaches during a high flood is very great. On the other hand the presence of the flood banks enables the natural channels to pass a larger proportion of the total flood. Thus the integrity of the channels is maintained. If there were no flood banks there is a risk that sooner or later the breach in the natural banks will so develop that the original channel will almost cease to function, and the water will take a new course, causing damage to the cultivated tract, as it will take many years for the new course to have a definite channel. On the other hand in the case of the rivers of Lower Bengal and Orissa the embankments instead of being useful work mischief. In their downward course the channels gradually decrease in capacity and eventually can pass only a small part of a volume of high flood. Thus escapes are here of great use as safety-valves. The Bhagirathi is itself an unregulated escape-channel from the Ganges and has a well sustained flood season\*. Thus the absence of outlets or escapes which are of service as safety-valves increases the risks of inundation. Nor is the inundation detrimental to crops and communications as the water would pass seldom and for short periods. On the other hand the annual inundation renovates soil fertility while a railway or road bank constructed parallel to a river

\* Sir C. Elliot's comparison while writing of Farrukhabad is cited in Crooke. *The North Western Provinces of India*.

\* W. A. Innes. River Floods, considered as a problem of Indian Administration. *The Asiatic Review* October 1926.

may act as a marginal flood bank or put in another way any effective flood bank may be used as a road or to carry a rail way. Unfortunately the embankments in Lower Bengal often have no outlets while the railways or roads built without any culverts also obstruct free passage of flood water. This has reacted very unfavourably on fertility as well as the health of the people. A large tract in Central and Western Bengal has been deprived of the fertilizing silt deposit and become less fertile than before. There is also water logging everywhere causing epidemics of fever. On account of the embankments the beds of some of the old channels have been so raised that they can be drained and cultivated. In summer the channels carry little water and are called drying or dead rivers constituting a chain of stagnant pools overgrown with weeds. Nearer the sea however uncontrolled in its meandering and terrible in its sweep flows back as it were upon man's habitation flooding the land or sometimes washing it away.

### III

Formerly the Panjab was covered with a thick forest belt. Forests grew on the Indus—forests with timber sufficient to enable Alexander the Great to construct the first Indus flotilla and about the valley of Peshawar there were wide spaces of water logged and swampy plain amid the thick reed growth of which the rhinoceros and elephant had their home. There were a large number of populated cities and villages in the valley which now lie sand buried. Man was improvident. As population multiplied the careless hand of man destroyed trees so prodigally that the natural conditions of the region where formerly vegetation used to flourish suffered disastrous reversion thus the region became dry and uninhabitable. Gradually the population shifted from the Indus valley to central and eastern Panjab where the rainfall is less deficient. Irrigation has developed lately and there are green spots about the Indus river and the newly spread network of the Panjab canals which are once again slowly altering the nature of the landscape but the climate can hardly be changed. Eastern and Southern Panjab is hot and dry and from this tract blows across the Gangetic plain the dry hot winds which

are so detrimental to crops. In the United Provinces also the injury resulting from the destruction of forest growth and soil erosion is apparent. In the Jumna tract the forests where the Emperor Babur hunted the rhinoceros are now a waterless tangle of ravines and the beautiful country along the Koot Hills is now buried under sand and gravel. By river bed erosion which has followed the devastation due to fire and axe and indiscriminate grazing the Jumna has been lowered 50 feet during the last 500 years because the torrents are unhampered by the roots of the plants and trees which man without discrimination has destroyed. There has also been a corresponding sinking of the water level. The cold weather level of the Jumna in the Etawah and Jalau districts is often 120-200 feet below the general level of the surrounding region. The sinking of the bed of the river is draining the country and the well water levels are sometimes as low as 200 feet. The banks of the Jumna or the Chambal in the Agra Etawah and Jalau districts are now so exhaustively drained that they have become also destitute of vegetation except a desert flora and even this is disappearing. In every country a subterranean reservoir exists at a greater or less depth below the surface. It is the level of saturation which of course varies from time to time according to rainfall. At the delta it coincides with the main tide level but it rises more and more on going inland. It is the level to which wells must be sunk before water appears in them. It is caused by the rain which is usually said to run off to the extent of one third, another third sinks in to form this reservoir and the remainder is lost in evaporation. When following a river valley one often notices a line of springs appearing at a certain level. This is when the valley has been cut down to below the subterranean reservoir which then forms a wet trough for it to run in. When the reverse is the case, i.e. when the river water level is above level of the underground water stratum the river loses a great deal of its water by its percolating into the dry soil around and beneath. In the arid parts of India this last is very common so that rivers very often get smaller and smaller the farther they go till at last they dry up altogether. In many parts of the Jumna Gangetic basin this last is not at all uncommon so that streams often get smaller

and smaller the farther they go till at last they dry up altogether. It is thus that the increase of dryness brought about by complete destruction of the vegetable cover has led to the capture of smaller streams and made agriculture more and more difficult. That the forests in the United Provinces have disappeared within the last four or five centuries is not open to doubt. The eastern districts were till the 16th century covered with large belts of forests. In the *Albar-nama* it is stated that on the march of an army along the south bank of the Gogra in what is near the Azimgarh district, forests were traversed and various wild beasts both land and aquatic showed themselves a description which is entirely inapplicable at the present day. Finch was told that the journey from Jaunpur to Allahabad was thirty kos "all of which are thorough a continual Forest." According to the Settlement Report of the Allahabad district, there are practically no jungles now and what there were at last settlement (1874) seem to have disappeared. There is a singular absence of wild life no doubt as the result of the steady extension of cultivation. Wild pig, *wulga* and black buck, which seem to have existed here and there in sufficient numbers at last settlement to attract attention, have either wholly disappeared or have been reduced to a few isolated head or small herds. Even the common birds are not numerous. In Ballia a considerable portion was waste land at the time of the Permanent Settlement. In Azimgarh Ballia and Jaunpur districts even pasture lands for cattle are now very deficient. Except during the rains and in the alluvial tracts there is very little grazing and the cattle have to be mostly stall fed. Even the *dhak* jungles are gradually cut down owing to the demand for wood on the part of both sugar-refiners and brick makers. The destruction of *dhak* trees is followed by an immediate expansion of tillage in the whole of the United Provinces, of which the area is roughly 100,000 sq miles, the forest area covers 7,000 sq miles or 7 per cent only. This in itself by all standards is inadequate. Moreover, the great majority of the forests are concentrated in the sparsely inhabited hills or sub-montane tract. The destruction of forests and even scrub-jungles still goes on contributing to the gradual drying up of tanks, *sheels* and *tals* and the lowering of the water level making irrigation more expensive in districts which cannot

depend upon the natural rainfall. It is now admitted that the denudation of trees has cumulative ill-effects which tend to reduce the fertility of the country. The reverse is also the case, a large growth of forests has cumulative good effects tending greatly to increase the humidity of the air, the equality of the temperature and the fertility of the region. The hotter the climate the more careful man should be to preserve his trees, but unfortunately exactly the reverse is usually the case either from ignorance, want of fuel or shortness of pasture.\*

#### IV

The great densely populated Gangetic plain is now practically bare of forest growth. It is inevitable that with the disappearance of the forests the meteorological conditions of the Gangetic valley gradually would change. It has been estimated that of the water vapour which is condensed as rainfall over the land about two thirds is provided by evaporation over the oceans, and the remaining third by evaporation and transpiration over the land. The latter contribution is made up of evaporation of rainfall intercepted by foliage, evaporation from the soil and transpiration and estimates are made of these three factors for forest, crops or grass land, and bare soil. The figures are expressed as percentages of an average rainfall of 30 inches a year, for forests they give interception, 15, evaporation from soil, 7, transpiration, 25, total 47 per cent. For crops evaporation from soil, 17, transpiration, 37, total 54 per cent. For bare soil evaporation 30 per cent. Thus the replacement of forests by crops would tend to increase the supply of moisture to the air and therefore, the general rainfall slightly, replacement by bare soils would decrease the general rainfall slightly. The changes in the run off are likely to be more noticeable, replacement of forests by crops would decrease the run-off by 15 per cent, and make it less regular, replacement by bare soil would increase the run off but would make it highly irregular. A forest thirty feet high may be considered as adding about thirty feet to the effective height of the ground, and this should increase the local

\* *Harz Trees and Climate, Discovery*  
1923

orographical rainfall by one or two per cent.\* On account of the widespread destruction of forests throughout the heavily populated Ganges valley the rainfall in some parts is already becoming more scanty and the heat of the hot weather months more intolerable. It is not improbable that in some distant future the Ganges valley may share the fate of the Indus valley where once there was smiling plenty. The traces of ancient river beds and sand buried cities extended over a vast space in the desert country east of the Indus testify to the gradual desiccation of a once fertile region. The debris and monadoties of a forgotten civilization recently excavated in the sandy deserts of Harappa whisper a tragedy of famine despair and abandonment. In the south western portions of the Doab the desert has already appeared. Further towards the north west we have the semi desert tract where one can mark the abandoned bed of one of the greater Panjab rivers the Hakra which was a live river probably up to early Muhammadan times and then lost itself in the sands. It appears that the watering of the Panjab rivers gradually transferred the Sutlej from the Hakra system to the Indus system the Saraswati and its associated rivers were then unable to maintain a flow to the Hakra channel and dried up. Thus the Indian desert extends north east to broad sandy wastes which merge into the scrub covered plains characteristic of the south western portion of the United Provinces. This region was formerly pro-

ductive and well watered, and composed large and prosperous towns which are now insignificant and depend for such prosperity as they enjoy upon modern irrigation channels. The change in meteorological conditions is probably due to long continued human settlement extension of cultivation and contraction of forests which formerly protected the head waters and drainage area generally of the Hakra the Sutlej and the Jumna and their associated rivers.

The destruction of forests and indiscriminate extirmination of grass lands has contributed to increase both floods and drought to alter both the time and duration of the river flood factors of great importance to agricultural prosperity, while the silting up of river bottoms has spelt decline of the mature portion of the valley and especially the delta region. Nowhere are forests and grass lands more important for agriculture than the tropical and sub-tropical regions where the vegetation not only conserves the moisture and ensures fertility by spreading a cover of silt but also prevents the ground from being over heated and rendered dry by the sun. Deforestation in these regions is particularly harmful in its effects towards upsetting the balance between the factors which determine climate and hydrographical conditions. The alternation of droughts and floods in Northern India and the decay of rivers in Western Bengal are merely symptoms of such loss of ecologic balance which man has periodically brought about by either excessive increase of numbers or abuse of vegetation in dry and semi dry areas of the plain.

\* C. E. P. Brooks. The Influence of Forests on Rainfall and Run off. *Meteorological Magazine* December 1927.

## "The Reconstruction of India" by E. J. Thompson

By BAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

"THE Reconstruction of India" is Mr E. J. Thompson's latest book. It is not a convincing work. It contains many inaccuracies and many statements to which exception cannot but be taken. The publishers (Faber and Faber Limited 24 Russell Square London) claim it to be a clear authoritative and interesting book. It may be clear and interesting but authoritative it certainly is not. According to the publishers Mr Thompson's knowledge of India is long and intimate. He was engaged

in educational work in Bengal for several years before and after the war and is now Lecturer in Bengali at Oxford. But Bengal is not the whole but a small fragment of India and teaching in a modest college does not by itself make one an authority on Indian politics—the author himself says in the preface. Politics were never in my line. As for the authority assumed to be implied in his being Lecturer in Bengali at Oxford I showed in my article on Mr Thompson's book on Rabindranath Tagore

published in this *Review* in July, 1927 what poor knowledge of the vernacular of Bengal the author possesses.

The author praises Sir Thomas Munro for his "unpatronizing attitude" towards Indians. There was much to be wished that Mr. Thompson could justly claim similar praise as also praise for freedom from the habit of giving oneself and one's nation airs of superiority.

One of the besetting sins of this author is to quote the opinions of anonymous persons. Let me for example, quote one or two passages.

A Nationalist, a very gifted man with a fine University record used to tell his uncles in the Partition days—p. 132, on two English words that resemble each other—The English as here I rule and I to rule. 28

Who is or was this Nationalist?

From April to July 1927, while England and Australia were settling their own rivalry in a long-drawn-out series of cricket test matches, the Hindu Mohammedan communities as reported in the *Times* to me were fighting out their mutual matches in the streets of Calcutta. The news so far from being received with horror by the cool-headed, points of those participating fired the blood. I had an eminent Hindu historian rejoicing in my drawing room at Oxford that for the first time in history the Mohammedan casualties were greater than those of the Hindus. I reproved him a mild Hindu for speaking these words. I am not a mild Hindu, he said. I am tired of it, in a mild Hindu. 28

Who was this correspondent and who this eminent historian?

I suppose I shall be set down as a die-hard imperialist if I say that the platform particularly in the United States has increasingly convinced me of the essential dishonesty and narrowness of much of the Indian controversy. But I am comforted by memory of the many Indians who have in private said as much to me. 29

Who are these many Indians?

If these various persons and many others really told the author the things they are alleged to have said and if they are men of any consequence, why does not the author name them? No man possessed of moral worth would have been afraid of giving the author permission to mention his name.

Mr. Thompson has not taken sufficient pains to make all his statements relating to the same subject quite consistent. One example out of many will suffice. On page 231 he writes

"I cannot believe that England once compelled to abandon her Eastern interests would ever go to the expense involved in a return to them. It would be a purely quixotic war this hypothetical

one to rescue India which had no use for the English in power but could not save it off when they were gone. And in England that has lost its fighting power and shrunk into being an island it would be far too poor to do anything."

This passage means that England would become very poor if compelled to abandon her Eastern interests, and by far the greater part of these interests centre round India. So one must understand from it that the possession of India makes England rich. Yet in more than one passage the author says directly or indirectly that England derives little or no advantage from India. For example, on page 231 he says there has been growing among Englishmen "an increasing tendency to ask whether it was worth it for the little advantage that Britain now gets from India."

It would take too much space to quote all the passages in the book that relate to General Dyer and Jallianwalla Bagh. They show how the author is unable to decide whether he should condemn or justify or extenuate what the General did at Amritsar.

I want to be fair to Mr. Thompson. So I shall now quote some of the passages in his book which would be of use to fighters for India's freedom. The figures after the extracts indicate the pages.

So that Lord Montagu has recorded Lawrence's judgment that Indians were happier under their own systems than under ours. Lawrence had known the Punjab as he was to know that worst centre of native misgovernment, Oudh both under Naive and under British administration. He had been agent in Rajputana, of all regions the most unexplored and Resident in Nepal which is not in British India at all. 10, 9

Sir George Forrest is almost the only historian who points out that the Muslims showed that under all their differences the Hindu and Mohammedan populations understand one another's systems as no Westerners can that in normal times these systems interact and that in 1857 the two religions found a bridge and say so again. (The italics are the author's.) 31

I do not hold that autocracy achieved the results claimed for it or was the noble thing it seems to those who dispensed it. 40

The Indian Government has long had a reputation magnificently earned and set down in the admissions of high authority such as cannot be dismissed as envious or seditious for making fine promises and then shirking them. It has always played for time and postponed the evil day when unholy voices would make themselves heard in the inner sanatory. During the last forty years it has been the half-baked, so-called educated Indians the seditious few who represent no one but themselves (as if it were not important to represent yourself if there is no one else to represent you.) 62

To Indians the last seventy years seem a vista strewn with broken promises. Again and again

the House of Commons or some authoritative commission or governing group has conceded things for which they have pressed and the concession has been made a mockery. The facts are beyond dispute. I could litter my pages with promises and resolutions clearly worded in the highest degree binding and dated. We have fed them with the east wind. And they have been the most of them marvellously patient. 271-72

It [the Congress] represents Moslems and Sikhs to a very limited extent. It is now wholly extremist. But history teaches the folly of underestimating what an aggressive and strongly organized minority can do. They can if conditions favour them coerce a sluggish or indifferent majority into revolution. It is nonsense to sneer at the Congress and say that it represents merely a discontented handful. Few of Modern India's outstanding names cannot at one time or another be found in its records. Going over these I pause at name after name, arrested by the distinction of character or of intellectual achievement for which it stands. Not the least hardship which the Indian mind has endured (and with surprisingly little embitterment, everything considered) is the fact that almost every Indian achievement remains provincial and circumscribed. Nowhere else have so many first class abilities had to be contented with second class careers. 63

Probably many of us will never succeed in giving men of more balanced mind the remotest conception of the detestation with which we view any sort of Special Tribunal or any kind of extraordinary action taken against emergency. We consider that panic operates to the exclusion of fairness. Trials by court martial we hold are usually no trials at all. 113

The first step in Non violent Non co operation was to be the resignation of honours and office of every kind from the highest to the humblest by Government servants. This which is not illegal and is morally unexceptionable had it been carried out would have paralyzed the Administration. 13

A century ago Ranjit Singh, though with hard fighting and some defeats more than held the Punjab against Afghanistan. If the Sikhs remain loyal to a federated India the north west border is safe against Afghanistan alone. If the Princes co operate within a federated India Nepal would not be a danger and in any case would probably continue her present friendly relations. 223

The real grievances are that Indianization of the Native Army has proceeded far too slowly and that the army is established partly on the old basis of being an Army of Occupation. 224

Self government is a right not a decoration. 243

Opium has been a damnable story a dirty indefensible business. 259

When the British came there was more literacy if of a low kind than until within the last ten years. 255

From one point of view the masses in India are deplorably ignorant and degraded. There is another point of view from which it is seen that they have kept a large degree of that susceptibility to immaterial issues and loveliness which is genuine culture. Furthermore, such a man as Akbar must be called a highly cultivated man

though he could not read or write. All our brains do not live in our eyes and fingers.

I should like to see education driven ahead with all speed. But illiteracy in itself should not be a bar to self government, any more than it was in Britain or America. 255 256

We have laughed at his [Mr. Gandhi's] spinning wheel movement. But we know that there is sense behind it in more ways than one. Indeed the whole Indian question is complicated by there being involved with it a deeper struggle where our sympathies divide them and us cutting across all racial lines. It is hard to see how India can support her vast population without industrialization. But she will be cursed by it when it has spread even as we have been cursed by it. 277 278

All the same there is a greater wisdom in the attitude of those who have seen Western civilization at its best, and knows that it is a finely spiritual thing as well as a grossly materialistic one. India might help to give more than herself if she could keep her simplicity, fling away her indigenous follies and accept Western dentistry and surgery and freedom of thought and spirit and person. 277 278

It is on this side that of defence, that we have done least to set India on her own feet. 298

It will now be my duty to draw attention to some of the passages in the book which are open to objection and criticism. As they are rather numerous I do not cherish the ambition to refer to all of them. Rejecting those which are not important and also those the unsoundness of which can be brought out only by elaborate discussion, I made out a list of those which require examination and their number is ninety four. I will refer to as many of these as the time and space at my disposal will permit. I will begin from the concluding pages of the book.

In the table of political events forming Appendix II it is stated that in February, 1928

Sir John Simon invites Indian legislatures to appoint a Committee to meet with his in joint, free conference." 308 The reader now knows that there was no such joint, free conference. In the same table there is mention of Punjab riots and suppression at Amritsar in 1919. 307 This word suppression is used to cloak the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

In Appendix I on the Simon Report, the following sentence is quoted from the *Times* without comment:

Nothing must be allowed to detract from the essential freedom of discussion in open Conference which has been offered to the representatives of British India and of the Indian States. 303

It is the height of absurdity to speak of the nominees of the British Government in India



as representatives of British India and the Indian States.

"There is no more necessary delay awaiting the Indian patriot than this that during the foregoing years still available while Britain requires her frontiers, he strives to preserve the law martial people of India that the India at defence and security is one which the whole nation must share out."

Mr Thompson ought to know that it is the British army authorities who have "demartialized" the majority of the regions of India and thrown the burden of defence on a few provinces, out of political considerations. A mercenary army cannot be recruited now from all regions of India. A citizen army can be so recruited when India is free. If it seems to be like a vicious circle that India cannot be made free until she has a national all India army and she cannot have such an army until she is free, the vicious circle is a creation of British policy for British purposes. For complete proof, see the articles in this *Review* on the "Martial Races of India," published this year in the July, and September issues.

According to the author "There are only two things in the way of exempt self government in India: Defence and the Communal Questions." 300 But Britain has kept India weak and will keep her weak as long as she rules India. The communal question will not be solved so long as one party or the other can expect the support of Britishers. European countries were free even when Protestants and Roman Catholics hated each other. America is free in spite of race riots, religious riots and lynchings. Hindus and Mussulmans will cease to quarrel when India is free either by mutual agreement or by fighting it out. There cannot be any settlement so long as there is a third party, a foreign dominant party, in the country.

"India will not object to having a less efficient administration if it is cheaper." 293 The author takes it for granted in this and some other passages that the Indian officers are less efficient than British officers. I have always maintained that British administration in India is efficient only for British purposes and phenomenally inefficient for our purposes. After more than a century and a half of British rule India is the most illiterate, the most poverty stricken and the most disease-ridden country in the world under 'civilized rule'. Incontrovertible proof of India's poverty and unhealthiness is in be

found in her high death-rate and the fact that the average duration of life in India is about half of what it is in Britain and other European countries and Japan. It will not do to make only our social customs and personal habits responsible for this deplorable state of things. Mr Thompson himself admits that the 'change in our attitude towards social inequality, as also towards unhygienic methods of living is very recent indeed.' 24 Mr George Lansbury also has quite recently written

"In 1901 when we used to pray in Church for the victims of small pox and cholera there were regular outbreaks of these diseases in poor quarters of India and they carried off thousands of victims."

The streets were strewn with filthy houses were dark, not by any of the window tax drunkenness at night and children were starved and beaten in the factories.

What a difference I see today.

The difference is due to the fact that Britain is free and educated. There is no such difference in India because India is in bondage and kept uneducated.

And for a while longer the irrigation works used the presence of some British engineers. 297 Why? Because Indians in sufficient numbers have not been given sufficient facilities to become quite competent engineers. So long as India is not free there can always be shown a dearth of experts in any technical branch of public service. Mysore has shown what Indian engineers can do.

With Burma gone, she (India) will have lost the greater part of her mineral wealth, and will be poor indeed! 295 Where are the authoritative statistics to show that Burma has more mineral resources than the whole of India? By the by, is it because Burma is rich in minerals that Britishers want to separate it from India and keep it as their own exclusive happy hunting ground?

Of the Simon Report it is said that "in the light of first-hand knowledge, it was seen for what it was, a remarkably thorough and sympathetic piece of political writing." 294 'Seen' by whom? Not certainly by any toad under the barrow.

Mr Thompson is not lacking in a sense of humour and not entirely lacking in a sense of justice. But both seem to have deserted him when he indited the following passage astoundingly absurd in parts.

I fear most of all the stiffening of my own people fear lest they should stand on dignity and

an absolute and absolute right that they should demand the same of humiliation for the provocation of the last ten years of folly. Here is the true reinforcement with the days of Lexington and Boston when the Government *justly incurred* could think only of the thing into the harbour and lost sight of the deeper and wider causes of quarrel. There was a line of peace ten years ago if the British had understood what was in Indian hearts when their leaders insisted that England make the statement. It was a gesture, striking in the most unpractical terms, a regulation of the Punjab highland that was demanded. This was from official England but from an official but powerful private quarters the flow of letters and the British community in India and exonerated of General Dyer and a little later to him. To-day it is in British hearts that there is resentment for what seems almost unexcusable childishness and injustice and the wanton waste of a whole decade. The last two years especially seen one long provocation in the more vexing in that it has been accompanied by a refusal to face the real problem which India has within herself. I am certain that just as there is no atonement for England in years ago there is going to come no atonement from John il in his no. 2889 (Hills mine R C)

So the people of India must make *some* of humiliation for the provocation of the last ten years of folly namely the folly of struggling to be free. If this struggle be really childish and unjust and wasteful why should that *provoke* the British? Is it a provocation to refuse to live in subjection and to be exploited? What is it that the Indian people must atone for, comparable to the Punjab doings for which Mr Thompson thinks England should have atoned? We certainly should atone for all our national sins which have brought on us the sufferings and humiliation of age-long subjection. But that is not the atonement Mr Thompson has in mind.

The terms under which the Round Table conference is summoned should make it plain beyond all possibility of misunderstanding that it is for the people of British India to present an agreed scheme in essentials. 288

How are they to do it priv? The people of British India were neither asked nor allowed to choose their representatives. The Government have chosen all the so-called delegates to the so-called Round Table Conference. And among these men are many who have a narrow Communal non-National if not anti-National outlook. Congress, the most representative body in India and even the other less representative bodies were not asked to choose delegates. The choice was made by officials whose devouring passion cannot be proved by even

the most charitably disposed to be that the Indian nominees—invited at the pseudo Round Table Conference should present a united front.

I should like to make it plain that I think the Punjab's administration has been a wonderful achievement. 287 Indeed! What do the Punjabis say?

I even in British India the rising has not been against un-rule but against impersonal rule in so far as genuine discontent has been at work. 287 If the Indian people deny it, they do not know their own minds. Mr Thompson reader Thompson knows!

The author divides Britain's work in India into four stages. The third, which we see ending includes an effort 'to turn Indians to take over their own government' 281 *Credat Judaeus Apella!*

It is alleged by the author that Mahatma Gandhi defended the use of the old-fashioned spinning wheel on the ground that 'the women would have wastes of idle time on their hands if they used a more efficient model' 278. When and where did the Mahatma put up this defence of the *charka*? I am sure he never did it. A practical contradiction of this allegation is afforded by the offer of a reward of Rs. 100,000 to the inventor of a quite efficient model by the All India Spinners' Association under Mahatma Gandhi's inspiration.

To many of us the [British] Empire is a preparation for the peace of all Nations a commonwealth which will not absorb other peoples but will show the way for all to find the full freedom. 277

A consummation to be devoutly wished for as the phrase goes. But until the date of that happy result, one must say, *credat Judaeus Apella!* How many more peoples can Britain absorb?

There is no justification for the kind of charge often made that England stole India and so on. These ethical considerations apply to events of like or to anything that has happened in Central America. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were a different world and what the British did, and what Indians did were the normal conduct of the time. 275

Or in other words, if thieves and large-scale robbers abound in any age moralists must not call them names. But assuming that Mr Thompson is right, why does he indulge in language like the following in the book under notice?

teaching and the doing of original work in different branches of study Indian professors are not at all inferior to European professors in India I have no space to speak of other services

Mr Thompson is against fixing any definite date for anything to be settled (p 261) The Greek Hindus evidently suit him better

In his opinion 'the Government is at present far the wiser and braver and honestest party to the quarrel' (p 262) The people of India and large numbers of foreigners than otherwise

The author thinks from Mr Gandhi's present activities that he has changed his views on untouchability or at any rate modified their rigour (263) He has done neither Mr Thompson thinks there are close on sixty millions of untouchables But they are really not half as many According to even the Simon Report p 10 part I chap 1 they number 136 millions That Report adds

We must make it plain that the figures in the above table are estimates and in respect of some provinces have in any case less significance than in others So far as Madras Bombay and the Central Provinces are concerned there is no doubt to be much dispute as to which are the untouchable castes and no really material differences exist in the various calculations made But it is otherwise in the case of Bengal the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa In these three States the connection between theoretical untouchability and practical disability is less close and a special investigation might show that the number of those who are denied equal rights in the matter of schools water and the like is less than the total given for the depressed classes in those areas

In Assam the figure is largely conjectural No wide variation for the estimate given for the Nagas has been put forward but this fact does not necessarily establish the accuracy of the figure (ital ours)

Mr Thompson states

Government and missionary institutions have done most of what has been done to uplift these classes They furnish next to the communal quarrels the strongest justification for the continued presence of the British as overlords 265

He does not notice the work of Hindu reforming bodies But that does not matter regarding what the Government has done for the depressed classes let me quote what Dr Ambedkar has said in his presidential address at the All India Depressed Classes Conferences recently held at Nagpur Dr Ambedkar is not a Non co operator He was

in the Bombay Council and was a member of the committee of that Council which co-operated with the Simon Commission He has been invited by the Government to attend the so called Round Table Conference as a delegate The opinion of such a man is as follows

Before the British you were in a loathsome condition due to your untouchability Has the British Government done anything to remove your untouchability Before the British you could not draw water from the village well Has the British Government secured you the right to the well? Can the British you could not enter the temple? Can you enter now? Before the British you were denied the entry into the Police force Does the British Government admit you in the force? Before the British you were not allowed to serve in the military Is that career now open to you? Give attention to none of these questions you will give an affirmative answer Those who have held so much power over the country for such a long time must have done some good But there is really no fundamental alteration in your position So far as you are concerned the British Government has accepted the arrangements as it found them and has preserved them faithfully in the manner of the Chinese tailor who when given an old coat as a pattern, produced with pride an exact replica rents patches and all Your wrongs have remained as open sores and they have not been touched and I say that the British Government actuated with the best of motives and principles will always remain powerless to effect any change so far as your particular grievances are concerned Nobody can remove your grievances as well as you can and you cannot remove them unless you get political power in your own hands No share of this political power can come to you so long as the British Government remains what it is

The author considers the existence of the depressed classes the strongest justification for the continued presence of the British as overlords The position of the Negroes in America is in some respects worse than that of the depressed classes here Why is not British overlordship necessary there?

They (the Muslim deputation) received a sympathetic answer and in the Morley Minto Reforms (1909) the communal principle appeared It may be conceded then that the Government flung into Modern India the apple of discord so far as discord has proceeded from politics But it was done in response to request 220

But the deputation itself was a command performance according to Maulana Mohamed Ali And Lord Morley writes in his *Recollections* addressing Lord Minto 'You started the communal here' So the truth is that Lord Minto asked the Muslims to wait upon him in deputation in order to pray for communal representation and he granted this prayer

If England walked out of India India could not escape that titter of war a religious war 212

But at present and for years past, while England is still all powerful in India there is and has been religious war to all intents and purposes. Let Malabar Sukkur Jamshpur Calcutta Kithoreganj Dacca etc bear witness. The presence of England has not therefore, prevented religious war. What is the use then of holding out the dread prospect of religious war as a damper upon any desire for the British evacuation of India?

The incessant communal strife of India results in the constant use of the military to keep order. Usually the request is for British troops as neutral 214

But Sir Sankar Nath Chaudhary of the Indian Central Committee Raja Nawab Ali Khan and Sardar Bahadur Shitdev Singh have pointed out in their joint memorandum that in the disturbances which followed the Partition of Bengal in which the Moslems were on the side of the Government and the Hindus, in opposition to the troops employed were Gurkhas who are Hindus and not the British. In the Punjab riots too in 1919 the troops used were Gurkhas. In Malabar when the Moplah riots took place two years later the outbreak was finally quelled by Gurkhas and Kashmiri who are accustomed to such hills and forested territory

More recently British soldiers were not requisitioned to prevent or put down the outbreak of lawlessness in Dacca and Kithoreganj. The police force ought to suffice everywhere to deal effectively with communal strife

It is but a few years since the late Lola Lajpat Rai through a Hindu turned Sikh villages escorted a lady of color whom he introduced to the Sikhs as the legitimate Queen 209

Your authority, Mr. Thompson for this story please?

Amnesty for political prisoners means that the men and trial for the murder of Mr. Saunders are to be freed. 14

In making this comment the author plays either his ignorance or his dishonesty as amnesty has been demanded only for such political prisoners as have not been guilty of or been accused of crimes of violence like murder attempt at murder etc

With reference to Mahatma Gandhi's eleven points Mr. Thompson writes,

From this point I for one had it hard to believe that he is what he was or that he has not allowed circumstances to make him temporarily a sheer politician and a politician only. Such an

offer of peace cannot have been sincere. Nothing of all that he demands is in the Viceroy's power. He is talking as if he thought he were dealing with Akbar or Aurangzeb. 146

The imputation of insincerity to Mr. Gandhi deserves to be treated with contempt. His eleven points were not new. They had been previously given to Mr. S. R. Bomani at his request to be placed before Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as the terms on which Mr. Gandhi would be prepared to recommend the suspension of civil disobedience. The author thinks nothing of all that Mr. Gandhi demands is in the Viceroy's power. But if one Viceroy could double the salt tax by the method of certification why could not another abolish it by the same process. Moreover Mahatma Gandhi did not demand that the Viceroy should carry out all the eleven reforms by his sole authority. He wanted his Excellency to initiate consideration of them which could be done in various ways. Mr. Thompson's reference to Akbar or Aurangzeb has elicited the following observations from *The Indian Social Reformer*

Lord Irwin is for all practical purposes not much less of an autocrat than Akbar or Aurangzeb. He cannot it is true order people to be trampled to death by elephants or have them roasted in boiling oil or walked up alive. But he can try and make deprive the people of any or all their freedom, control innocent and even meritorious act into criminal offences, can stop the course of judicial proceedings at any stage and can appoint special tribunals to try persons accused of capital charges without the safeguards provided by the regular judicial procedure. Having regard to the state of world opinion the immense powers of the Viceroy are no less autocratic than the powers of the Mughal Emperors.

Let it be noted first that so far no progress whatever has been made in persuading Moslems to set aside their before religion. 143

Mr. Thompson has great capacity for ignoring facts. In all provinces numerous Moslems including Congress presidents and provincial and district leaders including Muslim women have gone to jail for practicing *satyagraha*. In the Bombay Presidency the War Council at present consists only of Moslems. What happened in Peshawar in recent months was due to the influence of the Congress over the Moslems of the N. W. F. Province who are 90 per cent of its population.

The second step in Non violent Non co-operation is bound to lead quickly to violence and cannot be let pass by any Government. It is Civil Disobedience the withholding of all taxes the ignoring of all orders and regulations. 138

But neither Mahatma Gandhi nor any other Congress leader has asked that all orders and regulations are to be ignored.

The Lushai War effort is in historic extent of great importance. We are unusually fortunate in that we possess the first great Governor's own account of how an alien Empire was added to the side such large numbers of Orientals die for it in the shambles of Hinders and in the Hindu Mohammedan slaughter. Such it must be the first time in the world's history that so many thousands from a subject race willingly offered themselves in a war like beyond all precedent and to support a world which was none of their business about and cannot have seen many of their kind.

Persuade and willingly are the most important words in the above passage. The author himself supplies the contradiction when he writes on pages 118-19. I suppose no one who was in Mesopotamia has the slightest doubt that a good many of the Indian troops had come there against their wishes and stayed there sullenly.

he latter putition [of Bengal] (which it is not usual to call a putition) followed lines of nationality rather than race instead of placing a line of stars across them. 88

This is only partially true. The reconstituted Province of Bihar and Orissa includes several Bengali speaking areas and includes some Oriya speaking tracts while excluding others.

In each Province are a few Divisional Commis-

sioners. Civilians who are over groups of other Civilians the ordinary district officers. 53

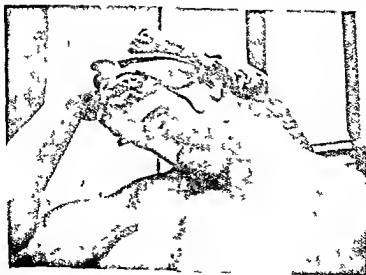
Not in each province Madras has no Divisional Commissioners.

Speaking of the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1901 the author states on page 50. These Reforms were hailed by India with delight. To us they seem little enough and to have been long enough waited for. As the reader may have noticed from some previous extracts Mr Thompson is fond of making sweeping statements. Only some Indians not all hailed the Reforms of 1909. There were many notable Indians in those days and some of them are still alive to whom they seemed little enough and to have been long enough waited for.

Mr Thompson favours Dominion Status but in a *Pelwickian* or rather in a Thompsonian sense. With what limitations he would concede it the reader can judge from many of the passages extracted from his book in this article. For him the next step in Indian political evolution is not Dominion Status. Says he:

There is Dominion Status - the right way out but too beset with difficulty. Immediate full Dominion Status would merely make a fool of India, or rather it is her where she cannot help making a fool of herself (and an extremely unhappy fool). Independent India would be like Independent China but far more torn and wretched even more ridiculous a spectacle to the outside world. 101

No comments are needed.



Night—Michelangelo

## Venkatesh B. Ketkar

By JOGEE CHANDRA RAY

NEWS reaches me from Bijapur that Mr Venkatesh Bipu Ketkar the astronomer of India wide reputation expired on the 3rd of August at the age of 77. I little thought while writing the review of his latest work that he would not live to read it. By his death our country has a veteran astronomer of ripe experience and unbounded enthusiasm for the cause of almanac reform.

Mr Ketkar's ancestors lived in Kalki a village in the district of Ratnagiri. About 100 years ago they came to Puthan on the Golarari and settled there. Mr Ketkar's father Bipu Shastri Ketkar was a great Sanskrit scholar and astronomer. He was invited to Nargundi in the district of Dharwar by the Raja of that place. Venkatesh was born here in 1841. But he lost his father at the age of sixteen and was confronted with pecuniary difficulties. Somehow he managed to defray his school expenses and passed the Matriculation with distinction winning the Jyeshthoy Prize.

Prosecution of further study was impossible and young Ketkar had to earn his livelihood as a teacher. I believe in a Government Training school. While thus employed he had the curiosity to probe into the astronomical books which his father had written. Already the total solar eclipse of 1868 which he observed at Kolhapur had made a deep impression on his mind. He began to study Sanskrit astronomy but could not follow it intelligently. He therefore turned his attention to European astronomy and with patience and perseverance gradually made his way into the region of higher mathematics and mastered the details of both Indian and European method of calculation. At the age of thirty he wrote his first book *Jyotirganitani*, a book of tables for the computation of an almanac. It was published in 1868 and followed in the next two years by *Kelakigrahaganitani* and *Lajaganiti* the latter also named *Lajclanga ganitani*. He has been the author of nine books covering a period of thirty two years. Of course it

was beyond the means of a poor school master to undertake publication without liberal support of wealthy noblemen. Many of his books have been long out of print and await the same liberal public spirit. One of his books *Golchaya prasa* (problem of two bodies) has not yet seen the light of day. He retired from Government service in 1911 as First Assistant Deputy



Venkatesh B. Ketkar

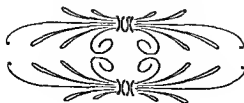
Educational Inspector but as will be seen from above was busy up to the date of his death in the pursuit of his favourite subject.

Every reformer had his hours of trial and Mr Ketkar had his share in full. I one of his letters (dated Poona 18th Dec 1924) he wrote to me

'In 1896 I gave a lecture in the Bombay Town Hall on my *Hyoti gauda* and concluded by saying that it was the result of my madness for no sane man could ever have undertaken such a vast and profitless job. Justice M G Ranade [?] who presided eulogized me by saying We badly want more mad men like Mr Ketkar who can change the destinies of the world. These words touched my heart and I felt that I had not wasted my energy. But that was thirty four years ago when Mr Ketkar was just emerging from the obscurity of an obscure school. Since then the march of the indomitable champion of Chitra has not been unsatisfactory. It takes long time to prepare the soil for new seeds to grow.

Very few of us realize the tremendous influence of our calendars on the mental outlook of the millions of the Hindus, silently but inexorably regulating their social and religious institutions. They furnish the iron chain by which the various units are bound together and preserve the traditions of ancient culture which nothing else could do. But none have so far bestowed any thought on the diversity of chronology which has divided provinces into linguistic and sectarian areas and compelled them to use the Christian calendar for dating their correspondence and documents. Nor are the calendars simple. Daily life demands a simplified calendar of months whose length is fixed and the week day on the first of each remains the same so that one would not require to consult an almanac for date of any day of the year. The leap year of 366 days which comes on every fourth year stands in the way of a simplified calendar. But rules may be framed for avoiding the difficulty. I do not believe in the fetish of scientific accuracy in the affairs of life because it is impracticable and because it diverts our attention from more important duties. Let astronomers go

on calculating to the thousandth of a second of time where necessary, but let us ordinary people be satisfied with what is practicable. So I think when Swamy comes, one of the duties of the legislature will be to standardize the Indian calendar for all parts of the country as the British Government has done for measures of space and mass. In this connection I may refer to the movement of the International Fixed Calendar League U S A for remedying the defect of the Christian calendar. We know, it consists of twelve months of unequal length fixed arbitrarily which are not exact multiples of the week except the month February in common years. It proposes twelve months of 28 days each and a thirteenth month of 29 days to be named 'sol' and inserted between the third and the fifth month of the present calendar. The League enumerates seventeen advantages which will follow from the proposed reform. One of them is that the day of the week would always indicate the monthly date. The remaining sixteen benefits relate more or less to business life and earnings. But our months whether lunar or solar are not unscientific and we are not yet prepared to reduce human life into clockwork. I wonder how the civilized people will occupy themselves when all waste of time will be eliminated and efficiency of man as a machine raised hundred per cent. We cannot accept their calendar which will have no meaning to us. At the same time we must not overlook the advantages of one civil calendar for the whole of India which will necessarily be solar with the lengths of months fixed. Mr Ketkar was best qualified to show the way. It will be difficult to find another man who has studied the calendars of the different provinces as well as he did. His right place would have been at the head of the Department of Indian Almanac.



# New Tariff Trends in Great Britain

Propaganda of the Press Peers

By WILFRID WELLOCK, M. P.

THE political life of this country is undergoing a profound change much more profound indeed than is apparent on the surface. The problem of unemployment, which has assumed world proportions and on a large scale is playing havoc with established economic theories and political policies and producing a disposition to consider theories and policies which previously have been anathema. At the present time political conflict and controversy are raging round the question of tariff. Even the Liberal Party which has always stood for unadulterated Free Trade is now prepared to prohibit what is called "dumped goods" by which is meant subsidized exports sold at less than the cost of production. At the Liberal Summer School just held a prominent Liberal, Mr. F. D. Simon, M. P., has suggested that it might be well worth while to consider a 10 per cent duty on imported goods for revenue purposes with rebates in certain instances.

As to the Labour Party it refuses to swear either by tariffs or Free Trade believing that the root cause of unemployment and poverty is the Capitalist system itself. Thus whilst adhering to the principle of Free Trade it is prepared to depart from what has hitherto been regarded as strict Free Trade policy by the setting up of Import Boards, and possibly to the extent of guaranteeing a price to the farmers for such a crop as wheat, &c.

But in the ranks of the Tory Party there is at present the utmost confusion. For some years past the policy of that Party, as expressed in its political programme has been that of Safe-guarding. During its last term of office the Tory Party laid down the conditions under which industries might be "safe-guarded" by means of a tariff. The procedure adopted was, that a Committee it set up was to examine applications from particular industries for a protective tariff. If the Committee were satisfied that a tariff

could be given to a particular industry, which would benefit that industry without at the same time injuring any other industry or materially affecting prices a tariff might be imposed.

Under this procedure quite a number of industries secured a tariff either of 20 per cent or 33 1/3 per cent. But in no case did one of the major industries secure a tariff. And although quite a number of small industries secured a tariff taken altogether they cover but a very small proportion of our total industry.

As time went on however it was recognized that the advocates of tariffs would not rest satisfied until safe-guarding was applied to the major industries. Moreover, the major industries themselves were beginning to object to the extension of safe-guarding to the smaller industries, whilst they were rigidly ruled out. Thus some of the heads of the big iron and steel industries in particular, began to assert themselves. The Directors of a big tube combine for instance stated definitely that they would not tolerate the extension of safe-guarding to small industries which used iron and steel as their raw material unless iron and steel also received a protective tariff.

The reason for this was obvious, for in many cases the protected small industries were buying cheap foreign iron and steel. Hence a new situation was created in the Tory Party. At this stage matters were made much worse by the intervention of the farmers who declared that if the policy of safe-guarding were to be extended to the big industries which would mean that they, the farmers would have to pay higher prices for their implements and machinery, they would demand a tariff on imported foodstuffs. That declaration though not altogether unexpected came like a bomb into the Tory Party which had always professed to be the friend of the farmers. The Conservative



Party, or at any rate the official, thus became very quiet on the entire question of tariffs. But they were given no peace. A large section of their followers who avowedly believed in Protection and had never hidden the fact, forced the issue and thus put the Tory leaders in a very difficult position. For in the Tory Party there are prominent sections including Churchill the Cecil, the Darbys etc. who despite their yielding on the issue of Safe-guarding still hold strongly to the principle of Free Trade. It is also interesting to recall that when the Safe-guarding procedure was adopted by the Tory Party, Mr Stanley Baldwin as Prime Minister definitely stated that the intention was to safe guard industries for a period of five years only saying, that an industry which could not pull itself together so as to meet its competitors in other lands in the space of five years was not worth safe guarding.

The position above described was reached in the closing period of the late Government's term of office. But at the time of the general election in spite of the determined efforts of the full blooded protectionists there was no alteration in the official policy of the Party. Mr Baldwin refused to budge from the tried policy of safe guarding. Further more his speeches did not give any indication of enthusiasm for the application of safe guarding to the big industries and he persistently declared that the Conservative Party was not in favour of a general policy of Protection.

Since the advent of the second Labour Government the position has entirely changed. Officially the Tory Party still stands for a policy of Safe-guarding but certain modifications are brought in which may in fact legitimately be construed as giving a quite new significance to that policy.

These modifications are due to the introduction of what now goes by the name of Empire Free Trade. And here there creeps into British politics one of the most interesting and in many ways humorous episodes known to modern politics. The source of this episode is that well known personality Lord Beaverbrook who however has to some extent been assisted by that equally aggressive press peer Lord Rothermere.

At first the aim of these press peers appeared to be the formation of a new political party: The United Empire Party. The aim of the new Party was to recons-

truct the economic life of this country on the basis of Empire Free Trade. That policy involves a system of tariffs which, if adopted would completely revolutionize the trading and commercial relations of this country with the rest of the world. Indeed it is utterly impossible to conceive the repercussions which might take place as the result of the adoption of a tariff policy along the lines suggested by the self appointed leaders of the United Empire Party. For it must not be forgotten that this country at the present time enjoys "most favoured nation" treatment with over forty countries. Then of course there was the danger of Lord Beaverbrook's policy giving rise to new blocks of antagonistic Powers and new alliances which might prove disastrous to the peace of the world and destroy some of the hopes for world peace and world economic co-operation which are at last increasingly asserting themselves.

But the tragedy of the new campaign—and no thoughtful person can deny that it is a tragedy—is that it has not been at all thought out, there having been not the slightest attempt to work out in scientific fashion the policy that was being so loudly preached. Never in the history of this country have so many newspapers combined to advocate a policy on such flimsy argument and such superficial facts as in this case and in opposition to all the established political parties including that to which those papers nominally belong. Great headlines and heavily typed two column articles supported by heated leaders have from day to day informed and amazed the world of the number of British citizens who have rallied to the banner of the new Evangel. Yet not a single soul could explain the new gospel. Even now after many months of propaganda, I doubt if there is a single person who can say what "Empire Free Trade" really is and what its advocacy involves. The only thing that seems certain at the moment is that the success of the new Party will deprive the Tory Party of the leadership of Mr Baldwin for Mr Baldwin has declared over and over again in the most emphatic language that he will never be a party to a policy of full blooded Protection involving as he contends the Beaverbrook policy does involve heavy duties on imported foreign food.

It is interesting to observe the stage-

through which this Don Quixote Lord Beaverbrook has carried the new Party he has brought into being Lord Beaverbrook is a very powerful and most interesting personality and there is no denying that he is intensely earnest. He possesses abounding energy and can talk and write *ad infinitum*. He welcomes opposition but wears it all down in steam roller fashion. His powerful press gives him a weapon which no opponent other than a press peer could possibly wield. When he first came out and demanded the formation of a new Party—the United Empire Party—his slogan was Empire Free Trade with a general tariff on imports from foreign countries. It was obvious that such sweeping generalisations would not be able to withstand the criticism that was bound to be levelled against them. Canada, Australia and South Africa at once rose up in arms. Under no circumstances were they going to allow their industries to be destroyed by the free importation of British manufactured goods. These declarations brought the first modification of the new policy. Empire Free Trade could not be adopted in its entirety but that was no reason why it should not be applied partially. Then Baldwin laughed. He turned on Beaverbrook in speech after speech and told the press peer that the Dominions had thrown him overboard and that his policy was wholly impracticable. Lord Beaverbrook was at great pains to explain to the Dominions that he had not the slightest intention to hamper the development of their industries and contended that despite this reservation there was an ample field in which they might carry out a reciprocal policy to their mutual advantage. In this limited area a sort of Empire Free Trade might be established.

Thus despite this important capitulation Lord Beaverbrook held tenaciously to his caption—Empire Free Trade. As a Press magnate he knew the value of a good slogan and in a private meeting where this subject was being discussed I heard him say that he held on to this phrase because it was an exceedingly good one.

Despite the revolt of the Dominions Lord Beaverbrook still held the view that a more complete exploitation of Empire markets was sufficient to guarantee the industrial development of Great Britain. But he knew that the one condition of any successful bargaining towards this end was the taxation

by Britain of imported foreign food. To other words he believes that by offering an open door to the food producers within the Empire buttressed by a tariff on imported foodstuffs from foreign countries the condition is fulfilled for securing sufficient markets for our manufactured goods to provide a solution to our unemployment problem.

But Baldwin and the officials of the Tory Party refused to budge. They remembered all too vividly the two occasions since the war in which the Tory Party had fought a General Election on a full-blooded Protectionist policy. They were not prepared for another defeat on that issue. Then came the fateful decision. Lord Beaverbrook came right out and supported by his hoisted army of supporters threatened to fight the official Tory Party at the next General Election and at every intervening by-election. In the meantime the Tory party was being faced with defections all over the country. The leaders were at their wits' end. Special Party Meetings and Conferences were called. But peace was impossible. Eventually, a hurried meeting between Lord Beaverbrook and Mr. Baldwin took place when the latter promised that at the next election the Tory Party would declare itself in favour of referring the issue of a tariff on foodstuffs from foreign countries to a referendum. Lord Beaverbrook was appeased. He regarded the decision as a triumph for his propaganda and his cause and he called off the attack. A discussion arose in his newspapers as to what should be done with the money which had been collected to secure the success of the new Party at the polls.

But the newly established peace was not to abide. It very soon leaked out that Baldwin had no intention of advocating a tariff on imported foreign foodstuffs despite the fact that he was willing to put that issue to a referendum. Lord Beaverbrook was furious. What is the use of a referendum he declared if the Prime Minister who proposes it refuses to support such a referendum? Certainly the position was absurd. And so the fight was resumed. Further by-elections took place such as that in North Norfolk in which Lord Beaverbrook is spite of all protests put up a candidate.

About this time Mr. Neville Chamberlain was made Chairman of the Tory Party. But the battle between Lord Beaverbrook and the Tory Party continued as hotly as

ever it is generally accepted that the referendum issue is dead.

An interesting and significant incident occurred in the House of Commons just before the close of the recent Session. The Tory Party put down a Vote of Censure against the Government the chief item in which complained that the Government had not given consideration to the question of taxing foreign food. The Motion was a tribute to Lord Beaverbrook's influence although he himself was not deceived by it. The interesting fact was that in moving the Motion Mr Baldwin left the question of the taxation of imported foreign food absolutely alone. When he sat down the House was breathless and amazed. In spite of the bluff and pretence of that Vote of Censure the policy of the Tory Party remained

unchanged they still refused to support the taxation of food.

That is how matters stand at the moment. The war inside the Tory Party still rages but in the country all is quiet. Conservative M.P.s and candidates are as silent as the grave. They are afraid to make speeches as no one can say what a week or a month may bring forth.

As for the Labour Government it is of course opposed to any system of tariffs. But it favours the control of imports. It thus favours the adoption of Import Boards and the bulk purchase of food-stuffs by a statutory body. This policy it proposes to discuss at the forthcoming Imperial Conference.

September 16 1930

## Creative Nationalism in Turkey

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA M.A. Ph.D.

### A DICTATOR OF PROGRESS UNDER A DICTATORSHIP

IT is now a little over a decade since the Turkish National pact was signed by the Nationalist deputies of the old Ottoman parliament in Constantinople. The pact was a demand for independence on the part of the beaten and largely disarmed Turks. The list of the articles of the pact declared that Turkey like every country should enjoy complete independence and liberty in the matter of controlling her national destiny economic development and the administration of the country on modern lines. With such ends in view the Nationalists opposed all restrictions which seemed inimical to their national aspirations. It was the signature of this historic document which set loose the Turkish revolution. At the stern command of Mustafa Kemal old Turkey began to tread a new path. And the unchanging East under the sway of nationalism and in obedience to its unyielding dictatorship has produced the swiftest and

most sensational succession of changes which any nation has ever wrought within the ridiculously short period of a decade of its national life.

### YOUNG TURKEY WIPES OUT ISLAMIC TRADITIONS

The fall of the Ottoman dynasty was only a detail although that dynasty was the oldest in Europe. Attainment of territorial independence has proved to be no more than its preliminary task. Its more striking and abiding interest lies in its domestic rather than in its foreign affairs. It is here that we notice what from the Islamic point of view, can only be described as the treason of Turkey. For centuries the Sultan of Turkey, wielding the Sword of the Prophet, had been the Caliph of Islam. Whatever might be the reverses of fortune elsewhere he remained inviolate as an institution not so much a suzerain as a state of mind. Suddenly he was got rid of and the State was secularized. More than that Mustafa Kemal instead of

to meet the growing need for transportation facilities the Turkish Government recently appropriated about Rs 360 000 000 to be spent in the next twelve years in the construction of railroads the building of harbours and the carrying out of important irrigation projects. The plan includes a network of transportation lines all over the Asiatic peninsula. Railroad construction in Turkey is extremely difficult because of the wildness of the country the presence of vast deserts and great mountain ranges. Besides the country is also cut up by rivers which necessitate the construction of many expensive bridges. The task of putting through this important scheme has been entrusted to Swedish and German engineers. In the last two years 490 miles of railroads have been opened up and in the next five years it is expected that something like 1400 miles of railway will be opened up. The railroad which will connect the capital Angora with the rich coal mines along the Black Sea coast will not be open for traffic for about three years. Turkey hopes that the Angora Sivas railroad will be ready by the end of this year. A year later she expects to connect West Anatolia with both the Mediterranean and the Black Sea with Sivas as a centre. In Ereli are some of the world's richest coal mines which have been only partly utilized because of the lack of transportation facilities. Before the elapse of many more years Turkey hopes to have a large enough network of railroads to meet the country's commercial needs.

#### BUY AT HOME CAMPAIGN

With a desire to improve Turkey's economic condition the buy at home campaign was set afoot. Turkey was well known for its beautiful fabrics but in competition with the cheap machine made goods of the West the Turkish industries began to decline. Kemal Pasha is now trying to revive the indigenous industries. Last year the Premier violently attacked the increasing tendency to use imported silks and perfumes by the women of Turkey. We will consent no longer he declared to having our daughters perfumed with expensive extracts and dressed in foreign silks. We want them at the urging of their mothers who with their heads ornamented with the flowers of Anatolia transported

munitions in our time of need, to consecrate themselves to the pursuit of a vigorous physique. We want them clad in the silks of the country exhalant the perfume of the flowers of our mountains reflecting the spirit of economy and sobriety. Another movement known as 'Turkey for Turks' seeks through legislation to keep out foreigners from holding posts of responsibility and to make those who are already holding such posts to relinquish them. Posts carrying fat salaries are always sought for by foreigners and the new movement is directed against making Turkey provide careers for foreigners while the highly qualified sons of the soil face unemployment. This is a lesson that many of the countries of the East can well learn from Turkey.

In order to give protection to home industries Turkey has been busy working out a new tariff scheme. With the help of such protection Turkey is trying to encourage the creation of new manufactures and also to stimulate those already in existence. The new tariff is also calculated to bring in as much revenue as possible and to reduce the already unfavourable trade balance. The law represents a decided step toward the utilization of the country's natural resources. In ancient times Turkey was famed for its textiles faïences metal works and other products of Turkish craftsmanship. With the advance of commercialism imported goods have crept in bringing loss to Turkish craftsmen. For the first time in about half a century Turkey by the new tariff law is to have complete freedom in customs matters and now finds its finally written to the history of the foreign capitulations.

#### NATIONAL UNIFICATION OBJECTIVE OF EDUCATION

Side by side with all these reforms Turkey is trying hard to unify its population through its schools. China has instituted what is called the most extensive popular education programme ever undertaken suddenly by any country but it does not include that sudden change which carries consternation to a large population change of alphabet. Turkey under Kemal is putting over a new system of letters altering the script in which its literature is written and even the tenets of the Koran. To make the new alphabet popular Turkey uses the radio,

about 12,000 teachers are also kept busy in the education of the people in the new alphabet. President Kemal Pasha also keeps himself busy during his leisure periods giving personal lessons. Government employees and newspapers have been asked under penalty to abandon the use of Arabic letters. This change in alphabet was introduced since Arabic was found unsuited to meet the needs of expression in modern civilization. The literature that is now being transcribed into Western characters is to be chiefly Western works on art and science. Orientalism is being abandoned altogether. Thus the "unchanging East" is shocking the progressive West by the rapid introduction of many radical changes into its national and social life, in the teeth of all opposition from the less progressive and more orthodox section of the population.

Ten years ago when Turkey came under the Nationalist Government, it looked as though Mustafa Kemal would also share the humiliating fate of the Sultan of five hundred years ago. The West looked upon the whole situation with a good deal of suspicion and

thought that the Turkish rule in spite of the few progressive Nationalists would be a return to the Dark Ages since the Turk was "done and incapable of handling the problems of our time." But a decade has fast rolled by and the young Republic has surprised the Western world. In fact Turkey has made such great progress under Kemal's dictatorship that it may be said without any exaggeration that there is no precedent anywhere in history for so overwhelming a revolution. No previous case exists in which a country has outlawed its own laws and enacted an entire body of foreign law. No nation has ever been conscripted and sent to school to learn a new alphabet. It is as if the new State wished wholly to forget its past. No doubt the reforms and revisions have come from above. Even so they show the sincerity of the national leaders and their earnest attempt to overcome the force of age old and unprogressive traditions and customs. The progress that Turkey has made within the absurdly short space of a decade is indeed without parallel in history.

## The Central Medical Research Institute

*(Specially Written for the Modern Review)*

On July 21 1930 the Government of India called a conference of officials and non-officials at Simla under the Presidency of Sir Frank Voyce Education Secretary for deciding on the location of the Central Medical Research Institute (henceforth to be called C M R I). The conference was called in pursuance of the resolution of Mr Jayakar in the Assemly on February 8 which reads as follows

"The Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council (a) to appoint a committee with a non-official majority and an adequate representation of the independent medical profession to inquire into and report on the following points and (b) to hold over the proposed transfer of the Medical Research Institute Kasauli to the Chandbagh building at Dehra Dun till this Committee's Report is considered by the Assemly.

(1) The most suitable university centre for the

establishment of the Central Medical Research Institute.

(2) The constitution of the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association and

(3) Recruitment for the Medical Research Department.

Before giving an account of the proceedings of this conference it will not be out of place to give a short history of the scheme India being a tropical country suffers from a variety of diseases like Cholera Plague Malaria Kala-azar Small pox etc. which are more or less unknown in the European countries. The result is a general low vitality and occasional outbreak of pestilences which claim an enormous number of victims (for example the outbreak of bubonic plague at Bombay and Calcutta in 1896-98 outbreak of

the influenza epidemic over the whole country in 1918). All these outbreaks have found the Government as well as the public quite unprepared and it was felt that the forces of modern science have not been utilized as efficiently for combating these diseases as could be desired. From time to time the Government has shown commendable zeal in founding research institutes for the investigations of special diseases e.g. the Haffkine Institute for Plague research in Bombay, the Central Research Institute at Kasauli (chiefly devoted to anti-rabic treatment), the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine etc. Sometimes enthusiastic workers have imposed upon themselves the task of investigating causes of particular diseases and finding remedies thereto e.g. Sir Ronald Ross's researches which proved that the germs of malaria are carried by mosquitos, Sir Leonard Rogers' investigations on Cholera treatment which led to the improved form of the Saline treatment and Dr Unendra Nath Brahmachari's researches on the treatment for that terrible scourge of humanity, kala-azar which led to the discovery of Urea Stibamine.

All these brilliant pieces of work show the value of research on modern scientific lines for the eradication of diseases afflicting mankind. But it is also apparent that the Government of India has not shown as much keenness as national Governments in free countries in attending to the problems of such general welfare and no effort was ever made for a systematic tackling of the problem. The Government seem to have been roused to a sense of their obligations in 1920 when they invited the late Professor G. Stirling, the eminent Physiologist of London to prepare for them a scheme for a Central Medical Research Institute where research work would be carried on on an intensive scale on all diseases affecting the population of India. On the 23rd of September 1922 the Legislative Assembly adopted a resolution on approving the proposal to establish a C.M.R.I. But neither were the recommendations of Professor Stirling published nor was any effect given to the scheme till 1927 the apparent excuse being financial stringency. In 1927 the Government of India appointed a committee to advise on the organization of medical research in India. This Committee (henceforward to be known as the Fletcher Committee from its President, Sir W. Fletcher Sefton) to the Medical Research Council of

Great Britain) submitted a report which instead of being published immediately for eliciting public opinion was marked confidential for some mysterious reason a fact which created a great deal of misgivings in the minds of the non-I.M.S. medical profession all over India as well as on the general public. The main recommendations were however published and efforts were made to give effect to some of them without taking the public into confidence. The main recommendations were

(1) That the Central M.R.I. should be located at Dehra Dun which was recommended on a count of its salubrious climate and proximity to the Government of India.

(2) Out of 30 higher research posts 15 should be reserved for members of the I.M.S. and even for the remaining 15, the I.M.S. people would be considered eligible.

Immediately on the publication of these terms vigorous protests were made by the Indian Medical Association, the Bombay Medical Union and other medical Associations all over the country. The All India Medical Conference which met at Lahore in December 1929 also recorded its vigorous protest against the scheme.

The criticisms were mainly directed first against the choice of Dehra Dun as it was felt that a University centre which is also a large centre of population was the best possible choice for the location of such an institute and secondly against the reservation of seats for members of the I.M.S. In the second Inter University Conference which was held last year at Delhi the question of location was carefully considered and it was unanimously resolved to request the Government to consider the advisability of having it located at a University centre where ample clinical facilities would be available and where co-ordinated work with investigators in other branches of science would be possible.

In response to public sentiment Mr Jayakar moved the resolution already mentioned in the Assembly in which he pleaded that the recommendations of the Fletcher Committee should be discussed by a Committee consisting of besides official members representatives of Universities having medical facilities, an eminent non-medical scientist, and two members of the Assembly. The Conference consisted of the following members

CHAIRMAN

Sr Frank Noyce **KT, L.C.S.**, Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education Health and Lands.

MEMBERS

- 1 The Honble Major-General J W D Megaw **LMS** Director General of **LMS**
- 2 Major-General J D Graham **LMS** Public Health Commissioner Government of India.
- 3 Lt Col B R. Christophers **F.R.S., L.M.S.** Director of the Kasauli Institute
- 4 Dr Zia Uddin Ahmed **M.D., B.Sc.** Legislative Assembly
- 5 Lt Col H A. J. Gidney **LMS** (ret'd.)
- 6 Dr T. K. Menon **M.D., M.R.C.S.** (Madras)
- 7 Dr Jirraj N Mehta **M.D.** (Bombay)
- 8 Dr Mngendralal Mitra **M.D. F.R.C.S.** (Calcutta)
- 9 Dr B N Vyas **M.D.** Rai Bahadur (Lucknow)
- 10 Dr. Capt. B P Mukerjee **M.B.** (Patna)
- 11 Dr K A. Rahman **M.B.** (Panjab)
- 12 Dr M N Saha, **F.R.S.** **L.M.S.** **F. Inst.** Non Medical Scientist
- 13 Dr K S Ray, **M.B.** **C.M.F.** Secretary All India Medical Association
- 14 A. B. Reid, **Esqr., L.C.S.** Dy. Secretary Department of Education Government of India
- 15 Sir A. Rouse, **KT** **C.B.** Chief Engineer Government of India.

are very much the same for all the schemes\* What we wish to point out is the *extreme unreliability of all estimates for Government managed structural plans* The estimates of cost of the Dehra Dun scheme suddenly leapt from rupees six lakhs to rupees twenty lakhs in course of a year (and in the opinion of many members the sums set apart for laboratory purpose are quite insufficient), and it can be safely said that but for the unanimous opposition of the medical profession in the Universities, and the Assembly, the establishment of the C M R I at Chandbagh would have been a *fait accompli on insufficiently worked out estimates* and that "eternal beast of burden," the hapless taxpayer of India would have been yoked to a scheme similar to the Bombay Back Bay Reclamation scheme or the capital manufacturing scheme at Delhi.

Evidently the official representatives realized the weakness of their position with respect to the Dehra Dun scheme and after a show of argument, they threw Dehra Dun overboard, and concentrated their attention on an alternative scheme for the conversion of the existing research Institute at Kasauli to the proposed C M R I, with the omission of certain important sections.

KASAUHI

Four schemes were placed before the conference—Dehra Dun schemes A and B Kasauli scheme Calcutta scheme.

In the proposals which were submitted to the Standing Finance Committee in August, 1928, regarding the establishment of the C M R I, it was stated that the building at Chandbagh with certain alterations and additions, would suffice for the accommodation of the main branches of the proposed institute. It was stated that these changes would not cost more than six lakhs of rupees. In the revised estimates submitted to the conference, the cost had leaped up to twenty lakhs, of which not less than eight lakhs were earmarked for the construction of residential buildings for the members of the department. There is not much difference except in details between schemes A, and B or between the Dehra Dun or the Kasauli schemes. In the Calcutta scheme about eight lakhs are reserved for land acquisition, otherwise the estimates for the laboratory

But the conference was not impressed by the arguments in favour of Kasauli. The same objections, (scientific and educational which are set forth in more detail against Dehra Dun) holds against Kasauli as well. Moreover, the selection of Kasauli would have been entirely against the recommendations of the Fletcher Committee which had definitely ruled out this place for such a purpose, and the exclusion of the Nutrition section from the C M R I as foreshadowed in the Kasauli scheme would have offended against the spirit of the Committee's report which insisted on the need of having all the sections at one centre for facilitating co-ordinated research. It was felt by the popular representative that the official plea for Kasauli, which was condemned by both the Fletcher Committee

\* According to one of the delegates, the Government can make a saving of this amount, if they make over the historic Hastings House for this purpose. This is situated in the healthy outskirts of the city and occupies an area of seventeen acres.

as well as by Professor Starling was based on the following motives: (1) The Dehra Dun plan being doomed, they want to see the whole question of establishing the C M R I shelved or postponed indefinitely; the best way to get this done would be the gradual expansion of Kasauli, which would then be used as an argument against the starting of the C M R I.

All the representatives of Universities (with the solitary exception of Colonel Rahman who, though he represented the University of the Punjab, is really an official, being Offg. Director of Public Health), and Professor Meghnad Saha, F R S, the eminent non-medical scientist whom the Government had invited to the Conference, put up a strong fight against the location of the proposed institute at Dehra Dun or at Kasauli.

Ultimately it was resolved by a large majority, the Government representatives not voting, to recommend the establishment of the proposed Institute at a suitable University centre. Colonel Gidney remained neutral, though in his speeches, he showed a preference for Calcutta. Dr Zia Uddin Ahmed was the only solitary member in favour of Dehra Dun, Colonel Rahman voting in favour of Kasauli. No particular University centre was recommended, as it was thought advisable to wait for further information regarding the different University centres. But the conference was unanimous that the C M R I should be started as soon as the financial conditions permit.

#### ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST DEHRA DUN

The scientific and educational arguments for and against Dehra Dun may now be set forth. The Fletcher Committee recommended that the C M R I should be organized in the following sections. Some comment (our scope) is added to explain to the public the aims and aims of each section.

##### Section 1 Epidemiology and Statistics

This section will devote itself to the continuous study in modern medical statistical work and epidemiology. The activities must be central.

##### Section 2 Bacteriology and Immunology

This section will deal with bacteriology study of diseases like Cholera, Plague, Typhoid, kala-azar and some sections will be devoted to problems of immunity from diseases. The science of immunology is probably now entering on a new career on account of Dr D Herelle's discovery of bacteriophages. A certain amount of work on this line is being done at Kasauli. The subject of preparation and standardization of vaccines and sera should also

form an important part of the work of this section.

##### Section 3 Biochemistry and Pharmacology

This section will devote itself to the study of old drugs and discovery of new drugs. This requires a combination of chemistry and medicine. The importance of such work can be easily guessed from the great blessings which the following discoveries have conferred on mankind: Ehrlich's discovery of Salvarsan (specific against syphilis), Brahmayyari's discovery of (anti-tubercular) (specific against kala-azar) and Lingner's discovery of Insulin (specific against diabetes). The subject of standardization of pharmaceutical preparations with an ultimate view to the compilation of an Indian Pharmacopoeia ought to come under the purview of this section. India's resources in raw products for indigenous medicines are enormous and she should formulate her own standards comparable to such standards in Europe and America. Foreign drugs of inferior standards should not be allowed to be dumped into the defenceless Indian market.

##### Sec 4

This section will deal with Medical Entomology, Protozoology, Helminthology.

Generally speaking this section will deal with the study of insects and other carriers of diseases, mosquitoes, rats, sandflies, tsetse-flies, etc. A knowledge of the rôle played by the mosquito in transmitting malaria which we owe to Sir Ronald Ross and Senator Grassi has enabled the American Government to tackle the malaria problem in the Panama zone and render possible one of the greatest engineering feats in the world viz., the opening of the Panama canal. The importance of these studies is therefore self evident.

##### Sec 5 The Malarial Survey of India

This is more or less field work dealing with the survey of physiographical and climatic conditions which are responsible for the prevalence of malaria and suggesting means to combat them.

##### Sec 6 Chemical Research

Sec 7 Nutrition or Investigation of the nourishing value of food stuffs.

Clinical Research or research conducted with patients in hospitals can only be carried out in large centres of population like Calcutta or Bombay where there are large hospitals and abundant supply of patients.

The recent works on the various kinds of vitamins illustrate the need of dietary researches.

From the above imperfect sketch of the Fletcher Committee scheme, the reader will have some idea of the work to be carried on in the proposed C M R I, the scheme is admirable, and, if properly worked out, is expected to confer great blessings on the people of India.

Let us now therefore turn to a critical examination of the recommendations made by the Fletcher Committee to put this scheme into effect.

The Fletcher Committee recommends Dehra Dun on two main grounds. (1) It is near the summer and the winter quarters of the Government of India, (2) on account



of the superiority of its climate over that of cities in the plains. But a perusal of their arguments shows that their preference for Debra Dun was but half-hearted and were based on certain matters which have not come to the surface. In one place, they say

"We may readily admit that an institute mainly devoted to investigations immediately serviceable to physicians and sanitarians could have abundant material to work on if it were located in a large city or seaport."

There is another argument on which the late Professor G. Stirling greatly insisted but which has been only half heartedly referred to by the Fletcher Committee

"There is lastly a general rule on which Prof. Stirling laid great stress, namely that the institute should if possible be situated where frequent intellectual intercourse between workers of different sciences produces a stimulus which keeps the train active and maintains the restless spirit of enquiry at a high level."

It may be readily seen that Debra Dun has none of these qualifications. It can never be a large centre of population and no hospital however big, can attract a large number of patients. If anybody has illusions on this point, the recent closing of the X-ray Institute at Debra Dun by orders of the Government of India should dispel it. This institute was lavishly fitted and was meant to administer to the needs of the whole of India. But as very few patients would go there it had to be closed down permanently.

It may be said that the C M R I being devoted to research work would not require a large hospital. But in medical research, progress in investigations depends largely upon the study and observation of the effect of the treatment on a large number of patients. To take one example a German professor, Prof. Dr. Hahn prepared a serum for cholera in Berlin. But as he could get no cholera patients in Berlin he could try it only on cats and dogs in which cholera was produced by artificial means. Not being satisfied with these experiments, he had to send the serum to Dr. A. C. Ukil, of the National Medical Institute Calcutta, to try its effect on human beings because a large number of cholera patients is always available at Calcutta.

The Fletcher Committee was perfectly well aware of this fact as the first quotation shows. But they wanted to get rid of the difficulty by inventing some very specious

arguments, i.e., by dividing medical research into two classes (a) clinical research, (ii) basic research. They have admitted that though clinical research can be better carried out at a large city or seaport town, "basic research can best be done in a climate favourable to the energy and mental acuity of the workers, and moreover, in a climate where delicate technical processes and procedures in the laboratory as well as animal experiments are not interfered with by extreme heat."

We shall deal with the claims of basic research presently, but what about clinical research? The Fletcher Committee seems to be content to sacrifice it altogether. This is what they

Though no claim is made that facilities for clinical research approach at all those in the large cities they are not absent. At Debra Dun there is a new hospital of 110 beds under consideration which could be enlarged if required."

The Government of India may construct a hospital accommodating 1000 beds, but what about patients? Will they come and fill up these beds? After the tragic closing of the X-ray Institute it is idle to pretend that patients would be attracted in large numbers to Debra Dun.

Now regarding the claims of basic research in one place the Fletcher Committee says

In the first place researches in the medical field must never be limited if new progress is to be made only to the applied sciences of preventive and curative medicine. For no sound system of medical research can be established unless living organic connection is set up and maintained between applied work on the one hand and work not of obvious and immediate utilitarian character on the other.

The Committee's convictions are clearly set forth in these words. They recognize in unmistakable terms, as Prof. Stirling did with greater force that intellectual contact with great workers in physics, different branches of chemistry, biology including zoology is a great factor in stimulating that side of medical research which they call basic. This should be clear to everybody. If one wants to prepare a drug for, say, Kala-azar, dysentery, leprosy or small-pox on modern lines, he must look for guidance from a chemist in the chemical part of the work, to a bacteriologist in the bacteriological part of the work. Ehrlich's Salvarsan, Brahmachari's Urea Stibamine, Chepur's investigations into pharmaceutical chemistry and a test for Kala-azar are

triumphs of combination of chemistry and bacteriology. A medical researcher cut off from contact with an atmosphere of chemical and biological research as would clearly happen to a worker at Dehra Dun could never accomplish these results. Similar remarks will hold good about the advantages which a medical researcher will obtain from contact with first class workers in physics and branches of biology viz physiology and zoology.

Professor Sahi gave an illustration from personal experience of a medico chemical research of great humanitarian value carried out in the humid atmosphere of Calcutta.

I had the pleasure of listening to a lecture by my friend Colonel Christopher at Allahabad during the Science Congress of 1930 in which he described Dr Brahmachari's drug as wonderful because it has killed kala azar to the extent of 93 per cent. I have known Dr Brahmachari since I was a student and he used to come so many times to the laboratory of the Presidency College where I had been working. He had been trying different chemical preparations of antimony. I remember how many times he used to come to the colloidal chemistry or the organic chemistry department to Dr N. R. Dhar and other workers to get some idea of the best method of preparation of this drug. He had worked day and night in the atmosphere of Calcutta and carried out not less than 500 or 600 experiments and as a result he has got this wonderful drug.

But the Fletcher Committee having caught a fancy to Dehra Dun would not easily give up their ground. They want us to believe and persuade themselves to believe that Dehra Dun is as good a centre of intellectual activity as Calcutta or Bombay. Neither the Railway Institute or the projected Royal Indian Military College the Survey of India or the Forest Department on which they wax eloquent are likely to contain great chemists, physicists or biologists nor will these places be ever the breeding ground of such men.

Lastly the claims of basic research has been wholly given away by such a competent authority as Colonel Aiton of the School of Tropical Medicine in Calcutta who thinks that there can be no basic research apart from clinical research. Says Colonel Aiton:

At present in medicine there are many *catch words* that are used by its votaries which are really without very much meaning. One of these is *basic research* as far as I can make out from the idea I have obtained from its exponent, it consists in conducting investigations for years and years outside the realities of life in

the hope that one day something brilliant will culminate as the result of such researches. These findings will in turn be utilized for public utility by somebody who is in touch with life and its needs. Various examples are quoted e.g. the researches of B. riet on complement deviation and its application by Wassermann as a test for Syphilis, the other is the researches of Pasteur on the growth of organisms in sterile media, attenuation of viruses, the dextro and levorotary power that certain substances possess when a beam of polarized light was passed through them. Now I contend that all these investigations were very much in touch with the realities of life. I am quite aware that *basic research* should come first whenever possible, thus it is important to know the different species of mosquitoes, their several genera and their different habits etc. The real necessity to investigate them arose when Manson discovered the transmission of the *Plasmodium falciparum* and its relation to the *Culex fatigans* and still later by Ross's discovery of the malaria cycle in the *Anopheles*. Again the necessity for the knowledge of the classification of sandflies did not arise solely in the desire to know all about the insects but from the urge that came from the field of clinical research that these flies had some relationship to the transmission of sandfly fever, Baghdad sore and now kala azar. Clinical research has always given the stimulus to basic research in medicine except in a few isolated instances. A complete description of the *Onchocerca* may be very interesting to those entomologists who are dealing with this branch and may be of ultimate importance in veterinary, agricultural and medical science. Our object as medical men is to find out the causation, perfect methods for the diagnosis and cure of these diseases that decimate the population of the vast Empire. These results will be achieved by working in backwaters where one cannot gauge the wants of the country, the habits of the people, the climate and conditions under which they live from season to season. Under these conditions one sees diseases that are of no vital importance to India elevated to one of major importance. In Calcutta the success of our researches has been due to the unstinted loyalty of the staff who have worked during the epidemic season because they fully realize that this is the time of the year most favourable for research as the chances of infection were at their highest. One may be able to learn all about epidemic dropsy from the literature but one could never appreciate the importance of sudden storms and floods in the production of the disease unless one lived in the district year after year. In India the number of workers is so small and financial conditions so stringent and there are many urgent calls for necessary research. Basic research can only be indulged in when necessary calls for its aid. There are a number of researches I could name which could be basic in character giving us fundamental knowledge in physiology, pharmacology, systematic zoology etc. If it can be afforded even in our present state of need? Many of the branches of science have more able investigators in Europe than we can afford and we can get our knowledge from their researches. In tropical medicine we have still an unexplored field where we want active and competent investigators to deal with our vital problems of disease.

Regarding the climatic advantages on which the Fletcher Committee as well as the Government of India seemed to be so much insistent not much need be said. The argument is firstly the same which official apologists put forward in justification of the costly hill exodus. The conference had the advantage on this point of the opinion of one of the leading scientists of India Prof Sir C V Raman which was obtained through the enterprise of one of the delegates Captain F B Mukherjee of Patna. It may be mentioned that Sir C V Raman was invited to attend the conference but he could not accept the invitation owing to other engagements. Says Sir C V Raman

"Dear Mr Mukherji

Referring to your letter of the 12th July I write to say that the Government of India nominated me as a non-official non medical member of the conference to be held at Simla. Owing to other engagements however I was unable to accept the invitation.

I have been a researcher myself for 20 years and my aggregate stay at places in India which may be described as having cool temperate and equable climates throughout this period does not exceed two months. I assume that the climate of Calcutta in which I have for the most part worked is not of that description. Nevertheless neither myself nor my numerous co-workers find any difficulty in working 10 or 12 hours a day at Calcutta even during the summer months. Sir Leonard Rogers, Col Knowles Acton and other European medical men have found it possible to carry on research at Calcutta. To make the choice of a station for a central research institute depend upon its possessing a cool temperate and equable climate is in my opinion most unwise and unjustified. There can be no greater mistake than to spend public money in establishing scientific institutes at isolated places on the ground of fancied climatic advantages. The failure of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore and of the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun -

A perusal of the reports both of Professor Stirling and of the Fletcher Committee gives one the impression that if they were left to themselves they would have recommended a University town with a large centre of population and containing a large number of persons eminent in cognate sciences of Physics, Chemistry and Biology as the site for the location of the C.M.R.I., but they allowed their better judgment to be overruled by some other considerations (which has not come out on the surface) but before them by the agents of the Government of India. What these considerations may be will probably become apparent when we come to the criticisms of the next item viz the method of recruitment

There is a saying that an Englishman east of the Suez canal is different from his own self west of it. This mental transformation seems to have occurred to Sir Walter Fletcher and his colleagues while preparing the report. As Dr Jivraj Mehta pointed out, no one in England was more eloquent about the co-operation between universities and research workers in Government service than Sir Walter Fletcher himself. In the Annual Report (1928-29) of the Medical Research Department and Council of Great Britain of which Sir W Fletcher is Secretary, the following passage occurs

*It has always appeared to the committee that it would be disastrous to the general intellectual interests of the country and no less damaging to the progress of research itself if the main body of research workers were maintained in an isolated semi-detached from and apart from the general system of scientific and medical education. The importance of link up medical research work with University teaching is so universally admitted as to need no discussion here*

It was not a transient fit of sentiment on the part the Committee. The same sentiment were expressed in 1923-24

The Council believe that while this intimate nexus between their work and that of the Universities is an essential condition for the right use of their own resources it is also recognized and welcomed by the Universities themselves. They were gratified to have the independent testimony of the President of the Royal Society, Sir Charles Sherrington, Weynflete Professor in the University of Oxford who in his Anniversary Address to the Society in 1921 expressed the following opinion of this policy pursued by the Medical Research Council. One of the strengths of this organization that has arisen is in my view that it interlocks with the educational system of the country. It is an organization which proceeds on the wise premises that in the case of science the best way to get the fruit is to cultivate the tree. It is an organization which is proving successful and economical. Its output has proved a more than liberal return on the funds at its disposal.

#### MODE OF RECRUITMENT

The method proposed for recruitment to the medical research department was by far the most important part of the business, because the success of the scheme depends more upon men than upon buildings or even upon location. But the conference was not even allowed to discuss this important item. Dr Jivraj Mehta had given a previous notice that the whole question of recruitment should be discussed by the conference and several members pointed out that it was before the conference as

stated in clause 3 of Mr Jayakar's resolution. What they objected to was the reservation of 18 higher posts out of 30 for the members of Indian Medical Service. But the President Sir Frank Noyce ruled Dr Mehta's motion as far as it related to the reservation of posts for members of the I M S out of order on the plea that when he accepted Mr Jayakar's motion he had no idea to bring this item before the conference. His attention was drawn to the following remarks in his speech in the Assembly on Saturday the 6th Feb 1930:

To that conference the Government is also willing to refer for consideration the two other questions which have been raised in the resolution, (1) the constitution of the Governing Body of the Research Fund Association, (2) the question of recruitment to the medical Research Department.

But Sir F. Noyce maintained that as the reservation of posts was already sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India, he had in mind when he accepted Mr Jayakar's motion only the constitution of the Recruitment Board. To this one of the delegates retorted that it was not possible to divine what a speaker may have in his mind unless it was given expression to. But the President still stuck to his ruling against this decision. Most of the University delegates including Professor Sahas requested their emphatic protest to be recorded. We hope that the members would not allow this point to go unchallenged when the question next comes before the Assembly.

The public should therefore be acquainted fully with the mode of recruitment proposed by the Fletcher Committee.

Each section is to have a director one or more assistant directors who will be specialists, a number of assistants and research workers besides the Director in Chief, the Assistant Director for administration and the Assistant Director for publication. The Director in Chief is to get Rs 3000 per month, the Directors Rs 2500 and Assistant Directors Rs 1500. The latter are average figures. There will be altogether 30 higher posts of which 23 according to Government of India resolution of 1928 will be reserved for the members of the I M S. But the I M S men are eligible for the remaining posts as well. They recommend the same scale of pay for I M S as well as non I M S men.

In giving their blessing to the Government resolution the Fletcher Committee says:

There are many advantages in recruiting from the Indian Medical Service. The men in the Service before being employed in a laboratory, have passed some years in military employ in different parts of the country. They have had experience of discipline and if they have aptitude for research they have usually had abundant leisure and opportunity to practise it.

All this is special pleading for the I M S people and is mere hypocrisy. First the present method of recruitment to I M S can be regarded only as an insult to Indian Universities and Indian intellect. The competitive examination in England has been abolished and recruitment is made by nomination. Nobody can be persuaded to believe that a class of men recruited under such conditions can claim any superiority over the general level of Indian medical graduates. Probably this vicious system would continue as long as the present system of Government continues (may these days be numbered!). Secondly, even supposing that the competitive examination irrespective of nationality be substituted it is difficult to believe that an I M S man will be better fitted for conducting research work than these men say university professors who have spent their lives in research work.

On the other hand the presumption is that the I M S man being out of touch with scientific atmosphere will forget all his science and will have to learn everything from his subordinates before he is competent to undertake research work. This was practically admitted by General Graham, the Public Health Commissioner, who in answer to a query from Dr J. Mehta admitted that at present a large proportion of I M S men who are appointed as directors or assistant directors of the existing Government Institutes (say the Haffkine Institute Bombay) have to revert to their service because they are not found competent or show no aptitude for research work after four or five years of trial period allowed to them. Dr Mehta at once pointed out that this was a very costly experiment carried out at the expense of the public exchequer because about a lakh of rupees is wasted (in salary etc for probationary period of five years) merely to find out whether a particular I M S man is fit for research work or not. General Graham apparently

did not realize that in making a statement, which was intended to be defensive of the Government practice he fell into the trap laid for him by the wily representative from Bombay and practically gave away the Government case. Dr Mehta pointed out that very often these I. M. S. men have to learn everything *de novo* from their subordinate staff about the working of the research department which they are appointed to conduct.

The standpoint taken by the representatives of the Indian Universities including the non-medical scientists was that they had no prejudice against I. M. S. men but they wanted them to compete in the open market with the other medical men for these research posts. There should be no reservation of posts for any class of people. They pointed out that the Fletcher Committee has been very inconsistent in their recommendation because at one place they remarked

"It would be definitely laid down and agreed to by all the members of the department that the department is one from which the rule *Seniority by date of entry* is specifically excluded."

This clearly implies that in their better moments the Fletcher Committee wanted as is the practice and tradition in all self-governing countries that the promotion should be mainly by merit. If they wanted to be consistent they ought to have recommended that recruitment should also be by merit and all other extraneous and altruistic considerations should be rigidly excluded if the scheme is meant to be a success.

#### INDIAN UNIVERSITIES IGNORED

From the above criticism of the Government scheme it will be observed that the whole object was to create at the cost of Indian taxpayer a number of costly posts which will mostly be reserved for European members of the I. M. S. They will be provided with sumptuous palaces in the salubrious climate of Dehra Dun or Kasauli and from these heights they will survey the dying and afflicted millions of India, and devise means for their salvation. Occasionally one or two prize-posts will be found for well-behaved Indian medical men in this I. M. S. paradise.

We have set forth the complete reasoning of the non-official members in not being able to agree to the Government scheme. But there is a further point which has not been

so far stressed. In England Germany and other advanced countries the scientific services of the Government are very closely connected with universities and other teaching institutions. Very often the director or officers of a scientific service are also recognized as Professors in the universities. The object is two fold first, the university students and teachers should get the benefit of the experiences of workers in the scientific services secondly that the workers in scientific services should not get out of touch with the progress of science made in the universities. The liaison is worked out as far as the condition of work in two lines would permit. Thus in Germany assistant or research students in the universities who have shown special aptitude for some line of research are taken as workers in various research institutes (Reichsanstalts the Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes etc.) and there if they do good work may rise to be sectional directors. But very often they revert back to universities as assistant university professors or full professors. Some times the sectional directors are also glad to go back to the universities as professors or university professors return to the research institutes as directors or director in chief.

The advantages of this method are quite apparent and this has secured to Germany a marvellously efficient educational system and research work is carried on not only in the institutes but also in all university centres.

Why not adopt such a system for the proposed C. M. R. I.? Such an institute, wherever it is located should be an All India organization and equal facilities should be given to deserving graduates of all universities to work there. The C. M. R. I. should thus be a good recruiting ground for officers of the C. M. R. I. and other provincial institutes. The closer connection between the universities and research institutes will further greatly facilitate the diffusion of new schemes.

On the other hand as we have set forth in detail the Government scheme would create a deep gulf between workers in the research institutes and professors in the universities. The research institutes would be simply the dumping ground of British universities medical graduates—Indians would be taken merely in subordinate positions as assistants and research students and as

already observed occasionally a few prize boys may be found amongst them to fill up a few higher posts. The Indian members of the conference had no prejudice against graduates of British universities but they felt that they ought to come by the front door of open competition and not be thrust on an unwilling public by the back door of nomination.

#### THE INDIAN RESEARCH FUND ASSOCIATION

This Association was founded in 1911 with Government financial support in the hope that contributions would come to it from private sources. It receives from the Government Rs. 500,000 which with interest on invested capital and provision for salaries of certain officers (thus members of the bacteriological department whose salary was formerly met from the Director General's budget) provides a total gross annual income for fluid expenditure upon research of approximately rupees nine lakhs.

#### DISBURSEMENT OF FUNDS

The Association besides financing investigations conducted by men in its direct employment, gives grants in aid to outside institutions or workers. It supports the Malaria organization partially maintains the Kala-azar commission and finances the Nutrition research laboratory at Connor in South India. It publishes the Indian Journal of Medical Research and a series of memoirs. It has its own library and stores. Its object is to encourage medical research in all possible ways official and non official. It was managed by an entirely official committee consisting of the Member for Health in Viceroy's Council as Chairman and the Public Health Commissioner of the Government of India as Secretary. The other members were D. G. I. M. S. Director Kasauli Institute, Director Central Malarial Bureau and the Secretary to the Department of Health. The Fletcher Committee thought that the Governing Body of this Association was too much officialized but the recommendations for non officializing the body was very original. They recommended that the Association should be the chief source of recruitment for the non I. M. S. men of the Government permanent Medical Research Department which includes the C. M. R. I. as well as certain other provincial institutes which number about 20 in the higher grades

and the best way to secure this end was to add to the Governing Body

- A representative of the India Office
- A representative of the Ministry of Health of England
- A representative of the Medical Research Council of Great Britain.
- A representative of the Royal Society

The object in making this recommendation is stated in very unsophisticated terms. It will secure to India a stream of well qualified graduates from British universities to solve her diverse problems. In other words the Fletcher Committee after having been satisfied that the interests of the I. M. S. were safeguarded by the Secretary of State did not want to see that the subordinate Government of India should jeopardize the interests of other British medical men who are not fortunate to be called to the I. M. S. by making concessions to Indian sentiments. This decision was taken in pursuance of a resolution of the Research Sub-committee of the Imperial Conference of October 1926 presided over by the Earl of Balfour in which the interests of Indian research was represented by the Maharajah of Burdwan.

Throughout the 63 pages of the Report of the Fletcher Committee the Indian universities very seldom occur. Probably the Committee thought that they were Pariah institutions unworthy of furnishing workers to the Brahmanic hierarchy of the medical research department.

In the Conference the Government of India, however showed a more reasonable attitude.

They had represented to the Secretary of State that they could not accept the Fletcher Committee's recommendation that the four British members should be allowed to sit in the Governing Council in executive capacity but that they were willing to see a consultative Board created in England. This Board has been appointed with an extra representative of Scottish interests but has not yet begun to function.

In the proposal which the Government of India submitted before the Conference they were willing to expand the existing Governing Body to one of 10 members consisting of, besides the official members above mentioned two representatives of Indian universities, one eminent non medical scientist, one European non I. M. S., and one Indian non I. M. S. member. But the Conference adopted the

following composition proposed by Dr K S Ray

## OFFICIALS

1. The Honble the Member-in-charge of Health
2. The Secretary to the Department of Health.
3. Director-General I M S
4. The Public Health Commissioner Government of India
5. The Director of Public Health Institute Calcutta.
6. The Director in Chief of the C M R I

## NON OFFICIALS

7. One representative of the Medical Faculty of each University
11. One eminent non medical scientist to be nominated by the Indian Chemical Society
12. One eminent non medical non-chemist to be nominated by the Indian Science Congress
16. Three representatives of the Assembly
18. One representative of the Council of State
20. Three representatives to be elected by the Executive Council of the Indian Medical Association
21. Any donor of upwards of one lakh of rupees
22. The resolution was passed by a majority of 7 to 3.

To this proposal the official members raised the objection that the body was becoming too unwieldy. They pointed out that the Medical Research Council of Great Britain consisted only of eleven members.

It turned out, on scrutiny, that of these eleven members only two were officials, and the rest were chosen on exactly the same principles on which Dr K S Ray's proposal was based—namely—representative of legislative, private medical profession, non-medical cognate sciences, and universities. One word should be said about university representation. In Great Britain, research work is mainly carried on in universities, and research workers, even when no Government pay are associated closely with universities. There is, therefore, no need of specifying university representation. But in India, as long as the practice of safeguarding the I M S dominance in all Government appointments be continued, university representation must be secured, otherwise the Research Institutes would remain closed to graduates of Indian universities.

## THE RECRUITMENT BOARD

This will deal with the recruitment of officers for the Medical Research Department for both I M S (provided the reservation continues) as well as non I M S men. The Government proposed the following board:

1. Director General I M S
2. The Public Health Commissioner
3. Director in Chief C M R I
4. Director Public Health Institute
5. Director Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine
6. One eminent non medical scientist to be nominated by the Viceroy
- 7 & 8. Two representatives of Medical Faculties
- 9 & 10. One European one Indian non I M S man

The Conference accepted the following composition of the Recruitment Board:

1. Public Health Commissioner Government of India
2. Director in Chief C M R I
3. Director in Chief Public Health Institute Calcutta.
4. One eminent non medical scientist.
5. Three other members to be elected by the Viceroy, two from University representatives and one from medical profession.

The Selection Board may co-opt an eminent scientist who has specialized in the subject in which the appointment is to be made.

## THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS WERE PASSED UNANIMOUSLY

1. That twenty Research scholarships of the value of Rs. 100 per mensem be instituted to be awarded by the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association to the various medical institutions which are prepared to train young medical graduates with aptitude for research.
2. That this Conference recommends that pending the creation of the Central Medical Research Institute the Government of India should institute scholarships tenable in foreign countries to be given to deserving graduates of Indian universities for proceeding abroad to get training in special subjects.
3. That this Conference recommends that the amount of Rs. 75,000 which Government was to contribute under the scheme for the establishment of a Public Health Institute at Calcutta and for a Medical Research Institute at Dehra Dun as submitted to the Standing Finance Committee in August 1929 be given as an extra grant to the Research Fund Association.
4. That the Central Medical Research Institute when completed shall have the following sections:
  1. Malaria Survey
  2. Medical Biology
  3. Nutrition
  4. Bacteriology (including manufacture of sera and vaccines)
  5. Bio-chemistry
  6. Applied Physiology
  7. Clinical Research

## SUMMARY

From the above short account of the proceedings of the Conference and the history of the scheme we can summarize the following main conclusions

1 That the popular representatives are very keen to see the Central Medical Research Institute with the branches mentioned above established at as early a date as possible

Financial stringency should not be allowed to interfere with the early execution of the scheme

2 That the Institute should be located in a University town where large facilities are available for clinical research and for intel-

lectual contact with workers in other sciences, the different branches of Chemistry, Physics, Physiology, Botany and Zoology

3 Recruitment should be entirely by merit and on a professional basis. No post should be reserved for members of the I M S or of any other service. There should be intimate nexus between the work of the Research Institute and of the Indian Universities. No preference should be given to the University of the town in which the Institute is located

The non official members of the Institute have done their bit and it now remains for members of the Legislature to see that their recommendations are accepted

## The House of Mystery

By SANTA DEVI

**H**ARIHAR had just graduated from the Medical College. He rented two rooms in one of the suburbs of Calcutta and fixed a shining door plate with his name and degree clearly inscribed on it. The sitting room boasted of chairs, tables and a materia medica. There were besides rows of empty and full phials and awe-inspiring surgical instruments. But patients failed to come. So Harihar became more fond of the veranda than of the sitting room. He put a deck chair there and would recline in it gazing at his empty sitting room. But this diversion was not much to his liking. So most of his time he would spend bending over the railings and looking down at the road beneath or at the neighbouring houses whose mystery he would try to unravel with curious eyes.

On one side of his house was a plot of waste land. A ruined mosque stood in the middle of it. Chains of wild flowers decked its walls perennially and shoots of banyan and *asuatha* would spring out through every nook and crevice. Every evening rows of earthen lamps decorated its steps making the dark gaping wounds in its body all the darker. But Harihar found no mystery in it. He could conceive of no romance dwelling inside its ruined grandeur.

On the other side lived the large family of Iykrishna Babu, a dealer in boxes and trunks. He had married twice and was the happy father of eight ebony complexioned daughters and five sons. He had scores of grand children and daughters and sons in law besides. All these filled every nook and corner of the small two storied house so completely that there was hardly room for a needle in addition. From the earliest break of dawn a never ceasing clamour would go on. Some of the inmates drew water some washed dishes some lighted fires. Then the gentlemen had their breakfast, prior to departing for their various offices. Even when evening merged into night, the clamour would scarcely cease. Some of the womenfolk dressed their hair washed themselves beat the children and rubbed the tired feet of the men folk with mustard oil. There was no person or place in the whole house who or which could be endowed with a halo of mystery by the greatest of imaginative efforts. Everything they did was so plain and simple! You cannot have mystery unless you have obscurity.

The house which stood facing Harihar's house on the other side of the lane was a veritable fountain of mystery to him. He could give



the reins to his imagination over it to his heart's content. Day after day, he felt the beat of its life, but he knew none of the inmates what they did or who they were. He built innumerable castles in the air concerning them one after another. What he erected today, to-morrow he would demolish, and the mystery grew deeper and deeper.

It was a huge house of red brick, with a paved courtyard in the middle. Rows of shutters adorned one of its sides looking like closed eyelids of a blind man. Nobody knew when they had been last opened admitting God's air and light inside to visit the ladies residing there. Years had gone by probably. The sun rose everyday, bringing with it offerings of golden light. But no fair one ever opened the closed shutters and accepted the gift.

Harihar was an early riser. It was a habit of his student days, when he had to read hard for examinations. He would lie on the bed, patiently endeavouring to recapture his lost sleep. But he failed everyday and as the sun flashed on his bed he would jump up at once. From the house next door would come the familiar sounds of everyday of running water of the washing of dishes, the voice of women and children. The whole family was awake and alert. Rows of wet clothes hung from the verandas, blew hither and thither, and seemed to endow the old barelooking house with pulsating life.

Harihar would yawn once or twice, then get up and come out on the veranda. The old red house stood still and desolate, as it always did. He did not know who the lonely hermit was that dwelt there. Harihar's servants would come with his tea. He would sit down on his canvas deck chair and enjoy it slowly. A servant would approach the red house with the day's marketing and knock at the front door. It would open, beggars admit him and close the next instant. Beggars would cry at the door, "Glory to the queen mother, give the poor beggar something." The door would open noiselessly again. A maid servant with veiled face would appear, pour some alms into the beggar's bowl, and vanish behind the closed door once more. In the intense heat of summer, when the crow would sit on the railings of the terrace, tired and thirsty, the same maid servant would stretch out

her hand from behind the shutter, and pour some water into the tin, hanging there for relieving the thirst of these birds. She would not forget even the hungry dog, sitting by the side of the door, lolling out its tongue. Thus the day would pass on. The shutters of the red house would remain closed, thus shutting itself in from the toils and turmoils of the outside world. The constant flow and pulsation of life round it affected it not. In the other houses the doors opened and shut unceasingly and resoundingly. The gentlemen went to their offices, or returned for their lunch, the boys went to school, the girls returned from the free morning school, and went about, some hiring pitchers at the public water tap, some buying spices at the shop, and some the very little ones, running from one house to another playing with dolls. As the doors opened and shut keeping touch with the outer world. Even in the darkness of night, there were knocks, and the opening and bolting of doors. Some of the gentlemen would return very late at night, after playing cards or enjoying the theatre. Their knockings would rouse the sleeping inmates of the house as well as their neighbours. But the red house remained silent and apart, taking no part in anything. Harihar never saw any visitors coming, or heard any sound of laughter or crying there. No children's feet ever danced on its hard breast. But it could hardly be said that the inmate was an ascetic.

The few occasions on which the veiled woman opened the door, afforded Harihar an opportunity of looking into the interior of the house. He saw a large room paved with marble. A huge bedstead of ebony, on which was spread a snow white bed, a large mirror and beautiful coloured *saris*, adorning the clothes-stand, all these he saw at one glance. But farther his eyes could not see. He could only take in with his breath the odour of countless faded flowers which the opening of the door had released in the air. He could not understand this perfume. Did it come from some beautiful fair body imprisoned there? Had some one carried off a celestial nymph and kept her in seclusion in this silent mansion? Did the fragrance come from her hair or from her drapery? His heart ached to catch a sight of that beautiful sad face if only for one moment. He wanted like the knights errant of medieval times to rush to her rescue and

deathless me and love at the same time

In the hot, sultry afternoon, when the roads were nearly empty and when even the neighbouring houses seemed silent for a while Harihar would try to have a short nap spreading a mat on the floor. But the imprisoned life within the red house took advantage of this momentary silence and seemed to try to tell him something. It banished sleep from his eyes. Someone seemed to be moving about inside the dark, closed room, somebody seemed to be tugging at the closed doors and windows. Was the fair prisoner trying to escape? Was she dying of suffocation in her imprisonment? He would lay his ear on the floor of his room and seem to hear the smothered weeping of some heart in anguish. He would rush out, only to find cobwebs and layers of dust, lying thick on the doors and windows. They seemed to be enjoying an eternal sleep, no sign of awakening could be felt there.

On full moon nights, Harihar would lie on the open terrace of his house and gaze at the moonlight falling in showers over the cocoanut grove. It seemed to him some voice deep and mysterious like this light, was resounding through that silent red mansion. Who was that ardent lover who had come in quest of his beloved inside that dark corner? The outer world full of light had no attraction for him. He seemed to feel a wave of joy, surging through that darkness. It seemed a greater thing than even that wonderful moonlight. The night wind became heavy with fragrance, and the darkness seemed to pulsate with life. Perhaps this was the trysting place of some secret love, which was shy of human ken.

Thus days passed and seasons came and went. But no attempts were made to rescue the imprisoned damsel or to fathom the mysteries of her heart. Gradually even his thoughts began to change. He no longer felt the same interest. But suddenly on one moonlight night, the front door of the red mansion opened and the veiled form of the maid servant came out. She came and stood at Harihar's gate. "Come with me, doctor," was all that she said.

Harihar got up asking no questions. He got down the stairs and approached the front door of the red house. He had never seen any outsider crossing its threshold and felt

rather diffident. But the maid servant said, "Please come in."

Harihar entered. Even the veranda was paved with marble slabs, which shone in the light. Rows of flower-pots were arranged on both sides. He looked through the open door of a room; it was meant to be a bathroom. A huge bathing tub of china stood there full of water. On a small wooden table were arranged toilet requisites of silver. Every thing shone brightly. A staircase led to the first floor. On the landing stood a large mirror in a frame of ebony. A chandelier of silver hung overhead but there were no candles in it.

Harihar came to front of a room on the first floor. A red curtain covered the door. The maid servant held it up asking Harihar to enter. Harihar recognized the room at once. He had often caught glimpses of it through half-open doors and past wind-blown curtains. The same bedstead of ebony, the same snow-white bedding and pillows, the same mirror with silver cradle-stands on both sides. A small tenopy with heaps of flowers on it, stood by the bed. Beautiful clothing, embroidered in gold and silver, was heaped on the cloth horse. The room was a medley of colours. A pair of red slippers, another of gold embroidered velvet could be seen. A small table in the corner stood full of toilet articles of gold and silver, oils, perfumes and pastes of every description.

What a strange sickroom! Harihar felt extremely awkward. He must have entered the bedroom of some fair damsel by mistake. But there did not seem to be anybody in it. He would have liked to escape before being detected by the angry eyes of the residing beauty. He could not see her but he felt her presence in every nook and corner of the room. Has some magic rendered her invisible? The maid servant passed across the room and held up another curtain, disclosing a smaller apartment. It looked bare and empty. Only a small bed stood in the corner. The room was dark and Harihar could not see properly, but someone seemed to be lying on it. The maid-servant lighted a lamp. Harihar could see the patient now, skeleton like frame lying on the bed. He looked up, frightened at the strange glare of light and asked "Why such light?" His face became pale as death in alarm. The maid servant pointed to the doctor. The patient turned to him and asked,

"Can you tell me, doctor, what has happened to me?"

Harihar said "I have come for that purpose."

"Then please, be quick about it," said the patient. "It's nearly time for her coming."

"Whose coming?" asked the doctor in surprise.

The patient beckoned to him with his hand, on which knotted reins stood out like cords. "Jaminee is coming, Jaminee," he whispered in Harihar's ear.

Harihar's old curiosity re-awakened. "Who is Jaminee?" he asked eagerly. The patient frowned deeply. "Who is Jaminee?" he said. "Why, she is all. Can't you see? Does it not seem like her room? Is this the work of a single day? For years I have gathered all these, piece meal. I have spent my heart's blood on it, that is why it looks so beautiful today. Tell me doctor, is it not beautiful enough to suit her?"

Harihar understood nothing. Still he said "Yes, it is." A sad smile appeared on the patient's face. "Then why this delay?" he asked. "These tricks are unsuitable now. I made a mistake first, still she should not make me suffer for ever, playing hide and seek like this. I don't know what pleasure women derive from it. I could not bind her to me in any way. She was the daughter of a king and I, a poor beggar. Lest she might suffer in poverty, I did not want to bring her to my home. It takes time to build a residence fit for a princess. But it hurt her pride. I suppose. My nursing zeal and effort are of no value to her. My words failed to keep her. So I thought, I would keep her a prisoner in this cage of gold. I had the house surrounded by a high wall. Even bandits could not scale this wall but she got through it. I know not how. Then I had all the doors and windows ruled up. Just as you see only one door is left open, for communication with the outer world. But she was like a flash of lightning. doors and windows could not check her. I roam through the house all day to see if there is any opening left, if the bolts and bars have failed in their duty. But I understand nothing."

"If she has escaped already," said Harihar "then why do you take further trouble?"

The patient laughed. "You don't know

her," he said. "she is an enchantress and visits me every night to keep my agony fresh. She comes in the dark and talks to me from a distance. As soon as it is light, she vanishes into the air. I don't see her with my eyes. I search for her everywhere, every nook and corner of this building, but I fail to find her. I don't know through which door she comes and goes. I leave open the garden door for her after the dark, but after she has come in I have found the door locked from inside on many occasions."

"Why don't you light a lamp and see?" asked Harihar.

"I did so twice," said the patient "but she faded like a gust of stormy wind, and we could find her no more, though I and the maid-servant looked everywhere. For two nights I lost the pleasure of feeling her presence even. She said if ever I tried this trick again I would see her dead or she would disappear never to come again. So I never tried again in fear. She is the goddess of fortune of this house. In order to propitiate her, I never turn away a beggar or even a hungry dog from my door. Still I cannot keep her with me."

The patient had talked too much, and began to yawn. The doctor in Harihar awakened and he began his duty. He put the patient to sleep after a good deal of difficulty, and came out. He found the maid-servant waiting by the door. "What's the matter with him?" he asked her. "Does he suffer from insomnia much?"

"I have never seen him sleeping," she answered. "All night, he talks laughs and weeps. Jaminee is with him."

"Who is Jaminee?" asked the doctor.

"She is here," answered the woman.

Harihar was surprised. "Then why cannot anyone see her?" he asked.

"She could be seen easily, but the mad man does not recognize her," the maid-servant replied.

"How strange!" said the doctor. "He seems so deeply in love with her, still he cannot recognize her?"

The woman smiled sadly. "Why strange, sir?" she asked. "It would have been strange, if he had recognized her. It is past forty years since he saw her last."

Harihar's surprise increased. "What do you mean?" he asked.

"When Abhilas wanted to marry a daughter of the zamindars of Ramna,"

she was fifteen and he was twenty. He was a dependant of the great zamindars, and had not a pier to call his own. The big folk laughed inordinately at this beggar's presumption. His ambition is high enough," they said, "but does his madness stop with the expression of a high desire? Abhilas felt deeply hurt. All right," he said, "The day I am fit to ask for her, I shall return. Nobody would dare to turn me away then." So he went away, in search of money. The zamindar began to negotiate for his daughter's marriage in suitable houses. But the girl refused. She would not marry. Abhilas returned after four years. He had secured a post, carrying a pay of eighty rupees a month. The girl was still unmarried. But the aristocrats would not unbend. He had got enough to pay for her betel and spices. But what about food and clothing? They asked in jest.

Abhilas wanted to see Jamineo once but he was turned off with rough words. He went away again. This time nobody knew whither he went. The girl's age increased everyday, but nobody could persuade her to marry. At last she became quite a woman. Her relatives felt too humiliated to show their face in public. They sent emissaries in search of Abhilas. They would gladly accept him as a son-in-law now.

But this time it was he who refused. His house was not ready, he said. Another messenger went after a time. The jewels were not ready. Abhilas told him. A third man also was turned back with the message that suitable furniture had not been made. At last everyone understood that the fellow had gone mad. Time went on. At last the unthinkable happened. All the male members of the house of Ramnagar died, leaving an unmarried woman in the house. She inherited everything.

Suddenly one day it was bruted that Abhilas had come back to marry her. Jamineo wept tears of agony, when she heard it. Then she got up and drawing a veil over her gray hair went to meet him.

But she had forgotten many things—her white hair, her falling teeth, the scars time had left on her beautiful face and the stiffening and bending of her once fairylike form. As she stood before Abhilas with a smile on her face, he burst out angrily. Have not you had enough yet? Still

messengers? What do you want, you ugly old hag? Go and send Jamineo to me!"

Jamineo's world seemed to turn a somersault before her eyes. She staggered away somehow. She wept for a day, then wrote a letter to him.

I shall send my maid servant to your house, she wrote. Then I shall go at my leisure and arrange about everything. There is no one living who can give me away at the wedding. I shall have to arrange about that, too. I called you again and again, still you did not come. How can you think that I shall respond to your first call? Let the maid servant go and prepare everything for my coming.

So Abhilas had to remain content with that. Next day, Jamineo stole out of her own house and entered Abhilas's house. She disguised herself as a maid servant and began to work for Abhilas. She took great care of him and put the house in apple-pie order. Still the mad man did not recognize her. At last, one night she dressed herself in silk and jewels and went to tell him. Abhilas started as soon as he heard her voice. Jamineo understood. Only her voice was unchanged. Tears again started to her eyes. She decided not to disclose her identity. Thus days are passing, she comes every night in the dark and talks to him. The mad man does not understand that the woman he wants is dead. Nothing can bring her back to him. He sings the praises of her fairylike beauty every night. Any hope Jamineo ever harboured of making herself known dies afresh every night at this. They talk and talk but never see each other. In the darkness they get back to those long past days of romance. But in the light of day there is no comfort anywhere for Jamineo. She smothers her wails of grief somehow lest Abhilas might recognize her voice.

Where is Jamineo? asked Harihar. Let me see her once please! With a wan smile the maid servant drew up the veil from her face, on which were painted the ravages of years. I am Jamineo, she said.

It was dawn when Harihar returned to his house after trying hard to calm his dying patient. He sprawled on his canvas deck-chair and wondered whether he had had a tragic romantic dream.

*Translated by Seeta Devi*

# Irritability of Plants

L. NARAYANA RAO M. Sc.

THE discoveries made at the Bose Research Institute have opened out new fields of exploration of the mechanism which underlies plant and animal life. The success of these discoveries has been due to the invention of various automatic recorders of extraordinarily great sensitiveness. For the successful employment of these new devices it is necessary not only to understand the technique of the new methods but also to enter under special training a considerable amount of practice in the use of the instruments. The facility of working at the Bose Institute has on special occasions been accorded to advanced investigators accredited by some of the leading universities of the West. One of the most distinguished plant physiologists of Europe has thus been able to repeat with invariable success a considerable number of Bose's most important experiments (see *Nature* Aug 4 1928 and April 13 1929).

It is obviously the duty of our workers to pursue the lines of biological research initiated in one of the important scientific centres of India. As a result of special representation made by the Mysore University Sir J. C. Bose generously gave me every opportunity to become acquainted at first hand with the new methods of investigation. It has thus been possible for me to repeat without a single failure some of the crucial experiments upon which the discoveries made at the Institute are based. Limitation of space allows description of only a few of the crucial experiments which open out a new and wider outlook in investigations on the life processes in the plant, leading to the discovery of essential similarity of physiological mechanisms in plants and animals.

## FORM AND FUNCTION OF THE ORGAN

Investigators are liable to fall into error by concentrating their attention on the form rather than on the function of the organ. It

is to be borne in mind in this connection that on account of similarity of function plants are acknowledged to have digestive organs (e.g. Drosera, Dionaea, Nepenthes) though there is great difference in the form of these organs in the plant and in the animal. The plant world affords a unique opportunity for studying the stages by which a simple and primitive organ becomes gradually developed into one of greater complexity. In sensitive plants like *Mimosa pudica* stimulus applied on the petiole is conducted as an irritable impulse to the distant motile organ the pulvinus causing a sudden fall of the leaf. The idea that the impulse in the plant is analogous to the nervous impulse in the animal seems to appear strange to certain investigators who regard the conducting tissue which transmits excitation to a distance as necessarily a peculiar fibrous structure leading to a highly specialized nerve-centre. But in regard to nervous function it is to be remembered that the conducting tissue of the animal kingdom itself exhibits wide variation from simple type in *Medusae* to the more complex in the higher animals. The conducting tissue of the plant would naturally be expected to be much simpler in structure. The question to be decided is whether or not the process of conduction of excitation is similar in the two cases.

## CONDUCTION OF EXCITATION IN PLANTS ANALOGOUS TO THE PROPAGATION OF NERVOUS IMPULSE IN ANIMALS

Attempts have been made to explain the transmission of the impulse in plants by the Transpiration current theory, based on the supposition that a hypothetical stimulant excreted as a result of irritation of the wood by wound is transmitted by the transpiration current and conveyed to the leaf which it stimulates to movement. The following experiments which I was able to repeat with invariable success are strongly against the theory of transpiration current. The results were obtained not merely with *Mimosa*

*putica* but also with other sensitive plants and their different organs

#### EXCITATION OF PLANT BY THE POLAR ACTION OF AN ELECTRIC CURRENT

Bose discovered that as in the animal nerve so also in the conducting tissue of the plant an excitatory impulse is initiated at the kathode (and conducted to a distance) by the make of a feeble current. With a moderately strong current excitation is produced not only at the kathode by the make but also at the anode by the break of the current. I found the simplest and most convincing way of demonstration is to take a potted *Mimosa pudica* and make suitable electrical connections with two petioles one to the right and the other to the left. When the point at the right petiole was made the kathode an excitatory impulse was invariably generated which travelling to the pulvinus caused excitatory fall of the leaf the left leaf remaining unexcited. When the electrical current was reversed in direction the left leaf underwent a fall the right leaf showing no sign of excitation. On increasing the strength of the current excitatory impulse was initiated not only at the kathode-make but also at the anode-break. In the experiments just described there was no hydro-mechanical disturbance nor was there any wound to induce the secretion of any hypothetical stimulant. Nevertheless an impulse was invariably generated which travelled with a definite velocity and caused the fall of the leaf. *The discriminative excitatory transmission in plants on kathode make and on anode break affords conclusive proof that it is due neither to hyromechanical disturbance nor to the transpiration current but is a propagation of protoplasmic excitation as in the conducting nerve of the animal*

#### AID OF THE IMPULSE BY PHYSIOLOGICAL BLOCKS

Various physiological blocks are known to arrest the nervous impulse in the conduct-

ing tissue of the animals. No difficulty was experienced in arresting the impulse in plants by the interposition of these blocks in the path of the conduction. Thus the excitatory impulse was found to be completely blocked in the region which had been paralyzed by the action of excessive cold. Poisonous solutions caused a permanent abolition of the power of conduction. Further the nervous impulse in the animal becomes arrested by the electrotonic block, the most important characteristic of which is that it persists only during the passage of the blocking current. In carrying out parallel experiments with plants with electrotonic current on and off the transmitted excitation was alternately arrested and allowed to proceed without hindrance.

I found that most of the experiments described above can easily be repeated with *Mimosa pudica* which can be grown in the open or in green houses in all parts of the world. The instrumental appliances in most cases are very simple consisting of a battery of dry cells and a reversing key. No difficulty was experienced in repeating the experiments which by their direct evidence put an end to the various wrong speculations hitherto held in regard to the nature of the transmitted impulse in plants. The experiments described have raised the inquiry from the sphere of speculation to that of well authenticated facts. Limitation of space prevents description of other experiments which I have been able to repeat regarding the characteristics of rhythmic activity in plants which are affected by external changes in a manner very similar to those of rhythmic activity in animal tissues. These and other facts lend the strongest support to the doctrine of unity of physiological mechanism in plants and animals which undoubtedly opens out a vast field of experimental exploration in the phenomenon of life.

# A Life-sketch of Nana Fadnis

P. C. S. SAPDESAI B. A.

VARIOUS estimates have been published about the character and achievements of Nana Fadnis but few know any of the striking details of his personal life which as in the case of all great figures in history are ever full of interest. It is the object of this paper to give a short account of Nana's private life and family.

Nana Fadnis the great Maratha politician who along with Mahadji Sindh was practically responsible for the post-Pimpri period of Maratha history belonged to a Konkani Brahmin family surname Bhanu residing at Veli a small village on the west coast north of Ratnagiri. The Peshwas too were a Brahmin family from Konkani but bearing the surname of Bhat. Balaji Mahadji the grandfather of Nana shared the fortunes of the first Peshwa and accompanied him in the capacity of Fadnis or accountant in his expedition to Delhi for assisting the Sayad Brothers in 1719 but was unfortunately killed in a casual affray that took place outside the imperial palace between the Maratha troops and those of the Azhar Amin Khan. Upon the return of the Peshwa to Satara in the autumn of that year King Shahu rewarded the deceased's son Janardan Bala by conferring upon him his father's office and a village in perpetual *inam*. This Janardan Baba the father of Nana was married to Lakshmi sister of Balwant Rao Mehendale a famous general of the Peshwas later killed at Pimpri, and was brought up in the vigorous atmosphere created by the exploits of the famous Peshwa Baji Rao I. Janardan Baba served the third Peshwa Balaji Rao faithfully for sixteen years but not being of a robust constitution clever and trusted though he was, suffered from a chronic internal complaint and being unable to stand the necessary privations of an arduous camp life died suddenly in November 1746 just after crossing the Verbudha in the Maratha expedition led by Raghunath Rao against Ahmad Shah Abdali.

Nana, the only offspring of Janardan and Raghunath was born at Poona on February 1<sup>st</sup> 1747 only nine months before the

death of Vishvas Rao (another victim at Pimpri) the eldest son of the Peshwa so that the two boys along with the Peshwa's second son Madhvi Rao were brought up together in the palace at Poona under the fostering care of Sadashiv Rao Bhanu whose stern discipline and methodical business habits were so fully imbibed by the young Nana. The personal touches contained in that small but illuminating document which is known as Nana's autobiography\* amply prove Nana's



Nana Fadnis

obligations to Bhanu. In this connection it should be remembered that the Bhat and the Bhanu lived and worked as members of one joint family for more than three generations, so that when Peshwa Narayan Rao was murdered Nana Fadnis felt it his duty not only to avenge the murder but to take upon himself the charge of the administration. Another point to be borne in mind in

\* English translation printed by Rawlinson in his *Last B. title of Janardhan* pp. 56-60.

analysing the state affairs of the Marathas is that at the death of Shahu Peshwa Balaji Rao divided his activity into two distinct spheres the Northern and the Southern



Raghobā

entrusting the former to Raghunath Rao Dadā (the Ragoba of the English) and the latter to Sadashiv Rao Bhanu Sakharām Bapu was attached to the former while Nana Fadnis was attached to the latter. Thus a kind of subtle jealousy began to grow in the Peshwa's family between the two cousins Bhanu and Dadā which proved so fatal at Panipat. Dadā was as unacquainted with the Southern situation as Bhanu was with the Northern. His personal jealousy soon spread to the respective followers of the two establishing two hostile camps during the regime of Peshwa Madhav Rao Mallar Rao Holkar Sakharām Bapu Gangoba Tatya Chintō Vithal Sakharām Hari and several other high officers were the declared followers of Raghoba while Mahadaji Sindhia Nana Fadnis Trimbak Rao Pethe and the Patwardhans were his open opponents and sided with young Madhoo Rao. This bifurcation of interests led eventually to a civil war. Hence this personal antagonism

in the Peshwa's family supplies the key to the problem why certain affairs developed in the way they did. Why for instance Sakharām Bapu and Nana Fadnis very often held contrary views on points of policy thereby creating irreconcilable factions in the same state.

Upon his father's death Nana received the robes of his office on 29th Nov. 1756 at the age of fourteen and at once accompanied Bhanu into the Carnatic and worked under him throughout the next campaigns of Sindhed Udgir and Panipat. It appears that when Bhanu undertook the command of the Panipat expedition he asked for the services of Sakharām Bapu as an experienced diplomat well versed in the affairs of the North but Raghoba would not spare him and this gave the chance of his life to Nana and obtained for him unique opportunities for acquiring strict training first under Bhanu and after him with the young Peshwa Madhoo Rao a training which supplied Nana with many valuable essentials of future greatness — capacity for incessant labour regularity and dispatch attention to details



Mallar Rao Holkar

rigid and restrained manners and above all an unrelenting care of the purse. But for the



Nana Fadnis and Mahadji Shinde were contemporaries and more or less jointly responsible for the whole course of Maratha affairs of the post Pimpri period in which it is well to remember that whenever the two heartily collaborated the Maratha State received immense strength but their frequent disagreement equally weakened Maratha influence on all sides. Their signal service consists in their victory over the British power who taking advantage of the murder of the Peshwa Naray in Rao sheltered the rebel Bhagoba and launched on a war against the Maratha nation. Whatever difference of opinion may exist in estimating the character and achievements of Nana Fadnis there cannot be a doubt that the last stage of his active career namely the five years after the unfortunate death of the young Peshwa Madhoo Rao II, was a series of blunders a rapid downhill slide which nearly wrecked all the good work that he had done previously. His resignation and complete retirement from politics would have been better not only for his own interests but also for those of the state. Like many other notable personages in history, Nana committed the mistake of considering himself indispensable and paid the penalty for his



Narayan Rao Peshwa

Nana Fadnis' domestic life was far from happy. He had married as many as nine wives all probably in succession some certainly with a view to leaving his progeny behind him an object he was not destined to attain, for although he had three children in all two daughters and one son—they all died young thus compelling him to adopt heirs to perpetuate his name. Had any of his daughters grown up he had a mind to make the young Peshwa his son-in-law. His eighth wife survived him only for two weeks. His last wife however had a sad and romantic fate and figures prominently in the

dispatches of the two Wellesleys Close, Elphinstone and others. This lady Jinbai a child of nine years at the time of her husband's death in 1800 became nominally the sole heir of his property and fortune and suffered heavily at the hands of the unscrupulous Bajirao, who left no stone unturned to secure her person and possessions. But young though she was circumstances nerved her to face the situation boldly and in the end she proved more than a match for her persecutor. Bajirao paid off the Arab mercenaries had Nana's deadbody properly cremated confiscated all his property and lands and confined Jinbai in his own palace. When about eighteen months later Yashwant Rao Holkar captured Poona and Bajirao ran for protection to the British Jinbai with the help of her brother escaped to Lohgad a fort in which much of Nana's property was stored. From this secure position she started negotiations with General Wellesley Colonel Close and Mr Elphinstone when they came to restore Bajirao to his *masnad*. These British statesmen took pity on the young widow extended British protection to her and compelled Bajirao to pay her an annuity of Rs 12,000 at Panwell where she had elected to stay. The English correspondence on this subject is interesting reading. Bajirao tried his utmost to induce General Wellesley to bring the lady to Poona and hand her over to him. But the British officials saw through the game and declined the proposal point blank. Not until the Peshwa had lost his kingdom and left Poona for good in 1818 did Jinbai revisit her own house at Poona but she ever after spent

her days at her husband's village Menathi near Wai which still continues in the hands of her heirs. Nana's mansion at Poona is occupied by the New English School at present.

In 1831 Jinbai adopted a son from a collateral family named Mahadaji Pahl, and having brought him up carefully she passed away quietly in 1854 leaving behind her an unsoiled name and a reputation for piety and devotion so becoming in the case of Hindu widows of high families. Jinbai experienced such vicissitudes of fortune as have earned for her a cherished place in the memory of the Maharashtra people. Her adopted son died in 1877 leaving again a widow behind who in her turn adopted Balaji alias Nana Sabeel who still survives as the solitary representative of a name that once was a terror to all the potentates of India. It was from this last survivor that Parasnis obtained the huge and well-arranged records which now form the main contents of the Satara museum and part of which has already been printed by him.

Historians may assess the worth of Nana in whatever way they choose but there is no denying the fact that two obscure Brahmin families from the west coast the Bhais and the Bhimars leaving their home in search of fortune and working in mutual co-operation succeeded for nearly a century though after strenuous efforts in fulfilling Shivaji's great ambition, i.e. to capture and wield an almost imperial sceptre over India the only instance of a successful Hindu Swaraj after the hallowed suzerainty of the ancient Gupta.





complete is described in the 27th canto of the *Istisra* resulted from the action and reaction between Islam and Hinduism during the seven centuries of their juxtaposition on the Indian soil. That fact has profoundly changed the literature, language, customs and dress, belief and ritual, social organization and manners of both the sects. Such a vast subject to be adequately treated in all its aspects requires the encyclopaedic knowledge and synthesizing power of a Gibbon. Dr Titus has done well in restricting his study to only the changes in Islamic faith, ritual and super-stition produced by the Indian environment. He has consulted the best possible sources, namely Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* and that little known priceless treasure-house of information, Rose's *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and Affiliated Provinces* (all unsold copies of which have been recently cleared out as remnants by the High Commissioner for India in London.) The book is excellently written and printed and is packed full of information of great value to itself and lucidly presented. It is admittedly a compilation and does not claim to be an original work, but none the less deserving a place in every library. It is weak on the side of history. On p. 92 the Shah Alam in question was the first of that name and reigned 1707-1712 (as Dr Irvine's *Later Mughals*) is the *Papa* of Mahmud I and called *Malarya* (pp. 88-93).

would be overwhelmed & yet is and at sufficient leisure so as to give that finality of shape and discriminating selection which it at present lacks. But even so it is a long felt need.

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ARABIC LITERATURE: AN INTRODUCTION. By H. H. Gibb (Oxford University Press, 1926). The *Heit's Manuals* series. Pp. 128. Price 2/6 net.

This excellent short history of Arabic literature is another illustration of the truth that the best little treatise on a large subject can be written only by a master of it and not by a hack compiler. Prof. Gibb is a master's guide through this vast but to us little known realm of gold and his survey of Arabic literature is as interesting as it is accurate, scholarly and critical. He does not confine himself to the Prophetic peninsula but deals (briefly) with the literature produced in this language in all other Islamic countries as well. Arabic as a living tongue is treated in its modern productions in the highly informing Epitome pp. 111-119. We cannot conceive of a more helpful *read mecum* than this.

SOURCE BOOK OF MARATHI HISTORY, Vol. I. To the Death of Shivaji. Ed. by R. P. Patwardhan. Pp. 211+xi with the Maratha portrait and one map. (Bombay Government Press) Rs. 5.

This volume gives translated extracts from the Sanskrit Marathi and Persian sources as well as some passages from the English History Records and Dr S. Sen's translation of the *Atta Carre's* biography. The other English and Dutch factory records have been omitted as they would be included in a separate volume by Dr Bal Krishna.

This book will be useful to advanced students to some extent but it falls a good deal short of the best treatment possible of the existing material. It suffers also from having missed Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's critical and amplified 3rd edition of his *Shivaji and His Times*. If a second edition of this source book is called for we trust that the book

The author of this pamphlet is a devout believer in Sri Krishna. He quotes from different Shastras to show the importance of the teachings of the Gita in the attainment of salvation. The printing leaves much to be desired.

YOGA MYSTERY—Edited by Sivananda Kaulay. *Yoganda* (J. G. Ghose) Vol. II Nos. 1-4 Kaulayadharma. Bombay, pp. 161-32.

The journal is a production of the Madhavadas Academy of Spiritual Culture. It seeks to describe Yoga practices in terms of modern physiology. The journal is divided into scientific, semi-scientific, popular and miscellaneous sections. In the scientific section which is illustrated by radiograph is discussed the movement of the diaphragm and the ribs during respiration. The research has been undertaken to refute some of the ideas of Mr. Welter. The semi-scientific section also discusses the mechanism of respiration. The popular section describes some of the special poses of the Yoga and gives an account of Pranyama. This journal although it must be admitted that the scientific researches published in this volume are not of a very high order.

need not detain us. Suffice it to say that in 1907 the Police Charges Act was passed whereby the Corporation was relieved of the cost of police administration, and was saddled with full responsibility of primary education and medical relief and that in 1922 the Corporation was materially democratized by the widening of franchise (Chapters XXXI-XXXIV).

The democratized Corporation tried to secure the power of appointing their Municipal Commissioner but failed. During the regime of the presidency of Mr. Patel the constitutional reform was the subject matter of investigation by Sir M. Visvesvaraya. He advocated the policy of Executive Committees Government and the ultimate transformation of the Municipal Commissioner into a Town Clerk as in London. Mr. Masani's advice, as to the working of Executive Committees in England was duly considered. In the meanwhile the formation of Special Committees with definite spheres of business was put into effect by the Amending Act I of 1925. These Committees are Administrative, Advisory, Committees whose advice is to be taken in discussion before the Corporation. The Municipal Commissioner is the guiding spirit but the preliminary examination of the cases by members of the Special Committees lends support to the executive in the Corporation and uninformed criticism is avoided as far as possible. This new machinery was invented as a transition stage to full Executive Committee Government.

It may be noted that the story of projected reforms (Chapter XXXIV) has been brought up to 1935, the year in which the volume must have gone to the press. Since then the constitutional reforms advocated by Sir M. Visvesvaraya were pushed forward by his successor but the liberal party of the Corporation was dissident about the efficient working of Committees and did not wish to disturb the executive administration of the Municipal Commissioner. From the mild measure of taking the power of appointing the Municipal Commissioner by the Corporation was shelved and the main question of constitutional reforms has been referred to a Committee—a convenient dilatory procedure adopted by the Corporation when no action is to be taken.

In the concluding chapter Mr. Masani advocates the expansion of the sphere of influence of the Bombay Corporation. Apart from libraries and museums, a local authority should undertake unemployment insurance schemes and management of local utilities.

The City of Bombay however, is passing under severe industrial depression. It has to undertake the heavy financial responsibility of the City Improvement Trust which has lived its normal life of utility. New sources of revenue will have to be found before undertaking fresh commitments. But Mr. Masani's book will furnish an inspiring milestone to a higher goal of civic activities and for some years to come will be a monumental work of a good administrator and high thinker in the sphere of local self government.

N. D. MEHTA

SCIENTIFIC RELIGION VOL. I—By G. N. Gokhale  
Karakshi The Educational Publishing Co

It is very difficult to make a fair estimate of a book of this nature from Vol. I alone. The author has tried to find a theistic basis of the universe and rightly thinks that without this solid foundation we shall be building on sand 'in any scheme of Indian salvation. And the salvation of man lies in his attuning to his full stature. For that purpose perfect liberty of conscience is necessary. We find says the author this liberty of conscience a very notable feature of the society of the days when India was at the height of her civilization. But India fell from this height, because just as the skin of a tortoise hardens into a shell as it gets older Hinduism also grew into a shell in time.

The author has discussed all the important religions of the world only in the popular way and tried to give a fair account of each of them. But the diversity of their aims and ideals has perhaps cast a gloom over his mental horizon. But he has consoled himself by thinking that Diversity is the essence of creation and it is no use quarrelling with it (p. 149). True but if you can not show the unifying principle underlying the diversity there is no way out of its eternal dispute. The author in the case of the creation has found the unifying principle in a beneficent cosmic power which governs the whole universe. However he has discovered a very easy solution of the matter. Why we can perform our Sandhya Vandana according to the Vedic rites and then pray in the Mosque according to the Quran and thence proceed to the Holy Vase in the Christian Church and so on (p. 148). I have heard that Ram Krishna Paramahansa practised all religions, one by one but our author will have the Hindu, the Mahomedan the Christian and so on rolled into one. And this is his solution for all the woes India is suffering from. Because in his opinion it is futile to try to build a glorious India without such a solid foundation. But I cannot recommend this prescription to my countrymen. I suppose this is his Scientific Religion.

CELESTIAL CORRESPONDENCE Vol. II By Bharati Bhushan Prof. Prakasa Rao. Published by Tata Indian Science Institute, Viswanagar City. Price Rs. 2 foreign 5 shillings postage extra.

This should be called a catalogue instead of a book because in several pages some space has been reserved for the advertisement of other publications. Because our author is the author of such books as 'Astrological Course', 'Peeps into the Future', 'The Heavens Unveiled', 'Golden Key to your Fortune and Future', 'Miracles of Healing and Magic cures', 'Wonderful Book of Talismans', 'Amulets Charms and Mystic chantings', etc. And in the contents of this book I find such precious subjects as 'Mantra sa tra and its mysterious power', 'The Mantric cures', 'Fasting and its Mysterious Powers and Effect', 'The first message from the spirit of Swami Vivekananda and Secrets and Wonders of the other World', 'The Secrets of Mesmerism', 'Selection of Right Times to commence or undertake any work or worldly affairs', so on and so forth.

I am afraid the reader has no more appetite to swallow any the least morsel from the body of

the book which is overstuffed with the recommendations of other publications. The reader I apprehend, is a ready surfeited

Dhirendranath Vedantavagis

AIDS TO TROPICAL DISEASES. *R. C. Ramachandran L. M. P. L. C. P. S. L. T. M. Published by B. G. Paul and Co. Madras 109 pages. Price Rupee One only.*

This small book written mainly for medical students and young practitioners has served a very useful purpose and contains a lot of information bearing upon the diagnosis and treatment of some of the important tropical diseases. We regret, however, to note that the book seems to have been hastily compiled—apart from typographical errors the names of some of the well-known drugs and diseases have been misspelt, sometimes in a very misleading way. Books meant for students going up for their examinations should be as accurate as possible and a very careful compilation is desired. A thoroughly revised edition would prove useful to the students and practitioners alike.

A. K. MCKHERRI

## HINDI

HINDI DRASHA AUR SAHITYA. *By Professor Syam Sundar Das B. A. Published by the Indian Press Ltd. Allahabad S. 1927. Pp 516 (text) octavo with 44 plates and maps. Price Rs 6.*

This is a history of Hindi language and Hindi literature and fine arts of the period and the area of Hindi literature by an author who initiated scientific writing in Hindi and who has had the good fortune of seeing his schemes executed and making the literature of his mother tongue richer than what he inherited. Rameshwar Das is the founder and builder of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Benares the Sabha's true home the *Vigraha Pracharini Patrika* devoted to literature and historical research the editions of the accurate text of Tulsi Das Ramayana, Kabir Das Varnan Chand's Epic and other early authors the scientific dictionaries in Hindi the search for Hindi manuscripts etc. His latest work the literary history under review is another contribution on which he can look back with pride and satisfaction. With Syam Sundar Das the Benares school of Hindi style—the puritan style which brings Hindi in line with literary Bengali, Gujarati and Marathi has become an established fact, as with Marathi Sarana Gupta that current style has become the language of Hindi poetry.

When such a savant and a creative personality after 30 years of devoted and intimate study writes a history of literature (the latter portion of which is his own contemporary) the work is bound to be an unqualified success. The history of Hindi language, pp 1 to 164 is masterly, it is worthy of notice and translation in sister Indian languages, with which Hindi is closely connected on its frontiers.

A pleasing feature of the work is the collection of most authentic portraits of the leading authors—e.g. Kabir, Narin Dada, Sundar Das, Tulsi Das, Sur Das, Bita Harivansa, Kesava Das, Bihari Lal, etc.

The art section has a rapid review of architecture, painting, music, and sculpture. Necessarily it, being a secondary topic, is inadequate in treatment, but the unity of arts with literature is rightly recognized in a literary history. The selection of illustrations here again is happy. The Datta palace which seems to be the most beautiful residential building in the whole of India, has been rightly placed by the side of the Tower of Victory of Chitor. These two edifices are the leading pieces in secular architecture of the country. I may remind here the Hindi publishers that they are far behind the age in their picture reproductions.

For the next edition I suggest that samples of the work of the authors should be given to bring the book in line with literary history in other countries.

I respectfully offer my congratulations to the veteran on the production.

L. P. JAINSWAL

## MARATHI

AITIHASIC PATREY YADI WAGAIRE. *LEKH 2ND. ed. by G. S. Sardesai, J. M. Kale, and V. S. Mahaskar (Puna Chitrasala Press) Pp xlv+537 Rs 3.*

Serious students of Marathi history owe a deep debt of gratitude to the three learned scholars who have put their heads together and brought out the second edition of this unobtainable scarce volume of historical documents in a form and with notes which double its value to those consulting it. The Late Rao Bahadur K. N. Sane had published 201 and 246 old historical letters &c. in two monthly journals defunct long ago but without any arrangement, just as they came into his hands.

In the present edition these have been rearranged chronologically, dates have been corrected and where wanting supplied in the light of the advance in Marathi historical knowledge achieved during the last 30 years and explanatory notes added. The dated and descriptive list of the letters covering 23 pages will be of inestimable value to students. No library dealing with Indian history can afford to be without this book.

On page 4 there is a misprint which however will mislead none.

Jaistha Badya 13 of the 1st Rajsavisekh era is 21-4-1671 and not 1673. The *Kafiyat Shahaj Maharaj Bhosle Yanchi* (pp 8-24) is mostly a compilation from *Bisatin: salatin* and other Persian sources, and cannot strictly be called pre-Shivaji.

SHIVDE SHAHI AITIHASACHYU. *SADHANAY VOL. I KORI UCHASIT DASTAR, ed. by Anand Rao Biao Palkar. Pp 248+10+24 (the author Shivde Darbar Press).*

This sumptuously printed and illustrated volume of historical letters referring to Shivaji, Sindhu and his predecessors (296 letters in Vol I) is a

# Rabindranath Tagore in Russia

[The following correct and authorized versions of his speech and interview have been received from the Poet Rabindranath Tagore—Editor *The Modern Review*]

## I

SPEECH DELIVERED BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE  
AT THE DOM SOYUZOFF MOSCOW  
SEPTEMBER 24 1930

"I am highly honoured at the invitation to appear in this hall and I am grateful to Dr Petror for the kind words he has said about me. I am thankful to the people for giving me the opportunity of knowing this country and experiencing the great work which the people are doing in this land. My mission in life is education. I believe that all human problems find their fundamental solution in education. And outside of my own vocation as a poet I have accepted this responsibility to educate my people as much as it lies in my individual power to do. I know that all the evils almost without exception from which my land suffers are solely owing to the utter lack of education of the people.

"Poverty pestilence and communal fights and industrial backwardness which make our path of life too narrow and perilous are simply owing to the meagreness of education. And this is the reason why in spite of my advanced age and my weak health I gladly accepted the invitation offered to me to see how you are working out the most important problem of education in this country. And I have seen I have admired and I have envied you in all the great opportunities which you have in this country. You all know that our condition in India is very similar to yours. She has an agricultural population which is in need of all the help and encouragement that you have accorded to this country. You know how precarious is the living which exclusively depends upon agriculture and so how utterly necessary it is for the cultivators to have the education the up-to-date method of producing crops in order to meet the increasing demands of life and of expensive government.

Our people are living on the verge of perpetual famine and do not know how to help this because they have lost their faith and confidence in their own humanity. This is the greatest misfortune of that people, over three hundred millions of men and women burdened with profound ignorance a closed prospect, and incompetence.

So I came to this land to see how you deal with this problem you who have struggled against the incubus of ignorance superstition and apathy which were once prevalent in this oppressed land among the working men and peasantry. The little that I have seen has convinced me of the marvelous progress that has been made the miracle that has been achieved. How the mental attitude of the people has been changed in such a short time it is difficult for us to realize we who live in the darkest shadow of ignorance and futility. It gladdens my heart to know that the people the real people who maintain the life of society bear the burden of civilization are not deprived of their own rights and that they enjoy an equal share of all the advantages of a progressive community.

And I dream of the time when it will be possible for that ancient land of Aryan Civilization to enjoy the great boon of education and equal opportunity for all the people. I am thankful truly thankful to you all who have helped me in visualizing in a concrete form the dream which I have been carrying for a long long time in my mind the dream of emancipating the peoples mind which has been shackled for ages. For this I thank you.

## II

INTERVIEW WITH THE IMPORTER OF THE  
"IZVESTIA" ON SEPTEMBER 25 1930

On being asked if he would say a few words in regard to his impressions of Moscow Dr Rabindranath Tagore replied

"I wish to let you know how deeply I have been impressed by the amazing intensity of your energy in spreading education among

the peasant masses the most intelligent direction you have given to this work, and also the variety of channels that have been opened out to train their minds and senses and limbs I appreciate it all the more keenly because I belong to that country where millions of my fellow-countrymen are being denied the light that education can bring them. For human beings, all other boons that are external and superficial that are imposed from outside are like paints and patches that never represent the bloom of health but only disguise the anemic skin without enriching the blood. You have recognized the truth that in extirpating all social evils one has to go to the root, which can only be done through education and not through police batons and military brow beating.

"But I find here certain contradictions to the great mission which you have undertaken. Certain attitudes of mind are being cultivated which are contrary to your ideal about the method of radical social improvement. I must ask you: Are you doing your ideal a service by arousing in the minds of those under your training anger, class hatred and revengefulness against those whom you consider to be your enemies? True, you have to fight against tremendous obstacles. You have to overcome ignorance and lack of sympathy, and even persistently virulent antagonism. But your mission is not restricted to your own nation or your own party, but it is for the betterment of humanity according to your light. But does not humanity include those who do not agree with your aims? Just as you try to help peasants who have other ideas than yours about religion, economics and social life, not by getting fatally angry with them but by patiently teaching them and showing them where the evil lurks in secret, should you not have the same mission to those other people who have other ideals than your own? These you may consider to be mistaken ideals, but they have an historical origin and have become inevitable through combinations of circumstances. You may consider the men who hold them to be misguided. But it should all the more be your purpose to convert them by pity and love, realizing that they are as much a part of humanity as the peasants whom you serve.

"If you dwell too much upon the evil

elements of your opponents assuming that those are inherent in their human nature meriting eternal damnation, you inspire an attitude of mind which with its content of hatred and animosity may some day react against your own ideal and destroy it. You are working in a great cause. Therefore, you must be great in your mind, great in your mercy, great in your understanding and your patience. I feel profound admiration for the greatness of the things you are trying to accomplish and therefore I cannot help expecting for it a motive force of love and an environment of charitable understanding.

There must be disagreement where minds are allowed to be free. It would be not only an uninteresting world but a sterile world of mechanical regularity if all of our opinions were forcibly made alike. If you have a mission which includes all humanity, for the sake of that living humanity you must acknowledge the existence of differences of temperament and of opinion. Opinions are constantly changed and re-changed through the free circulation of intellectual forces and moral persuasion. Violence begets violence and blind stupidity. Freedom of mind is needed for the reception of truth, terror hopelessly kills it. The Brute cannot subdue the Brute. It is only the Man who can do it. This is being proved everyday in our human history.

Before leaving your country let me once again assure you that I am struck with admiration for all that you are doing to free those who were in slavery to raise up those who were lowly and oppressed and to bring help to those who were utterly helpless, reminding them that the source of their salvation lies in a proper education and their power to combine their human resources.

"For the sake of humanity I hope that you may never create a vicious force of violence which will go on weaving an interminable chain of violence and cruelty. Already you have inherited much of this legacy from the Tsarist regime. It is the worst legacy you possibly could have. You have tried to destroy many of the other evils of that period. Why not try to destroy this one also? I have learned much from you how skilfully you evolve usefulness out of the helplessness of the weak and ignorant. Your ideal is great and so I ask you for perfection in serving it and a broad field of freedom for laying its permanent foundation."



The poet was asked to say in conclusion what institutions in Moscow had impressed him most

He replied

The Orphans at the Home of the Young Pioneers showed such confidence in their ability to realize their ideal for a new world. Their behaviour to me was so natural. Their conduct impressed me deeply. Then at the Peasants' House I met the Peasants. We questioned each other quite frankly. Their problems are so similar to the problems of the peasants in my own country. I was deeply impressed by the attitude of mind of your peasants towards the methods you have evolved for solving these problems.

Places which I have not been able to visit have been visited by my secretaries. My doctor tells me of the fine work you

are doing in sanitation hygiene scientific research. You are accomplishing a great deal in those lines under conditions not nearly as favourable economically at least as in other countries. My secretaries tell me of your splendid work in training students of agriculture in caring for and training the homeless children left by war and famine and of the outstanding experiment in practical education being carried on by Mr Shatsky in his colony. Mr Shatsky did me the honour of coming to visit me. I find that the ideal of his institution I also share. I am certain that your methods of education would be of great benefit in other countries where there is so much in education that is merely academic and abstract. Yours is much more practical and therefore truly moral and it is closer in touch with the varied aspects and purposes of life.

## The Truth about Australian Coastal Traffic Legislation

By C A BUCH

**H**IS Excellency the Viceroy in addressing the second annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and referring to the Indian Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill spoke about the Australian enactment on the Dominion merchant shipping in the following terms. In the second place it is not infrequently said that there is precedent for this Bill in other parts of the Empire and that Australia in particular has reserved her Coastal Trade in the manner that is now proposed in India. But anyone who has read the relevant sections of the Australian Navigation Act must be aware that they relate only to personnel and that their object is to secure that Australian seamen employed in the coasting trade will receive as good wages as Australian workers employed on shore. So far is it from being true that the Australian Coastal trade is reserved for Australian owned ships that the Australian United Steam Navigation Company which is engaged in the Coasting trade is actually

financed exclusively by British capital and is controlled by a London Board of Directors. This statement coming as it does from so high a dignitary is after all an argument put there by the Civilian *Sulenticala* of the Delhi Secretariat and is only an echo of certain passages found in an anonymous pamphlet widely distributed by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce about that time. The passages there which apparently form the authority for the Viceregal pronouncement, read as under. "The terms of the Australian Navigation Act indicate in short, that it must be classified as primarily an advanced form of labour legislation. Another passage runs 'That external capital is not excluded from engaging in the Australian Coasting trade is evidenced by the participation therein of the Australian United Steam Navigation Co. Ltd. financed exclusively by British capital and controlled by a London Board of Directors'."

There is no doubt that these passages represent the voice and the echo! The

spokesmen of the Government of India have always championed the cause of the non-Indian merchants of India, but such a flagrant plagiarism from anonymous compositions reflects little credit on their ingenuity. Both the parties have misnamed the Commonwealth Navigation Act, 1912-26.

The provisions of this Act, which are relevant to the discussion here, are embodied under Sections 284 to 292. Technically these provisions require that the seamen engaged on coastal traffic ships 'shall be paid Australian rates of wages,' while those ships which are engaged outside the limits of the coastal lines of shipping are required to conform to this provision, while the ship is engaged in coastal trade. It may be said that this is a labour legislation. But in actual practice it serves the same purpose, that the Indian Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill is intended to serve. The covering Clause 5 of the Constitution provides that the laws of the Commonwealth shall be in force on all British ships, the kings ships of war excepted, whose last port of clearance and whose port of destination are in the Commonwealth. Under Sections 284 to 292 no ship, British or Australian could carry mail, freight or passengers between any two ports of Australia without paying to the crew the Australian rates of wages. Mr J G Latham, K C, Attorney General of the Commonwealth, thus describes the actual effects of this "Labour" legislation. "It is said quite truly, that this trade is open to all British ships upon the same conditions. The principal condition is that the seamen employed in the ship shall be paid Australian rates of wages while the ship is engaged in the coastal trade. It is not really practicable for ships trading overseas to continue in the overseas trade and to comply with this condition while on the coast of Australia. There is therefore a practical monopoly of the coasting trade in favour of Australian ships subject to exemptions in special cases—though Section 73b (of the British Merchants Shipping Act) has been complied with, and though the object of this Section is to prevent such a monopoly being established against other British ships."

The measure is certainly not a negligible piece of advanced labour legislation as the interested parties in India would have us believe. It is recognized in Australia as a measure of first rate national importance. Its avowed object was to build up a national

mercantile marine for the Commonwealth, that may supply a second line of defence to the Empire. The measure, in short, bears a close resemblance to Mr S N Hays' Bill for reserving Indian Coastal traffic to Indian vessels. Both measures aim at (1) Building up of a national mercantile marine, (2) Reserving the coastal trade of the country to its own national vessels.

Whereas the Indian Coastal Traffic Bill mentions these aims explicitly, in its preamble and elsewhere, the Commonwealth Navigation Bill enacted a labour legislation that secured to the Commonwealth these very objects. That this was the only *raison d'être* of the Australian enactment is fully admitted by the Royal Commission which was appointed to go into the real nature and working of the Australian Navigation Act. The report of the Commission contains the following two most important admissions:

Your Commissioners have studied these reasons have perused the reports of the Royal Commission and the Imperial Shipping Conference and read every important speech on the Navigation Bill by Ministers, Members of the House of Representatives and Senators with the result that your commissioners find that the main reason which actuated the Parliament in placing the Act upon the Statute Book and which lifted the subject to a plane of great national importance above the ordinary considerations of party politics was the desire to build up an Australian Mercantile Marine.

Parliament recognized that as an island continent we are largely dependent upon the strength of our merchant shipping for our communications. The Australian Coastal trade was to be reserved for Australian-owned ships which were to be the source of supply of skilled and trained Australian seamen in time of war."

The purpose of the Commonwealth Navigation Act is thus identically the same as that of Mr Hays' Bill. It is, therefore, incorrect for anyone to say that the Australian Act cannot be precedent for a part of the British Empire legislating in favour of its own national shipping.

A question may, however, be pertinently asked "Why did not Australia enact a coastal reservation measure straight away?"

The answer lies in the constitutional position of the colonies with regard to shipping legislation. As India also is subjected to more or less the same restrictions, (rather more than less) a detailed analysis of the position should be necessary. The Indian legislatures are governed, no doubt, by the Government of India Act, 1919, but even this is subject to certain special provisions of the

Merchant Shipping Act 1891. The British Merchant Shipping Act of 1891 (53 and 54 Vic. c60). The chief aim of the Act is the national identification of shipping as 'British' and the provision of certain uniform legislation for all ships so identified (*Laws of England Vol. 26 p.11*). The last section (Sec. 94) of Part I of this Act says that the provisions of this part shall apply to the whole of His Majesty's Dominions and to all places where His Majesty has jurisdiction. This would mean that where there are no express provisions similar in tenor to Section 92 Part I the Dominions could legislate on their own lines. It has however been held that there is a broad intention to treat all possessions of the Empire as being without a separate intiger of shipping all their shipping being regarded component of one Imperial intiger. The whole problem presents certain difficulties and involves Constitutional issues. Giving evidence before the Royal Commission on Constitution of Australia Sir Robert Garran Solicitor General for the Commonwealth said

The power of the Commonwealth Parliament to legislate on navigation and shipping will be very much restricted if it is readily held that provisions not expressly made applicable to the Dominions are applicable by reason of an intention to deal with the whole of a particular subject, such intention being inferred from the general character of the Act as an Imperial provision for British shipping and from the desirability of having a single rule on the subject. (*Vol 1 of Evidence p. 63*)

Such an intention however does exist and notable decisions by Australian High Courts have been based on the assumption that the British Merchant Shipping Act is applicable to all parts of the British Empire and notwithstanding anything written in the Government of India Act, or the Colonial Laws Validity Act no legislature of the Empire could pass an enactment that may be repugnant to the provisions of the British Shipping Act, except under Sections 735 and 736 of the said Act.

Section 735 of this Act does confer power upon the Dominion legislature to legislate to repeal wholly or in part any of the provisions of the Act (other than those of Part III which relate to emigrant ships) relating to ships registered in that Dominion but the Legislation cannot take effect until the approval of His Majesty has been

proclaimed in the Dominion. Section 736 allows a Dominion to regulate its coasting trade provided the Act so regulating the trade contains a suspending clause requiring that the Legislation shall not come into force until His Majesty's pleasure thereon has been publicly signified and the Legislation must treat all British ships (including the ships of any other British possession) in exactly the same manner as ships of the possession making the law. This will make it clear why the Select Committee that went over the Indian Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill inserted a clause after 1 (3) to say that no such date shall be appointed until His Majesty's pleasure on this Act has been publicly signified in British India by notification. The equal treatment required for all British ships is technically assured under the Indian measure which requires that all ships plying on the Indian coast will be Indian controlled where the term Indian would only mean as defined in Sec. II (2) *et seq*. That a practical monopoly is desired to be secured for Indian ships is as evident as it is in the Australian case. The provisions 735 and 736 described above necessitate the adoption of a circumlocutory and round about course for achieving such a monopoly. The obvious solution of this problem lies in doing away with these sections altogether. Says Mr Latham "the best course would be to repeal Sections 735 and 736 altogether so that it will be left to the good sense of a Dominion to legislate for ships registered in the Dominion as it thinks proper."

The Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation and Merchant Shipping Legislation 1929 support the view of Mr Latham (Report Para 92) and adds by para 93 "The new position will be that each Dominion will amongst its other powers have full and complete legislative authority over all ships while within its territorial waters or engaged in its coasting trade and also over its own registered ships both intra territorially and extra territorially. Such extra territorial legislation will of course operate subject to local laws while the ship is within another jurisdiction."

So long however as the Sections 735 and 736 are not repealed the only course open to the possessions of His Majesty is to circumvent the provisions of these sections and yet secure a monopoly for their own ships if it

is held in the interests of the possession to have it. That the Commonwealth of Australia wanted such monopoly and has it, is a fact clearly proved on the authorities discussed in the article. India regards this Australian monopoly in the only way it can possibly be regarded as precedent for her reservation measure. Any attempt to explain it away as a mere labour law shows the fear with which the repetition of Australian conditions

in India is regarded by the exploiters of the Empire.

\* AUTHORITIES RELIED ON FOR THIS ARTICLE  
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 by J. Latham K. C. Attorney General of the Commonwealth  
 Report of the Royal Commission on Constitution  
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 Shipping Act  
 Keith's Responsible Government in the Dominions  
 2nd edition Vol II p 750 et seq

## The Story of Salt

By J. HALDAR, M.C.

WHEN Homer canonized salt as "Divine" and Plato described it as "a substance dear to the gods" little did the poet or the philosopher dream that at a later epoch in the history of the world a prophet politician of an ancient land would choose this very divine weapon for the emancipation of a great and ancient people employing means dear to the gods. Wonderfully varied is the significance attached to this universal aliment as the following chronicle will reveal. But the last chapter had not evidently been written. To the romantic story that has gathered round salt through the ages India has yet to make her unique contribution. Who knows that salt, which has hitherto played so important a rôle in human affairs might not sooner or later mould the destinies of nations.

### LABANA AND LABANYA

Salt has been known to the Indians from time immemorial. *Labana* its best Sanskrit name, has but few other meanings than salt or saltiness, but such as it does possess show the high esteem in which salt was held. Various forms of the word were employed to denote loveliness, beauty, etc. Take for instance the word *Labanya*, derived from *labana*, which denotes gracefulness. As food becomes unpalatable without salt so the human body deprived of salt loses beauty and grace. The physiological

connection between salt and grace is thus realized!

### GOODESS OF SALT

In Mexico in the seventh month of their year which corresponded roughly to June the Aztecs celebrated a festival in honour of Huixtocihuatl the Goddess of Salt. She was said to be a sister of the Rain Gods but having quarrelled with them she was banished and driven to take up her abode in the salt water. Being of an ingenious turn of mind she invented the process of extracting salt by means of pans; hence she was worshipped by all salt makers as their patron goddess. Her garments were yellow on her head she wore a mitre surmounted by bunches of waving green plumes, which shone with greenish iridescent hues in the sun. Her robe and petticoats were embroidered with patterns simulating the waves of the sea. Golden ear-rings in the form of flowers dangled at her ears, golden bells jingled at her ankles. In one hand she carried a round shield painted with the leaves of a certain plant and adorned with drooping fringes of parrots' feathers, in the other hand she carried a stout baton ending in a knob and bedecked with paper artificial flowers and feathers.

### ANCIENT HISTORY

Salt must have been quite unattainable to primitive man in many parts of the world

Thus the *Odyssey* speaks of inlanders who do not know the sea and use no salt with their food. In some parts of America salt was first introduced by Europeans and there are still parts of Central Africa where the use of it is a luxury confined to the rich.

It is asserted by Ethnologists that the habitual use of salt is intimately connected with the transition from pastoral and nomadic stages to sedentary agricultural life, with precisely that step in civilization which had most influence on the cults of almost all ancient nations.

### SOURCES OF SUPPLY

At a very early stage of progress salt became a necessary of life to most nations and in many cases they could procure it only from abroad from the sea coast or from salty incrustations on the surface of the soil. Sometimes indeed a kind of salt was obtained from the ashes of saline plants or by pouring the water of a brackish stream over a fire of (saline) wood and collecting the ashes as was done in ancient Germany in Gaul and in Spain. Among inland peoples a salt spring was regarded as a special gift of the gods. Tacitus tells of furious wars between the Germanic tribes for the possession of salt springs near their territories.

The salt mines of Wieliczka (Austria) are the most beautiful as well as the largest on earth. Everything shines and glitters with the purest brilliancy and occasionally large masses of salt are found which are as transparent and as pure as the finest plate of glass.

### TRADE ROUTES

It has been conjectured that some of the oldest trade routes were created for traffic in salt. At any rate salt and incense the chief economic and religious necessities of the ancient world play a great part in all that we know of the ancient highways of commerce. Thus one of the oldest roads in Italy is the *via Salaria* by which the produce of the salt pans of Ostia was carried up into the Sabine country. Herodotus's account of the caravan route uniting the salt oases of the Libyan desert makes it plain that this was mainly a salt road and to the present day the caravan trade of the Sahara is largely a trade

in salt. The salt of Palmyra was an important element in the vast traffic between the Syrian parts and the Persian Gulf and long after the glory of the great merchant city was past the salt of Tidnor retained its reputation. In like manner the ancient trade between the Algeria and the coasts of Southern Russia was largely dependent on the salt pans at the mouth of the Dnieper and on the salt fish brought from this district. In Pomeanian commerce salt and salt fish—the latter a valued delicacy in the ancient world—always formed an important item. The vast salt mines of Northern India were worked before the time of Alexander and must have been the centre of a widespread trade.

### SALT AS EXCHANGE

Salt is an object of so general consumption so necessary to man that it affords an assured medium of exchange.

Mungo Park saw the inhabitants of the coast of Sierra Leone give all that possessed even their wives and children, to obtain a salt supply.

Cakes of salt have been used as money in more than one part of the world for example in Abyssinia and elsewhere in Africa and Tibet and adjoining parts.

The origin of the word salary is interesting. It literally means salt money. The Romans served out rations of salt and other necessities to their soldiers and civil servants. The rations altogether were called by the general name of salt and when money was substituted for the rations the stipend went by the same name.

### PHYSIOLOGICAL NECESSITY

Salt or as it is expressed chemically sodium chloride, is perhaps to man one of the most valuable products of the mineral kingdom.

It is an absolute necessity for life. A full grown man of 165 lbs contains about 11 lbs of salt, and requires yearly some 15 to 18 lbs of salt in order to maintain him in health. Deprive him of this salt and he will most assuredly die. We are told that the Chinese and also the people of Holland at one time killed their worst criminals by feeding them on bread deprived of salt. The gastric juice of the human stomach contains about 0.2 per cent of hydrochloric acid—no doubt indirectly

off ghosts and in Teutonic countries it is placed near infants to protect them. In Morocco it is put in the wheel-stick to guard it from Zunn and is sprinkled on the hand mill before grinding the corn. British folk custom has the charm of carrying salt witherships round a baby before taking it to be baptized.

### DIVINATION BY SALT

In the Hebrides, a salt cake is eaten at All Hallow Even to induce dreams that will reveal the future. It is baked of common meal with a great deal of salt. After eating it you may not drink water nor utter a word, not even to say your prayers. A salt herring eaten bones and all in three bites is equally efficacious, always provided that you drink no water and hold your tongue.

In the Isle of Man also similar forms of divination are practised by some people on Hallowe'en. For example the housewife fills a tumbler with salt for each member of the family and each guest. The contents of the tumblers are emptied out in as many neat little piles on a plate and left there overnight. Next morning the piles are examined, and if any of them has fallen down, he or she whom it represents will die within the year.

Again if a lady goes out with her mouth full of water and her hands full of salt and listens at a neighbour's door the first name she hears will be the name of her husband.

### SPILLING OF SALT

The dread of spilling salt is a known superstition among the English and the Germans, being reckoned a presage of some future calamity, and particularly that it foreboded domestic feuds, to avert which it is customary to fling some salt over the shoulder into the fire, in a manner truly classical.

It has been observed by Bailey on the falling of salt, that it proceeds from the ancient opinion that salt was incorruptible. It has, therefore, been made the symbol of friendship and if it fell, usually the persons between whom it happened, thought their friendship would not be of long duration.

In certain parts of India if a person spills salt he will have to pick up each grain with his eyelids in hell, hence it must be handled with the greatest care and as it is

unlucky to receive it in the hand it should be taken in a cloth or vessel.

In Leonardo's fresco of the Last Supper, Judas (the betrayer of Jesus) is to be seen guzzling by the salt cellar which he has overturned.

### MISCELLANEOUS

Salt is a cure for many sicknesses and procures disenchantment. Like blood and iron it is a favourite medium for the oath, in early Teutonic custom the swearer dipped his finger in salt and then took the oath.

Salt is used in Oriental alchemy to effect the transmutation of metals and in Muselman magic.

### NAME OF SALT, TABOO

A certain spirit, who used to inhabit a lake in Madagascar, entertained a rooted aversion to salt, so that whenever the thing was carried past the lake in which he resided it had to be called by another name or it would all have been dissolved and lost. The persons whom he inspired had to veil their references to the obnoxious article under the disguise of "sweet peppers."

In a West African story we read of a man who was told that he would die if ever the word for salt was pronounced in his hearing. The fatal word was pronounced, and die he did sure enough, but he soon came to life again with the help of a magical wooden pestle of which he was the lucky possessor.

### SALT AS TABOO

Prohibitions against the use of salt are instructive for the theory of taboo. Certain professions and persons in certain states, are forbidden to use salt, as they are forbidden other critical substances.

Among the Indians of Peru, the parents of twins had to fast for many days after the birth, abstaining from salt and pepper.

Abstinence from salt is sometimes prescribed as in the case of mourners among several Indian races who may not eat salt for five days after a death.

Mourners may eat no salt among Africans, and other peoples also. Priests and medicine men (eg. Egyptians, Central and South Americans) may eat no salt throughout their lives. The salt taboo of the Egyptian priesthood is especially emphasized. When travelling the Central African might not use salt. If

he did and his wives not behaving well the salt would act as a corrosive poison."

During the ceremonies of first fruits among the Yuchi Indians of California continence and abstinence from salt are ordered, as is also the case after a solemn communion with a god by the Huchol Indians. No salt may be used in cooking the flesh of the beast or any food at the Gilyak Bear Festival. Some Davaks after taking herbs may not eat salt or touch iron, or have intercourse with women. Baganda fishermen have the same combined taboo. In India rituals the young student, after being brought to his teacher and the newly married pair must abstain from salted food for three days.

As with other trades sacredness has attached to salt mining. In Laos salt miners observe continence and other taboos. In ancient Germany salt working was a sacred business.

By certain tribes of Central Angoniland abstinence from salt is somehow associated with the idea of chastity.

Should a party of villagers have gone to make salt all sexual intercourse is forbidden among the people of the village, until the people who have gone to make the salt (from grass) return. When they do come back they must make their entry into the village at night, and no one must see them. Then one of the elders of the village sleeps with his wife. She then cooks some relish into which she puts some of the salt. This relish is handed round to the people who went to make the salt, who rub it on their feet and under their armpits.

#### SALT AND WOMEN

In certain parts of Angoniland a woman during her monthly sickness must on no account put salt into any food she is cooking, lest she give her husband or children a disease (*tsempo*) but calls a child to put it in or pours in the salt by placing it on her knee, because there is no child handy.

In Syria to this day a woman who has her courses on her may neither salt nor pickle for the people think that whatever she pickled or salted would not keep.

#### SALT AND SABBATH

Salting food or vegetables is considered one of the principal labours which are forbidden on the Sabbath. To dissolve salt in water is also considered work, consequently

one may not prepare a quantity of salt water on the Sabbath. Salt may not be pounded in a mortar on that day, but it may be crushed with the handle of a knife.

#### IN LITERATURE

Besides the common ailment 'salt' means wit, piquancy, pungency, sarcasm. The term 'salted' is applied to a man in the sense of 'quick-minded'.

The 'salt of money' is charity. The 'salt of youth' is that vigour and strong passion which then predominates. To be 'worth one's salt'—to be worthy of one's hire or of the lowest possible wages, in a depreciatory sense, as implying that one is not worth his food but only the salt that he eats with it, generally in the negative form, as 'he is not worth his salt'.

To sit above (or below) the salt. Formerly the family *saler* (salt cellar) was of massive silver, and placed in the middle of the table. Persons of distinction sat *above* the *saler*—i.e., between it and the head of the table. Dependents and inferior guests sat *below*.

True to his salt—Faithful to his employers.

To salt an invoice—is to put the extreme value upon each article, and even something more to give it piquancy and raise its market value.

To lay salt on the tail of—to catch or apprehend. The phrase is based on the direction given to small children to lay salt on a bird's tail if they want to catch it.

To salt a mine—secretly to place minerals in a mine so as to deceive purchasers regarding the minerals naturally in the mine.

To salt away (colloquially)—to save or invest safely, as money.

To take with a grain of salt—to accept or believe with some reserve or allowance.

#### SALT AS SYMBOL

Salt has been variously used as the symbol of wisdom, of perpetuity and incorruption of hospitality and of that fidelity which is due from servants, friends, guests and domestics to those that entertain them.

Salt preserves the human body from worms so the righteous save society from corruption.

Salt is the staff of life, and yet the symbol of sterility.

It remained for Mahatma Gandhi, however, to employ salt as the symbol of *freedom*.

hands that seemed to have power to enrich and console mankind all these seemed to harmonize and explain the Bengal rose trees growing superbly on each side of this regal pathway

How noble and lavish he is this sage talking to himself enigmatic yet hospid as the silver sea

And now today Tagore offers for our admiration this immense collection of his dreams of which he has said already in the famous stanzas I understand the voice of the stars and the silence of the trees One day I will meet outside of the body the joy that dwells behind the screen of light. Words of fire that light up the whole future This man gives himself time to become clearly acquainted with himself Suddenly he knows and then again he doubts This magician who with raised hands and without fear of failure would have tried to calm a tempest, and who affirms to have healed by his own will power the mortal sting of a scorpion is timid in front of his own creations to which each of us can bear witness Naturally one praises him but he doubts hesitates and smiles

While he composed his books that are mixed up with the invisible stars the imaginative pictures of the Poet accumulated round him like a dancing multitude unrecognized by his reason They came from all parts of the world to attack his serene isle Socrates taught the famous formula "Know thyself And certainly I daughter of Greece do not deny this august recommendation which invites intelligence to observe itself to maintain itself logically and to dismiss from itself fantastic phantoms But there is more than one command for the spirit Tagore has lawfully disregarded this axiom he is a law unto himself He has consented to materialize the elements of which his dreams are formed and a prodigious work both numerous and varied is suddenly prescoted to us Here are disclosed his intimate inhabitants his secret visions—a most surprising multitude Let us praise the inspiration that has brought forth new and unexpected fruit from the ancient deep-rooted tree

It would be enthralling to know how Tagore intelligent dreamer has been led to these striking creations which charm the eyes and make one travel in countries where imaginary things are more true than the real

With his beautiful hand colour of a pale wood pigeon he wrote his poems and in the margin of the manuscript as one suddenly drunken by an ineffable elixir he is led far from the tight and rigorous labour, and delivered to the indomitable forces of the imagination He sketched roughly, and then developed and perfected the treasures of the sub-conscious obedient pupil to a celestial guide For this reason he who possesses the gift of tears and weeps without knowing the cause of his grief will feel the mysterious dew form on his face from some unexplained source a lace seen only by angels

Tagore's paintings which at first seem dreamy and vague like the entrance of the spirit into sleep become clearer through their remarkable execution and one is stupefied in front of this learned embryo genius which reveals itself by the details as well as by amplitude The patch of shadow the snowy white the reds greens and violets come out of the limbo and reconstitute a living universe Tagore whose charming songs have murmured to us so many subtle affirmations delivers now to us the mystery of the multitude of man of abundant hereditary influence flocking together at the feet of phantoms with the laughs of demons

We read in William James We do not possess the key of our own reservoirs' Certainly this sigh contains more of truth than regret

Why should Tagore the great mystic intoxicated with love deliver himself suddenly and unknown to himself to that which in him mocks bunters and even despises? However it is certain that beauty plays the largest part in the drawings and colourings of the Poet What noble faces and proud attitudes the grace of the water world and that profound blue night where happy lovers of Shakespeare transport us into so solid a paradise that banishes all idea of death But how not to dread these powerful and sensual profiles like those Cervantes has described? How not to feel uneasy before these Satanic masks thin red and pale and seen at an angle sharp as a knife and seeming to incarnate trickery and treachery? It is charming after these to balance cleverly obtained of two pigeons And how fascinating and cothralling in its





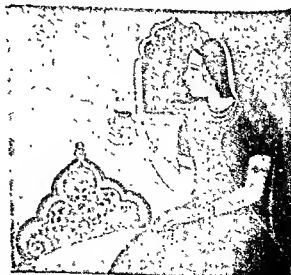
Grandmother—Jyotirindra Krishna Ray



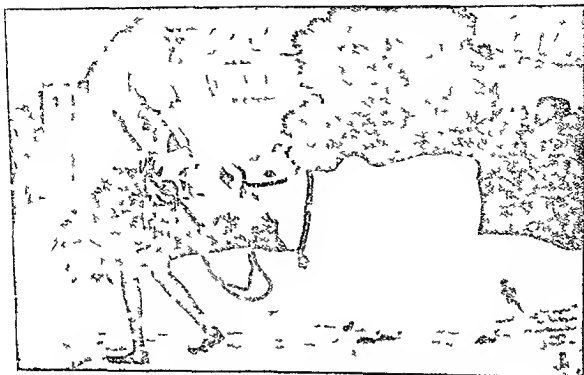
“Jakh”—Nanigopal Das-Gupta



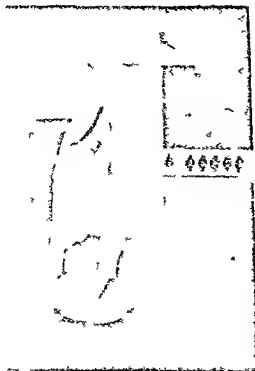
Rajputni—Indu Rakshit



The Lamp—Atmananda Sinha



The Return—1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.





### What is Wrong with the Muslims ?

This is the question which Maulvi Abdul Hamid asks and tries to answer in an article contributed to *The Scholar*. "The growth of democratic institutions in this country," he says, "raises the question of the future of the Muslims in India with regard to a voice and a vote in public affairs. Economic and educational development is the only qualification for the exercise of equal rights. He, therefore, proposes a searching enquiry into the structure and basis of Muslim society. He says

"I ask, broadly, the reason why Muslim people all over the world have made no progress for centuries together is their failure to profit by the liberalising influences released by the European Renaissance whose distinctive contribution to the progress of knowledge has been the inductive method. Though this method was not unknown to the early Muslims, the growth of Empires and the dependence on the priestly class soon replaced that by the more tempting Deductive method. The Quran was advanced as the last authority from which everything of value to mankind was to be deduced. The result has been that Muslim education to day is completely medieval and is at least five centuries behind time. We then as can be seen from the antiquated methods followed in Muslim theological schools. The system of modern education was introduced in India nearly a century ago. Yet the grip of the Mullas is still so viciously powerful that the ordinary man has hardly profited by it.

True religion rightly concerns itself with providing rich content for the yearning of the human soul. More claims have been made by misguided enthusiasts for organised religion than religion has made for itself. When as has been done in Islam misguided fanatics claim the right of religion to dictate in matters of daily life the result always is deterioration in human efficiency. Next to the great mistake of abandoning the inductive method is the abominable curse of the priestly influence in Islam which has corrupted to the very roots the purity of the original message. Let us fervently pray to God to deliver us from the influence of false priests and intolerable Mullas. Let us try to reconvert that cold spirit which led Muslims to wander all over the world to investigate and explore new fields of knowledge.

One of the chief of civilization is the attitude of society towards its women. In Muslim countries for centuries together a peculiar viewpoint has somehow come to prevail. Under the guise of religious sanction Muslims have secluded their women with the result that their education has been sadly

neglected. Fundamentally wrong notions of love and sex dominate the Muslim society to day. Among the causes of Muslim decline one of the most powerful is their contempt for women which has made it impossible for them to develop their moral and intellectual personality. In a free society man has to exert himself to acquire the qualities that readily appeal to women in order to win her devotion and keep it. The absence of this powerful stimulus in Muslim society may be said to be a very efficient cause of the decline in the physical, intellectual and moral strength of the people because woman is easily acquired and easily kept. We have been blind to the law of propagation of species which has endowed the female with a very fine discriminative faculty for selecting that male who seems to her best capable of being the father of her children. The coercive marriage customs of several centuries have gone against the grain of woman's nature, doctored her judgment, degraded her ideals, stunted her growth and reduced her to the position of a parasite in society.

The Muslims have been the victims for generations of several kinds of tyranny. There has been on one side the tyranny of the priests and the Mullas over the ordinary men and women there has been the tyranny of men over the women and the tyranny of the parents over the children. The time has come for every responsible man and woman to wake up to the need of shaking off these several tyrannies and effecting complete emancipation.

Among the lesser evils easily noted in Muslim society to day are hypocrisy, and cant, faction and unbrotherliness, irresponsibility to children, love of display and various degrees of unbecoming selfishness. The spirit of unity which was the strong point of the Faith with the early Muslims appears to have wholly or partly departed from their midst to be resurrected only in moments of acute crises.

### The Value of the Simon Report

In view of the absurd amount of uncritical praise which has been bestowed upon the Simon Report even by persons who do not agree with its recommendations it is instructive to read the following estimate of its value by Sir P. Sivaswamy Aiyer in *Trueness*.

Owing to persistent propaganda, a large volume of public opinion has been created in Britain in favour of the Report. It has been vigorously supported by the Press and it has been held out as one of the most masterly reports ever submitted by a Royal Commission and as a historic State document. Even in moderate circles in England

This question needs to be faced squarely and discussed frankly. In the past India has been much to blame for fostering those superior mainly white races about which one hears murmurs. When the writer arrived in India as a young man eager to study and understand its peoples he noticed all sorts of customs which struck his Western democratised mind as passing strange. In a small and very pleasant station of the U.P. a mounted villager would dismount lead his horse by him and then remount! People even used to put down their umbrellas, when passing! He was addressed not politely but cravenly as 'Your Honour Maharaj' and equally unwelcome flattering titles quite unknown in the West, but too well known out here. If he went to buy a railway ticket, the babu showed a curious inclination to attend to him first, out of his turn and could not understand why he should wish to be attended to in the proper order of arrival! Young Britishers now a-days are essentially democratic, they never ask for such flattering attentions and they do not want them. But when these servile attentions are thrust upon them year after wherever they move is it any wonder they come to accept them?

### Jute Cultivators In Bengal

The editor of *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* has the following suggestion *a propos* of the Jute situation in Bengal

Reports from Bengal have recently shown that jute cultivators in that Presidency have been hit hard by the slump in prices of jute caused by the abnormally large crops and the restricted world demand. It is stated that while the cost of cultivation is Rs 8 per maund, the price realized is barely Rs 3. Government has been appealed to to come to the rescue of the cultivators and assist them by purchasing the excess over the requirements and release it for marketing in the next season when it is proposed to restrict the area of production. We do expect Government to give this much needed assistance at this particular juncture but the permanent solution must come from the jute producers own organization. What is necessary is orderly marketing which comes in the wake of co-operative sale societies. An organization does exist in Bengal known as the Co-operative Wholesale but its dimensions are as yet small. The Co-operative Department must now play a larger part than hitherto in this business. Some arrangement will have also to be made to keep the jute growers constantly informed of the world's jute requirements so that they may restrict or extend the area according to needs.

### Universities and Industrial Research

Sir S. M. Sulaiman pointed out the duties of a University with regard to the industrial development of a country in his convocation address before the University of Dacca

which has been published in *The Educational Review*

We expect the Universities to regulate and to expedite the general progress of the country. Without money, labour and time spent on research work discoveries of industrial utility cannot be expected, nor can there be any hope of a real improvement in the economic life of the country. No nation can without scientific discoveries to its credit, take its fair place among the great nations of the world. Its economic condition cannot be in advance of its industrial development, or its industrial development in advance of its scientific thought.

Abstract knowledge for its own sake is not the exclusive object of a university. All sciences and arts vocational as well as in industrial training come within its comprehensive fold. The universities should recognise their responsibility for the material advance of the country and take practical steps to bring University life more and more into touch with the independent professions, the services and the great industries of the country, by co-ordinating and harmonising their teaching with the higher grades of industrial and to technical training. The general atmosphere of University life will be invigorated if brought into living contact with practical problems, and the University will enhance its reputation for utility in public estimation. In many advanced countries the experiment of a close co-operation between the Universities and the great industries has been tried with success. The application of scientific research to industrial development is the highest gift which a university can bestow upon the country.

### The Finance Member's Speech

*The Khalsa Review* has the following editorial note on the recent statement of Sir George Schuster before the Legislative Assembly

Sir George Schuster has spoken but has suggested no remedies. He lays a great deal of stress on disturbed conditions but he admits that the fall in prices is a world wide phenomena and not confined to India alone. He does not say what steps have been taken to secure an adequate and stable currency in India. Could he honestly say that if he had been holding the financial portfolio in a British Cabinet as Chancellor of the Exchequer he would have been content with a bare review without suggesting some ways and means for meeting the situation? That is where the difference lies between constructive statesmanship and trusteeship. He does not say what steps have been taken to discover if India has an adequate currency serving as a measure of unit of labour in keeping with similar measures in other countries of the world in trade relation with India. His pleadings would then have had some justification that his taking away nearly 88 crores from currency have had little effect on internal currency and that

restriction of credit by raising the interest has had no adverse effect. As it is his claim that his operations have had no injurious effect on prices sounds like new wisdom coined specially for India. Morey is the measure of labour and as such agricultural labourer must get some return in money for his labour as workers in other fields from whom he has to purchase his requirements. He would be content if he could enjoy in peace the home produce contemplated by world's shop widows. The Finance Member must admit that he has been more concerned with the stability of exchange than that of maintaining a stable price level in the country. There is just one bright spot in his speech—the mention of a Central Bank. Let the Finance Member establish a Federal Central Bank with Provincial Banks to support it, and he would have done something to give India a position in the financial world. The Legislative Assembly never committed a greater blunder than the rejection of Sir Basil Blackett's scheme. Will Sir George Schuster revive the scheme and put it through? Whatever world financiers may say they are only aware of economic links which now bind the world but they have not yet knowledge or power enough to control currencies of various countries and keep them on a common level till this coming of this event. The first duty of our Finance Member is to provide a stable and an adequate internal currency and to help the country to be self-sufficient in the matter of its requirements. No country importing all its requirements except food can remain in trade relation with modern industrialized countries of the world without feeling the effects of this irrational arrangement. The Finance Member complained of disturbed conditions. The remedy lies with him to win the approval of country and the town by raising India to a position of economic equality by giving her an adequate stable internal currency by the organization of her resources and by protecting her new industries. It was rightly remarked by some body that the protection was more a matter of expediency than of principle.

### This Women of Persia

The All Asian Women's Conference is to be held in Lahore from the 23rd to the 30th January 1931. Invitations have been sent on its behalf to the various women's organizations in all Asiatic countries. Masoor E. Afshar the Secretary of one of these, The Society of the Patriotic Women of Persia has written a letter to the Secretary of the Conference in which she describes the condition of Persian women. The letter from which the following extracts are taken is published in full in *Stri dharma*.

The gl. His Imperial Majesty the Shah has granted us the permission to go about unveiled

and Persian women can accompany their husbands to theatres and cinemas as well as to balls and like gatherings. It is a matter of great regret that I have to record here the fact of all lack of concern displayed by Persian women regarding domestic reforms despite their ardour to imitate the latest Paris fashions and it is therefore that they are not particular about either social or civil rights and privileges of their own. It is only owing to the rare activity, energy and best endeavours of a very small number of our women in the country that the attention of different associations in Europe and Asia, has been drawn towards us and had it not been for the strong power of endurance and resistance as displayed by the members of our society here in connection with the promotion of our avowed aims and objects we could hardly have witnessed the relations now being established with the outside world and I earnestly hope that all our ills and misfortunes will be well surmounted and obviated through the help and co-operation of our sisters so deeply concerned in the welfare of our sex.

I trust you are well aware of the fact of a Conference of eastern women having been convened at Damascus in Syria under the presidency of Hoori Khanoom Hanadeh Beg this year when delegates from Persia, Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Palestine and Iraq were present, and we were represented by Kodjeh Khanoom Ashraf who is busy prosecuting higher studies at Beyrouth. The said Conference has proved to us that so long as we Muslim women fail to own human rights and privileges we shall never succeed in having our way to the path of progress and advancement and no salvation concerning our actual thralldom is possible. We were therefore compelled to unfold all ugly facts as to our domestic organization and begged of this Conference to pass Resolutions with reference to the following questions—(1) The determination of the marriageable age of girls to 16 and not under. (2) The abolition of polygamy. (3) Fundamental modification in the law of divorce with the view of protecting the rights of women and their issues on lines in vogue in advanced countries of Europe and America, and we urged the submission of these demands to the Governments of such different countries as were represented at the said conference in shape of a general circular and I wrote a due article in this connection on the subject of temporary wives and had it published in the *Shafak e Sorik*, a well known local journal. You will be surprised to learn that none could till now venture to discuss these subjects in public and though I sought the help and co-operation of ladies and gentlemen in these matters none has till now expressed himself or herself in agreement with me.

As to the women of Turkestan I have no definite news about them since the Bolshevik regime. Before the Bolshevik upheaval women in Trans-Caucasia had organizations of their own and those of Kazan were remarkable. Most of the educated Kazan women and girls I came across had sane and enlightened ideas.

# FOR THE PERIODICALS

## Far Eastern Enquiry into the Traffic in Women and Children

The enquiry carried out by a League Commission into this subject in Europe and America has already been published in a sensational report. A new enquiry has been undertaken by the League for Asiatic countries. Its scope and objects are described in the League of Nations News for Oceania.

### TERRITORIES TO BE VISITED

The League of Nations has set on foot the enquiry into the traffic in women and children in the East dictated upon by the last Assembly. Three travelling Commissioners appointed by the Council—Mr. Broom Johnson, Mr. Charles Purdy and Madame Aimé Sandquist—are proceeding to Syria, French Indian establishments in China, the chief Chinese towns and ports, Palestine, Iraq, India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, the Federated and unfederated Malay States, Hongkong, Micronesia, Japan, Siam, the Philippines, Persia, India, Goa and Timor and the Netherlands East Indies.

### WEST AND EAST

At a meeting of the Committee of Enquiry on the Traffic in Women and Children in the East which met at Geneva simultaneously with the Travelling Commissioners to make the final arrangements, the profound difference of mentality between East and West in these matters and even between different eastern countries was emphasized. In China, for example, parents are known to sell their children, particularly girls. Again, as in the Devadasi prostitution, is practised in connection with certain religious rites. These customs which are of a purely national or even local character cannot, of course, be included in any enquiry concerned with the international traffic.

### SCOPE OF THE ENQUIRY

In general, the enquiry is to be strictly limited to the international aspect of the question, but as it is difficult to separate this from the national traffic, the Committee's investigators may, with the previous consent of the authorities of the countries concerned, study such social, economic, legislative or administrative aspects of the traffic which, although national in character, contribute to the development of the international traffic.

The Committee examined data from the countries and territories to be visited, and the representatives of these countries who attended the meeting gave further details in the course of the discussion.

Particular note was taken of information on the activities of national organizations engaged in combating the traffic in Eastern countries. The enthusiasm and disinterested support of these organizations may be one of the most powerful factors in rousing public opinion in these countries. The position of children in the East formed the subject of special consideration.

### MISSION OF THE ENQUIRY

By the Council's resolution, the investigators are authorized to obtain information from both official and unofficial sources, though even when using the latter they shall keep in close touch with the official representatives. Representatives of the various Governments, particularly those with Eastern possessions, pointed out the danger which might be involved in the East by certain methods used in the previous enquiry into the traffic in Europe, the Mediterranean Basin and Africa. If the Committee of Enquiry felt that it should employ an agent to obtain secret information, it ought to reach an agreement with the official representative of the country visited and obtain his consent beforehand.

The enquiry is the second stage in the League's investigation of this subject, and is made possible by the help of a contribution of \$ 12,000 from the American Bureau of Social Hygiene.

## Was the Kaiser Mad?

Those who have read Emil Ludwig's *William II* know how he finds the key to the character and personality of his hero in the latter's defective arm. An exaggerated, almost pathological consciousness of this physical defect led William II to the opposite extreme of bravado. This theory may, or again may not be true. But the doubt which always haunted contemporary observers, both German and foreign, was whether this exuberant personality was at all well-ordered in all its faculties. This doubt was expressed by Lord Morley as far back as the nineties of the last century, and the subject occurs again in the memoirs of Prince Von Bülow, now being published serially in *L'Illustration*. After referring to an almost hysterically indiscreet and boastful letter of William II to himself, Prince Von Bülow writes

After reading this letter I understood why twice since I had become Minister of Foreign Affairs Prince Von Hohenlohe asked me in all seriousness whether I considered William II as a man of quite normal mental faculties. Once already, he had had the misfortune of being the minister of a mad king and he had no wish that this should happen to him for a second time. As I was related to his family and to him for a long time he insisted upon my telling him the whole truth. Without hesitation I gave him the reply which I would give even today. No. William II is not mad; the analogy with Ludwig II is false in the first place because the king of Bavaria was abnormal from the point of view of sex and besides alcoholic and misanthropic in the highest degree. Our Emperor is absolutely normal from the physical and wholly sane and a model from the moral point of view. But he is neurosthenic and it is from this that his vacillations between extreme pessimism and an exaggerated optimism spring. In contrast with his father grandfather and ancestors our young sovereign is inclined towards vanity a defect common enough in princes for centuries, even thousands of years but very dangerous. This vanity gives rise to a kind of boastfulness which is politically deplorable and causes antipathy. This boastfulness springs also in part from a desire to hide a want of confidence a weakness which is more common with him than is generally believed to be the case. At the bottom of his nature lies fear and not courage. And last of all he is absolutely without tact and that is an innate gift which can never be taught. After having replied to your grave question in all frankness and with the least reserve I believe I am warranted in believing in my heart and conscience that William II is not mad, and as far as things can be foreseen will never be afflicted with mental alienation." The Prince kept silent for a fairly long time. Then he wrote again "Alienated or not, there are many shades between the two." In any case our young master more than any other sovereign, has need for wise and able counsellors.

### Economics and Foreign Affairs

Any one who is interested enough in politics to try to think out one of the vexed problems of the day by himself soon finds to his discomfiture that he can make no progress unless he knows a good deal about the new and difficult science or as some people would prefer to call it the pseudo-science, of economics. This has been recognized on all hands in domestic politics. Now comes Sir Josiah Stamp and tells us that its importance is as great in foreign politics. His extremely interesting address at a luncheon given by the Academy of Political Science, New York, from which the extracts quoted below are taken, is published in full in the *Political Science Quarterly*.

When we look at politics today however we find that at bottom practically all political questions are economic and now we are coming to the point where we can perceive that most economic questions have to be handled if we are to get to the root of them by severe statistical methods.

I went some years ago into an embassy—you will readily identify it if I add that I have forgotten the country it was in and I must not say the country it was in and the time is unspecified—but anyway a member of the embassy looked up from his papers and said in a rather dour tone of voice, "This diplomacy business has all gone to the dogs. When I was trained for it I thought I knew my job I knew the history of these people and their politics and their balance of power and all that business. But now what do we have to do? We are given all this black magic of finance and economics and currency. Here I am asked to say whether I think this government is going to get hold of the currency successfully or whether they will get thrown out in the process because that will make a difference in their foreign relations I really don't know the top from the bottom of the subject. I was never trained in this filthy science." He was quite petulant about it. But he did express a very great truth. He did bring out the point that the problems of international relations today are in their most difficult aspects mainly financial.

The other aspects are still with us but very successful provision has been made for dealing with them on a large scale on an institutional or organizational basis. We have a World Court which is ready to handle problems and disputes about international law boundaries and the like. We have the representatives of the nations meeting at Geneva regularly for common action and common discussion and we are able to bring together quite quickly as quickly at any rate as diplomatic action will allow special conferences to deal with major problems like naval and military disarmament. So most of the elements of difficulty in international relations have been provided for.

There is however at present no organization for dealing systematically and scientifically with the financial strains that come upon the world's economic and social organism and we have not even improvised one yet except for something that I shall refer to at the end of my remarks. If these economic questions are to be dealt with in the same spirit, in the same way as the other new qualities of thinking are wanted on the part of those who take part in international discussions who regulate international relationships and particularly those who interpret them through the press and otherwise to the people,

### Dark Hours in England

M. André Siegfried the well known French Economist and historian, contributes to the *Pitt Rivers* a penetrating article (a translation of which appeared in the *Nation and Athenaeum*) on the present outlook for England.

At present England is going through the darkest hours she has known since the war. It is no insult to a noble and energetic people if we remark upon the grave anxiety which it is experiencing in face of unforeseen circumstances. For nearly ten years the English have been in a critical position several times they have thought that they were emerging and never have they doubted that they would emerge. But now a new storm is descending upon them while the old one is still flowing. Is unemployment again going to increase? (It has already begun to do so.) Are exports again going to diminish? Will there be a further weakening in British influence upon international affairs? The constant raising of these questions betokens an atmosphere of acute anxiety. Can it be that a people which has never lost confidence in itself is beginning to mistrust the future?

In the nineteenth century the world was dominated by the English economic system and the English grew used to being the economic directors of our planet. They believed that this situation would last forever. Even after the war in the crisis of 1921 it was universally believed in England that the tension was temporary. All that seemed necessary was for international economic life to recover its balance and then in the natural course of events England would be bound to recover her proper preponderance. In this way England sought for the causes of her troubles in the outside world and never dreamed that the real weakness might be in herself.

The general strike seems to have opened the eyes of the more wary. After this terrible adventure some people perceived that the economic conditions of the nineteenth century so perfectly arranged for the advantage of Great Britain could probably never recur. The more sagacious realized that some foreign markets which were thought to be lost temporarily might indeed be lost for good. A mere return to pre-war conditions was therefore inadequate as a programme. It became necessary to accept the world as it now is—to admit in fact, that this is the twentieth century with the United States a first rate power with the Far East in rebellion against European domination and with the Dominions children only yesterday grown up and possessing a life of their own. From this moment England began to wake up and now she can no longer shut her eyes to the possible disappearance of her belief in her own economic supremacy. Consequently the English feel that they are faced with a grave crisis but it is in their morale that they are suffering even more than in material ways. At least such is my impression. And as a result they are in danger of giving way to a pessimism unjustified by the circumstances.

The student of nineteenth century English history can easily trace the first signs of the present troubles about the year 1880. It was then that serious competition began whereas English industry had previously had the field practically to itself. This is made quite clear by an examination of the crisis of 1880. At that difficult moment we see England setting to sleep upon her past successes just when she should have made an effort to pull herself together. This was the time when English manufacturers and tradesmen began

to work less hard. They came late to the Office and went away on Friday night for the week-end and came back only on Monday afternoons. Instead of keeping up with the late technical improvements they pretended that success depends upon character rather than upon knowledge and technique. Between 1880 and 1890 England began to lose her dominating position in the market for metal manufactures every where she was confronted with German competition. She protested as if this was an injustice. Made in Germany she cried as if she was shocked. About 1900 she was reassured perhaps mistakenly by a brilliant economic recovery. But the crisis of 1921 was no ephemeral trouble suddenly appearing but the result of a process which in fact had begun nearly half a century earlier. And this is the real danger of the present situation.

What is required therefore is not to change a world which cannot be changed but to try to revive economic conditions which have been dead for thirty years but to adapt the country to modern conditions of international competition. Rationalization? Of course. But this is not easy when you are not ten but fifty years behind the times. It is difficult, above all when you are used to making money easily without much work or knowledge, when you have lived on a traditional belief that British prestige is in itself enough. It entails a whole reformation including a policy in education in the national philosophy of life, in intellectual industrial and technical equipment. And it must be confessed that the country is ill prepared by its past for such an undertaking.

Hence the extreme confusion which reigns. To reconquer the export markets English goods must again be the cheapest obtainable. But prices are no longer determined merely by the possession of coal fields. Mass production is necessary and for this America is better situated than the little British Isles. Moreover labour must be labour which is productive. There would be no objection to high wages in England if there were a corresponding productiveness but there is not. Above all, what is required is an economic organization unburdened by fiscal and other charges, a state without a million and a half unemployed to support.

In a word England hesitates when faced with the brutal measures which might make a partial recovery possible. She keeps her unemployed and feeds them. She also keeps to a great extent her old ways and her old attitude. The old free-trade spirit which marked her so deeply in the nineteenth century is growing weaker every day. Unable to maintain her position in the world England is sliding gently but undeniably towards protection as a solution. Like everyone else she thinks of sheltering behind a wall. Since we cannot keep foreign markets let us use our privileges and make sure at least of the home market and the colonial markets. Let us like other people keep poachers off our preserves. This is the feeling behind a mass of controversial articles and speeches; there are a hundred such every day. Lord Beaverbrook's campaign in favour of Empire free trade merely means protection.

Examined carefully the proposal means giving up the whole Liberal tradition of a nineteenth-century England. It is a proposal put forward in



a country which has lost its self-confidence To study this question I have come to London for a month. Need I add that I am rather impressed by the prevalent pessimism? It reminds me of the confusion which reigned among us in France in the years 1914-1926. We have emerged from it. And so will England but perhaps she will leave behind parts of her old economic structure. Let us study the matter systematically for the two countries are more dependent upon each other than we sometimes think

### British Policy in Palestine

The Mandates Commission of the League of Nations held an extraordinary session to enquire into the events in Palestine of August, 1929, and presented its report to the Council. In it the policy of the Mandatory Power that is to say Great Britain comes in for a good deal of criticism. The criticism as well as the replies of the British Government are published in *The Monthly Summary of the League of Nations*.

The Mandates Commission considers that the Mandatory Power has by its general policy since the Mandate came into force, not always done everything possible to prevent the explosion of the antagonisms known to exist and to lessen their violence. The task is exceedingly delicate and difficult, and consists essentially in, on the one hand social and economic problems raised by Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine and on the other of the political problems arising out of the obligation to develop self governing institutions in a country divided against itself. The Commission suggests that the Palestine Government has not been sufficiently active in developing the country economically and believes that had such a policy been adopted and pressed energetically the result of general economic development would have been to develop a sense of solidarity between Jews and Arabs and to blunt the edge of antagonism by giving all elements of the population the feeling that the new regime was contributing to their welfare. Up to the present, the institutions concerned with economic development have been established entirely on the initiative of the Jewish organization and naturally in the interests of the Jewish population alone. The Mandatory might be well advised to contribute capital to industrial, agricultural and commercial concerns and to provide common vocational training for the youth of both communities as far as possible. In general the Commission believes that a more active policy on the part of the Mandatory and a firmer and more constant determination on the part of all its representatives in Palestine to carry out the Mandate in all its provisions would probably have diminished the force of the racial antagonisms from which the country suffers.

On this, the British Government comments that its task is not only to promote conditions securing the establishment of the Jewish National

Home and the development of self governing institutions but that it is also bound to safeguard "the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine irrespective of race or religion." The last obligation is the core of the problem and its bearing upon the problem of how to execute the other two is largely ignored by the Mandates Commission. The Commission admits that Arab resentment was ultimately due to their political disappointments but suggests that this may be met by economic measures. This fails to take account of the paramount importance hitherto attached by the Arab leaders to the political issue and ignores the fact that the demands of the Arabs have always been for a particular form of representative institutions which would be plainly incompatible with the execution of the Mandate.

As to the charge that the Mandatory Power has neglected agricultural and other development in the interests of the Arab and the general thesis that a proper development policy would have so increased the general prosperity and contentment of the population as to reconcile all parts of the community the British Government observes that such a view assumes the existence of practically unlimited funds at the disposal of the Palestine Government. Its resources are on the contrary strictly limited. The view further implies a fundamental misconception of the British Government's general policy with regard to territories for which it is responsible. This policy which is justified by long experience is that such territories must be emancipated as soon as possible from dependence upon grants-in-aid from the British Exchequer. If a territory is to be developed on a sound economic basis it must be developed on a self supporting basis. Since 1921 the British Government has contributed more than nine million pounds sterling to Palestine exclusive of guaranteeing a loan of £1,500,000. The policy of development is made more difficult by having to take account of the interests of both Jews and Arabs. The Commission ignores what has been done by the Mandatory for agriculture, education, communications, health, sanitation, land tenure etc. In an annex to its reply the British Government gives some details of its activities in these respects.

### An American Comment on the Breakdown of the 'Peace' Negotiations

For us in India, the 'peace negotiations have no longer even a retrospect interest. But foreign comment on the topic is useful as showing the trend of opinion. "Gandhi asking for the moon" is the comment of one American paper. Not all Americans are of course of this opinion. As the following editorial in *The New Republic* shows competent American opinion is under no delusion about the real questions at issue.

In declining to accede to Mahatma Gandhi's conditions for a cessation of passive resistance the British government has assumed the responsibility for continuing the struggle against Indian national

ism for an indefinite and probably bitter future. The Otoler Round Table Conference now seems doomed to failure. The chief demand was for a government responsible only to the people of India with a right to secede at any time from the British Empire. This sounds extreme but it was essentially a demand for a share of British good faith on which a genuine dominion government might be built. Britain would not want it under a law that she holds ray of the self-governing dominions against its will. The belief that she is determined to do so would make cordial relations with any of them impossible. Indians are profoundly suspicious of the British government's intentions and a declaration of this sort is essential to allay the suspicion which stands in the way of a free discussion of the India problem. In the present situation it is the intangible considerations which are important and what is wanted is an act of faith on the part of Britain rather than too detailed a consideration of the future type of Indian government.

Other stipulations of the Indian Nationalists were subordinate to the main conditions. They demanded not only full economic control but control of the defence force. This is an essential corollary of the substance of independence since British command of the air in India is incompatible with self-government. British claims and concessions which seem to the Indians unjust, including the Indian public debt the Nationalists wanted to refer to an independent tribunal. This is essentially an appeal to arbitration to which it would be difficult to object. Political prisoners not found guilty of violence they wanted released; their convicted supporters restored and any fines paid refunded. Village officers who have resigned and were dismissed on account of passive resistance they wanted reinstated. All special ordinances were to be repealed. The Viceroy's reply dismissed the conditions as impossible and of no value to the peace movement. He was willing only to withdraw the restrictive ordinances if the Nationalist campaign were called off but would not guarantee the release of political prisoners. This is not even an offer to restore the status quo which existed when the non-cooperation movement started, and indicates the complete failure of the authorities to make any concessions.

### Indian Unrest and Indian Art

Mr. E. B. Havell opens up a new line of approach to Indian unrest in *Indian Affairs*. It is due in a great measure, he says, to the deliberate discouragement of indigenous art traditions by the bureaucratic rulers of India.

We may be satisfied that the sum of our achievements in India is far greater than that of our failures. But that does not explain Indian unrest or lessen it. A cause of irritation which seems trivial to us may rankle in the Indian subconsciousness even more than India herself can express. Artistic blundering is certainly not one of the major grievances of the Indian nationalist, perhaps from a consciousness of his own share in the degradation

of Indian art. But a living popular or national tradition of art is the expression of the people's mind and if from indifference or a lack of understanding we refuse its free development we are sitting on the safe but false of national life and provoking an explosion. We are diverting the creative and productive faculties which find their satisfaction and contentment in art into non-productive or dissipated channels which only convey dissatisfaction and unrest. And this is exactly what departmentalism has been doing and is still doing to art in India. All former rulers of India have appropriated Indian art and made it their own. Thus every new chapter of Indian history before British rule began was illuminated with a new series of pictures of national life, ever varied and ever beautiful. There was no valid reason why the same static pageant of art should not have continued its progress under British rule. The craftsmen were there and are still there. Their skill was as great as it had ever been. They had the same capacity as their ancestors for adapting their art traditions to new needs and new ideals. With sensible guidance they were just as capable of giving expression in terms of art to the ideals of British government, its sobriety, sanity and efficiency as their forefathers had been in expressing the extravagance and luxury of their Muslim rulers. They would have made Christian churches as beautiful as Mohammedan mosques. The craftsmanship of our public buildings might have been as fine as Shah Jahan's without imitating his reckless expenditure. The so-called Mogul style of architecture would by the natural law of artistic evolution have been changed by now into a no less beautiful British Indian style and this with a great saving to the public exchequer for the pretext of economy by which the philistine tries to justify his artistic failures is always shallow and insincere. A living art always changes with the times. If economy is practised it becomes economical. The decay of art connotes moral and material decline whatever official blue-books may prove.

### What India Represents—A Missionary View

The Rev. John Mackenzie contributes to *The International Review of Missions* a survey of the present situation in India. In course of this survey he recounts the grievances which Indians most resent.

Let it be remembered first of all that the people of India do not endure with equanimity what they consider the stigma of being regarded as a subject people. It is curious that so many British people should find this difficult to understand and that there should be so much surprise that the benefits of British rule are not more fully appreciated. Is it not just what we should expect in a people of high intelligence and keen sensitiveness moving towards freedom but not yet free that they should resent the very existence of the last vestiges of foreign domination however benevolent? Have we in the West become so secure in the enjoyment of independence that we are incapable of entering imaginatively into the feelings of an Indian in

## Obstacles to American Trade in India and the Remedy

By M. S.

**T**HE present intense wave of nationalistic feeling culminating in the boycott of British goods has given an opportunity to most foreign nations to consolidate their business in India. Japan, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia and America have all benefited by the boycott of British goods as many goods that are not manufactured in India have been substituted by foreign goods other than British by the nationalistic buying public. While America has undoubtedly advanced her trade in India, dealers in American goods think there is no limit to her expansion if the matter was rightly tackled for in point of quality American goods are hard to beat. The main obstacles to American business in India or rather its growth are:

(1) Proper banking facilities do not exist for financing American exports to India and too much reliance has to be placed on English banks which are usually not accommodating to Indian dealers and do not encourage opening letters of credit.

(2) The British business is entirely done by shippers from London who very often have very little capital but who are financed by the British banks to an extent

quite disproportionate to their capital and resources. The Indian dealers on this side are mainly relied on to meet their obligations, and, credit of 10 and 60 days is freely given even to small dealers. A local firm which shares profit with the London shippers is often used as a case in need, sometimes guaranteeing the account, and sometimes simply acting as an agent and canvasser. This system will have to be adopted by American shippers more largely. The American system of employing one firm to ship and act as factory agent is not satisfactory as it does away with a shipper and an Indian correspondent. Yet the profit paid to the factory agent and shipper is larger than any British manufacturer pays for the services of a shipper, Indian agent and the Harboring Bank.

(3) Distribution should as far as possible be entrusted to Indian firms with experience. The American manufacturers should get lists of reliable Indian Merchants from the membership lists of the Indian Chambers of Commerce. A main obstacle today is the appointment of highly paid Americans or Englishmen who neither speak the language nor understand the people. Too many

changes are made in agencies and the local British firms who generally are agents for American goods have too much power and too much voice as regards cutting out Indians who do the developing and who work up the business. Highly paid well trained Indians should be appointed as superintendents to supervise the business instead of Britishers or others as is now done.

(4) Americans have a way of thinking in big figures. In India business develops from little beginnings and when in a conservative country it takes root it develops into something huge. But the first contract or offer that is given is often poor and very meagre. Americans turn down such an offer believing the market must be poor or the firm offering such small contracts must be insignificant. Yet all manufacturers now doing colossal business will have to admit they started in India with a small beginning with very poor figures. A British firm of cycle manufacturers who did 80 000 cycles in 1907-20 started in 1900 with hardly a business of 400 cycles in the year.

Advertising when done is done through British intermediaries or International organizations where the British have enormous pulling power and control. All Indian owned and widely circulated newspapers are often ignored and only the British owned and English newspapers of India are largely used. The Vernacular newspapers unless they are popular with the British element for their parrot cry views of British origin are very much neglected. The large mass of the Indian buying public never see the highly expensive advertisements of American products.

To develop the American business therefore—

(a) Indian firms merchants and agents should be much more largely employed.

(b) Branches of American firms should

associate more Indians with their business and give them greater scope and opportunity.

(c) Advertising should be largely in vernacular journals and the popular nationalistic journals which are widely read and circulated and command better sales.

(d) Finance should be developed on British lines necessitating employment of more shippers (preferably Indians) Indian agents on this side credit terms on 60 and 90 days bills through American Banks or branches of Indian Banks.

(e) Regular reports of market conditions market requirements opportunities for business openings etc. should be collected by having a large Indian staff of out of employment brokers discharged from British Mercantile offices who should be attached to the Trade Commissioners Department in the Consulates.

There are a large number of articles which used to come from Britain which the buyers now desire to be substituted by goods obtained from other sources. America has the natural resources the manufacturing facilities and the finances to capture this growing market quickly and effectively. India is not yet easily in a position to manufacture all her needs and probably shall not be so for another twenty five years. Indian businessmen have to satisfy the popular demand and look for substitutes to Italy France Germany and Japan. If America woke up to her opportunity she could easily build up a great trade here as well as provide employment for thousands who are now falling into unemployment owing to the decline of British trade in India and the consequent economic disorganization.

The Government of India whose financial stability largely depends on trade and the fullest employment of Indians man power would doubtless put no barriers in the way of this Indo-American economic entente.

attempt to see whether the church can be brought into some relation with modern views.

I do not think the church will gain any new ground or make up the ground it has already lost. I do not see how the church's attitude to this question can be reconciled with its attitude on divorce. The bishops ought to have discarded the prayerbook and the articles of religion and a few other things. Then they would have got nearer the twentieth century.

New York Woman (Editorial August 16th)

The conference has been urged to take this action by Lord Dawson of Penn the famous physician, who pleaded with its members not to condemn a method widely practiced by members of the church. It is significant that the approving vote of 190 included a majority of the Low Church bishops in England and that the opposing vote of 60 included most of the colonial and missionary bishops from parts of the empire which have other standards.

DEATH

Now it is admitted for the first time that the morality of an act depends on the motive and men and women must judge for themselves whether the motive for wishing to limit their families is of purely Christian standards or not. This decision will bring comfort to many troubled consciences.

The bishops are unquestionably are right in deploring the increase in irregular connections which has followed the knowledge of methods of prevention in any case Birth Control has come to stay. The only course open to the Church is that which the bishops have now taken—to bring the practice before the tribunal of conscience and enlightened conscience.

New York Tribune (Editorial August 16th)

Such action by the House of Bishops should carry great weight both inside and outside the Anglican Church. It should help to convince many who have condemned as immoral the agitation to change the present stringent prohibitory law that this movement is no expression of laxness but is a serious effort to make the law conform to what is in fact the practice and the principle of enlightened members of the community. It is difficult to understand the point of view of those who still argue that it is moral to force children upon homes that do not want them.

### Is Life Worth Living?

This is a question which has troubled humanity for long long ages and though men have never been able to answer that question satisfactorily, they live on cheerfully, retaining—if there be any volition in an act of faith—their faith in life. An American writer has again raised the question and is ready with an answer not her own of course but of numerous men and women collected by that modern device of circulating a questionnaire. The answers, summarized in an article contributed to the *North American Review* is quoted in the *Literary*

*Digest*. Here are some of its arguments and conclusions.

Mrs. Kelly recalls that half a century ago the English philosopher W. H. Mallock wrote a book entitled *Is Life Worth Living* and answered the question in the negative. She continues:

In those mid-Victorian days life was thought to have an inherent value, a sort of sacredness as of a gift from God that almost tainted with sacrilege such a question and such an answer.

All the English reading world was a bit shaken and against its spokesmen inclined to deprecate such an inquiry. Even on remote college campuses in this country young people read and discussed the book and felt satisfyingly audacious. And newspapers brought an increased number of suicides.

Then *Lunch* ironically remarked: It depends on the liver and all the English reading world laughed and quickly got about its ordinary duties.

The key note of any civilization, we are told, is in its attitude toward life. How does our own feel about it? Mrs. Kelly has sought the answer in modern fashion by collecting and classifying many views based on actual experience and drawing conclusions from them. Since her inquiries were confined to her own circle mostly professional people, the investigator does not afford a cross-section of life, she admits, but its results do show certain definite and significant trends.

Taking first the answer given by the largest number of people Mrs. Kelly says:

If what these many persons find to me is a faint indication of modern human feeling, then more people get their chief satisfaction in life out of work than from any other source. Here are a few typical answers:

Life would be decidedly dull for me, said one middle-aged man, if I did not have the constant stimulus of the thousand and one demands that my work makes upon me every day and so I suppose that considering everything it is my work that gives me the deepest, steadiest and most dependable satisfaction.

A good job that you are interested in that calls out the best you have in you and gives you an adequate material return was another answer to my query.

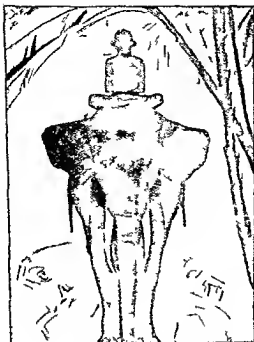
Women who have chosen a professional life instead of marriage are especially apt to give the joy of work answer. The inquirer found and she was never able to get any of them to say whether or not they thought this pleasure worth more than what they had given up.

Of the scores of people questioned we are told only two replied definitely and decidedly that life was not worth living.

One is an elderly woman who has led rather meagerly at the tail of the world's good things. She meets with caustic bitterness that nothing life has given her has compensated or could possibly make amends for the pain, the sadness and the injury these deprivations have caused her.

The other is a young man, "gifted in full health a poet and a successful writer who maintains with deep-rooted conviction that life does not and can not offer enough dependable satisfactions to make it worth while. Why then does he continue to carry on? He replies that the habit of thought and of trying to use one's faculties is so strong





Gandhi  
A German view of the Indian situation  
*Kladderjagd Blatt*



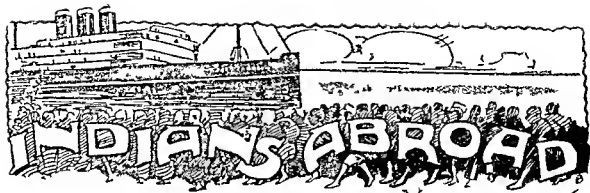
Nothing but Bikers  
The Indian situation - The fact we seem to have  
a prepared alternative since I saw a teddy bear  
this season  
- Glasgow Biker



The Biker - Our weapons are different Mr Gandhi  
I hope of mutual conquest in the end  
- Glasgow Biker



The Viceroy - I have the situation well in hand  
- Chicago Evening News



By BENARSI DAS CHATURVEDI

The Late Mr Badri Maharaj

IN POLICE SERVICE

I was shocked to read in the *Leader* the news of the death of Mr Badri Maharaj of Fiji Islands. He came to India two years ago and though fifty eight years of age was quite hale and hearty. He told me that he could work as hard as a young man of twenty five. The life of Mr Badri Maharaj was really full of romance. He was perhaps the only Indian who went from the coolie lines to the Council. The Rev C D Ialla of Trinidad who represented our people in the Legislative Council of Trinidad the Hon R Gajadhar of Mauritius and the Hon A I Seeram of British Guiana are sons of those Indian labourers who emigrated to the colonies but Badri Maharaj himself worked under indenture for five years from 1889 to 1894. It will not be out of place to narrate a few facts of his romantic life here.

Badri Dutt was born in the year 1871 at the village of Bimauli in the district of (Arwal). His father Pandit Kashi Ram was an astrologer of some repute. In 1878 Badri Dutt was sent to a school to study astrology. Being a boy of an adventurous nature Badri Dutt left the school and without giving any information to his parents started for Benares with a Pandit to read Sanskrit there. He studied Sanskrit grammar for some years at the Dwarkadhara Pathshala in Benares. No doubt if the dry *Kaundhi* was at all like by this adventurous boy. In the year 1885 Benares was visited by an epidemic of cholera. Badri Dutt therefore had to leave the city. It was fortunate that he gave up the idea of becoming a Sanskrit Pandit. He went to Gorakhpur. In that year some Indians were being recruited as sepoy<sup>s</sup> for service in Africa.

Badri Dutt went to the recruiting officer and offered himself as a recruit. The officer refused to take him on the ground that he was under age and advised him to try his lot in the Police department. Badri Dutt entered the Police force as a *claukudar* in the year 1887. But the work of keeping watch in the streets late at night was perhaps not much more interesting than learning by heart the hard rules of Sanskrit grammar and so Badri Dutt left the service without even giving any notice or resignation. He had a great desire to go abroad. He proceeded to Calcutta and thence he went to Singapore and Penang. The troubles and hardships he had to undergo in his reckless adventures in these places are too numerous to be related here. Suffice it to say that his desire to see distant places outside his country was more than fulfilled and he returned from Singapore a sadder and wiser boy. He gave up the idea of going abroad and settled in Benares.

One day when Badri Dutt was wandering aimlessly in a bazar of Benares he met a coolie recruiter named Dwarka Brahman who told him all sorts of false things about Fiji. "Do you want an appointment? I can easily offer you one. As you are a Brahman—a high caste boy—I would rather give you a high post. Do go to Fiji. It is just near Jagannath Puri. We want coolies and chhapras soldiers and ~~seth~~ policemen and Pandits. You will have to work as a clerk in an office. Moreover being a Brahman you can work as a *Parohita* there and you can earn a lot of money by *Kathawala*. Badri Dutt believed the recruiter and was shipped off to Fiji with 800 indentured labourers.



# ARRIVAL IN FIJI

All the 600 labourers were distributed in different estates and Badri Dutt was given to the Penang Sugar Refining Company of Raki Raki. He had to work very hard to earn 5 shillings 6d. per week. Being a Brahman he was much respected by the labourers who called him *Maharaj*. I cannot narrate here the difficulties of his life as an indentured labourer under cruel sardars and uncivilized overseers. In 1894 he became free and worked for another five years as a free labourer.

After ten years Pandit Badri Dutt bought a plot of land and began to work independently. By his labour and thrift he became a man of substance in Fiji. Mr C F Andrews wrote about him in the introduction to a Hindi book—*Prabasi Bharatiyas*.

The fact should be widely and extensively known that the Hon. Badri Maharaj who went under indenture 30 years ago to Fiji has risen by force and honesty of character to a distinguished place in the colony. He has been able to send his two sons to a college in New Zealand. Sir George Burnes also referred to the position and property of Pandit Badri Maharaj in his speech in the Imperial Legislative Council on Sept. 11, 1918.

The Pacific Press of Suva, Fiji writes about him:

"When representation on the Legislative Council was extended to Indians in 1917 he was nominated as the first Indian Member. In Council he suffered from the disadvantage that his command of the English language did not extend to any flights of rhetoric, but his speeches gained all the more weight from the simplicity of their phrasing. His speech on the Talevu Settlement in particular will long be remembered for its vivid grasp of the fundamental aspects of the matter. When the Residential Tax was imposed, he resigned his seat in protest, earning thereby universal gratitude and respect. Later he accepted re-nomination and continued to represent his people until the promulgation of the new Letters Patent last year. He was a member of the Board of Education and served on several Food Commissions."

Pandit Mananjiya Badri Maharaj was perhaps the first Indian to send his children out of the Colony for education. He sent some to New Zealand and at present has two sons and a daughter at college in India.

One son is in New Zealand studying law two sons are in the Fiji Civil Service and one assisted his father. A married daughter lives at Lautoka.

He was a staunch supporter of the Colony as a home for Indians.

Though orthodox in his views he much appreciated the educational work of the Arya Samaj and gave financial help to its institutions. He sent one of his daughters to study at the Kanya Mahavidyalaya at Jullunder. In the healthy and vigorous climate of Fiji Mr. Badri Maharaj could have easily lived twenty or twenty-five years more. Death has however removed him from among his friends, and we offer our condolence to the bereaved family.

## Need of a Constructive Scheme of Emigration

It was sometime about 1830 that Indians were first sent as labourers under indenture to colonies and in 1930 we shall have finished one century of modern Indian emigration. If one looks back at this period one is simply surprised at the thoughtlessness with which the Government of India has been carrying on this important work. For about eighty years the Indian Government worked more or less as a coolie supplying agent of the colonial Government and it required a tremendous amount of agitation by the late Mr. Gokhale, Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. C. F. Andrews to put a stop to that inhuman system. After the abolition of indenture slavery the Government has been trying to accommodate itself to the views of the Indian public on this subject, but they have never shown any creative imagination. Most of their work has been done under pressure of agitation by the public and rather reluctantly. The fact that they have not yet set up a separate department for this work and emigration is huddled together with lands, health and education is a clear proof of their unimaginativeness. In this connection I would quote here the opinion of Mr. M. P. Chitale, Advocate of Tanganyika, which he has sent to me in a letter:

## Discouragement and Apathy

Mr. Chitale writes:

"It is really surprising why no serious attempt at colonization was ever made by the Indian Government. Africa—Fast Africa specially—has been the most suitable place for Indian colonization for the last hundred years and more but on account of our criminal negligence we have now almost lost

our chance in these parts so much so that now our stay here is almost under sufferance and we meet with deliberate discouragement and apathy

I consider the following reasons, causes and explanation of this negligence

(a) The Indian Government being foreign did not give any heed to the necessity of colonies for Indias teeming and poverty-stricken millions

(b) Desire of the Imperial Government not to encourage Indians to colonize Thirty years ago when it was found out that the highlands in East Africa were suitable for European settlement, the Imperial Government never thought of Indians. They conveniently forgot that these highlands were as suitable for Indian settlement as for European

(c) Pre occupation of Indian politicians in home politics due to the want of any sort of effective voice in the Indian Government.

(d) General ignorance of the Indian public about the possibilities of these colonies or the necessity or advantages of colonization. All this may be put down to faulty education and want of propaganda on this subject.

(e) Lack of sufficient enterprise amongst the younger generation and reluctance of the intelligentsia to go in for trade and commerce. Ignorance of the merchants themselves which prevented them from looking beyond immediate profits and taking interest in politics and nation-building or organized industrial development from a nationalist point of view

All these obstacles could be removed only if the Government of India had any earnest desire for Indian colonization. Even now they can do a great deal by framing a definite policy of colonization and by carrying it out vigorously

#### Tanganyika

Mr Chitale proceeds—

"Tanganyika is very suitable for Indian colonization but we require young men of education prepared to work hard in the wilds. They must also have some capital to put them on their feet. The real cultivator class of India is certainly not the right type of colonist especially as he is too much like the local African and instead of improving his own status he will probably sink to that of the African

"Land however is not very plentiful. The

Government is following the policy of reserving so much for native needs for the next two generations that only some of the excess is thrown open for occupation

"Most of the Indians, who are here, are merchants of the petty trader class and carry on their business well enough but barely with a small margin of profit and do not care very much for political or other rights because they do not understand and cannot spare time to try to do so

Things have changed a little but I am sorry to say not very much. The Indian merchant has not been very keen about agriculture in this country just because he did not understand it on a large scale, which is the only one profitable here and secondly because he usually had no capital whatever. He could buy goods on credit but cultivation of land and waiting for long time was another matter

"There is another class of Indian—mostly young men of promise and education—who has been coming in larger numbers to these parts. But he usually goes in for service. He is raw from school is ignorant of trade or agriculture and has no capital. Such young men even go to the extent of declaring that if they had any capital they would not have left their mother country for these wilds. They come here with no idea of settlement and would return the moment their finances are considered sufficient. They stay on only reluctantly owing to force of circumstances. It is the merchant class of India only who has struck root in the soil of this territory. Our attempt should be to add to this another class that of young educated (not in arts) hardy farmer of India who will come not because he must but because he will"

#### Objection Against A Barrister In Malaya

An esteemed correspondent writes to me from Penang

Recently, when an application was moved at Kuala Lumpur on behalf of Mr K. P. K. Menon for admission to practise in the Federated Malay States, there were some objections with regard to Mr Menon's activities prior to his arrival in Malaya. He came to Malaya in 1927 and has been practising in the Straits Settlements since 1928 as an advocate and solicitor. It was stated that Mr Menon had undergone a term of imprisonment in connection with

the Vykom Sitragrah and that he boycotted the Madras High Court Dow Vykom Sitragrah, as we know, was a pure social reform movement and I cannot therefore understand how it could be anti British for which alone there is score in Malaya. So ondy, is it a crime for a barrister to leave practice if he liked and resume it when he likes? It is to be noted here that some years ago Mr Manilal was refused admission to practise here."

#### Need Of Hindi Prachar in the West Indies

Of all the colonies where Indians have settled in large numbers British Guyana, Trinidad, Surinam and Jamaica have been very much neglected by us. Our social and religious workers have often visited East Africa, South Africa, Mauritius and even Fiji but the West Indies have almost been forgotten. Living at more than ten thousand miles distance and cut off from all cultural connection with the Mother land, our people in the West Indies have forgotten their Indian vernaculars. It is most difficult to make arrangement for teaching all these different vernaculars. The only practical thing is to revive the easiest

among them i.e., Hindi. The authorities in Fiji have realized the importance of this fact and have recognized Hindi as the language of Fiji Indians. The Colonial Governments of British Guyana, Trinidad etc. should follow the example of Fiji. In the meanwhile we should encourage every non official effort in this direction. The other day I received a letter from Pandit Rameshwar Misra (c/o Sagar E. q. r., Tunapuna Trinidad, British West Indies) who wrote

You will be sorry to learn that our mother tongue Hindi is on her death bed in this colony. There is an absolute lack of enthusiasm among Hindus to learn the language of their forefathers. It should, however be said to the credit of Mubammedans that they have opened their schools in mosques. I have been trying to spread the knowledge of Hindi as far as possible. Will some lovers of Hindi in the mother land help me with some text books?

May I draw the attention of the Nagri Pracharini Sabha and Hindi Sahitya Sammelan to this subject? Hindi is the National language not only of India but also of Greater India and we should do everything to keep it alive among our compatriots abroad.

## FINANCE AND INSURANCE

#### Investment of Insurance Funds

Insurance Companies control huge funds and the question of their investment has become a problem of considerable importance. There are two points to be considered with regard to investments by insurance companies, firstly safety and secondly adequate return of interest. Formerly the usual practice was to invest mainly in gilt edged securities. But during the last war the dangers of large investment in Government securities were exposed to public view. These securities underwent heavy depreciation and a crisis in the insurance companies of England was averted by special facilities afforded to them by an emergency measure of the Board of Trade. Besides it is now being seriously considered if interest yielded on Government securities is adequate.

The modern theory is to distribute insurance funds over a number of heads and invest a large portion in ordinary stocks and shares. America has taken the lead in this direction. A large number of industrial concerns in America are financed by insurance companies. This yields a higher rate of interest and at the same time contributes towards the industrial development of the country. Judicial selection of concerns in purchasing stocks and shares enables the insurance companies to avoid losses in this connexion.

The Indian Insurance Institute, in course of its written evidence to the Central Banking Enquiry Committee has discussed the problem of investment of insurance funds in India. Although it is desirable to invest in industrial concerns it is not very feasible for small

all proportion to the amount of business done

Comments are superfluous

S C RAY

### The Third Sterling Loan of 1930

The Controller of Currency gave a rude surprise to the money market by the announcement on the 10th October last that the Secretary of State for India was issuing the prospectus of yet another sterling loan for £12,000,000 on behalf of the Government of India. Never before from the days of the Mutiny the Government of India was so stranded as to be driven to draw upon the London market three times within a year. The Government seems to have developed an insatiable thirst for money at any cost and no one can foretell the extent of its consequences that are sure to befall the world of Indian finance and credit.

This third loan in the London money market and the fourth big loan operation of the year has been in the form of 1935 37 bonds for £12,000,000. The issue price is £100 per cent and the bonds bear interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum. If not redeemed previously the bonds will be repaid at par on October 10, 1937 but the Secretary of State reserves the right on giving three calendar months notice in the *London Gazette* to redeem the bonds at par on or on any half yearly interest date after October 10, 1930.

The bonds are issued in denominations of £50 £100 £200 £500 £1,000 and £5,000 and are free of stamp duty. An interesting feature of the issue is the payment of subscriptions by instalments as follows:

On application	£ 5 per cent
On Monday 3rd November 1930	£ 25 per cent
On Friday 19th December 1930	£ 45 per cent
On Thursday 20th January 1931	£ 25 per cent
	£100 per cent

The proceeds of the loan are to be used for repayment of £6,000,000 India Bills due on 20th December 1930 and for capital expenditure on railways in India and for general purposes.

Arrangements were made to transmit applications lodged in India through the Imperial Bank of India and subscriptions

to the loan could be received in India in the offices of the Imperial Bank at Calcutta Bombay Madras Rangoon and Karachi.

The issue met with remarkable welcome in London. Underwriting for the loan proceeded there even on the 14th October that is on day before the Indian money market could come to know of it and we are told that queues of several hundreds formed outside the Bank of England at the close of the banking hours on the 14th and early again on the opening of the Bank on the 15th October seeking prospectuses of the loan. News was received here on the 10th ultimo that is simultaneously with the announcement of the issue by the Controller of Currency in India that the sterling loan was over subscribed immediately after the offer was opened and the lists were closed at 10 A.M. that very morning. These are facts that stand out as irresistible evidence of the irresponsible way in which the true interests of India are looked after by her trustees at the moment. The irony of the situation is further aggravated by the fact that Sir George Schuster personally went over to London and fixed the details of the loan on his own judgment without the advice either of the Secretary of State's Council or that of the Governor General of India. Simla has had little information available regarding how the £12 million loan came to be floated on such attractive terms. The contrast is very great when it is remembered that only the other day the British Socialist Government raised a loan at 2 per cent less and even the Ceylon Government obtained sufficient funds in London at 4½ per cent.

There has been a good deal of jubilation in some quarters on the success of the loan. The *Financial News* congratulated Mr. Wedgwood Benn on the achievement of the unique distinction of borrowing on a large scale in the London money market thrice this year with conspicuous success. It is however forgotten by these admirers of the Secretary of State for India and his advisers that little business acumen is needed to be generous with other peoples money. At a time of falling prices and declining rates for money the terms offered for this loan live not only been liberal but shockingly so and it was only to be expected that the investing public would gulp at it. The statement that the success of the loan is indicative of the sanity of Congress propaganda against foreign loans and the

threat of their repudiation is misleading and it is not only impolitic but outrageous for the Government of India to take advantage of the present struggle in the field of politics with a view to saddle the country with heavy commitments to Great Britain for many years to come.

It may be recalled that the first sterling loan of the year was in February for the sum of £6 million at an effective interest of £6-13 3d per cent. It was commented upon in the *Economist* on the 29th February that, "there is no doubt that this particular issue could have been made on a 5¼ per cent basis. It was heavily 'staggered' it was more than six times over-subscribed and the Bank of England was prepared to accept these bonds as floaters, that is as equal to British Treasury Bonds for borrowing purposes."

The second issue in May for £7 million followed much the same line as regards the terms of issue and the Government of India showed no signs whatsoever of taking lessons from its previous experience nor from the vehement criticisms urged against the terms both in India and in England.

These sterling loans were followed by a 6 per cent rupee loan issued in India in August last for an unlimited amount of money. This loan brought in something like Rs. 99¼ crores or £22 million. Closely following this comes the third sterling loan of the year for £12 million at 6 per cent.

The total sum raised through these four loans have been nearly Rs. 33 crores involving the payment of about Rs. 318 crores per annum annually for interests. One wonders where the Government intends to lead the country to and how it can collect further revenue from the already over-burdened tax payers to meet at least the additional annual charges.

As regards the increasing burden on the tax payer it is sometimes argued that the new borrowings are made mainly for productive purposes. This is more than a myth, for any business man knows that with the present organization of big industries like railways it is ridiculous to expect an honest return of over six per cent steadily for some time. The Railway Finance Committee realized this thoroughly and decided in the beginning of the year to withhold further capital expenditure on the construction of new lines so long as Government could not raise money at cheaper rates

than 6 per cent. We are now told that part of the new loan is meant to be spent on railway capital expenditure. One is naturally anxious to know why the policy decided upon by the Railway Finance Committee early in the year has been reversed in the absence of detailed statements of the manner in which Government proposes to utilize the large amounts raised in recent months one is apt to think that reference to railway expenditure is made only as an eyewash and the bulk of the money is meant for general purposes.

A foreign financial expert, who has been just travelling through India and is engaged in the study of economic and financial questions made some interesting observations on the new sterling loan. He said: "The Government of India Loan comes as a surprise to people who are accustomed to see financial transactions of such importance and magnitude being very carefully weighed and wisely carried out. Amongst the causes which have induced the Government to flit at the loan there are regarded as apparent. First, the great drop in revenues through the economic depression and political movement; secondly, that the Government was unable to remit funds to meet Home Charges; and thirdly, the stabilization of exchange even at a lower gold point is greatly endangered by the present economic and political situation."

As regards the consequences of raising this loan there can be no doubt that the feeling of Indians in general will be greatly roused against the Government for putting such an unreasonable burden on the taxpayer. In the political field this is bound to strengthen the hands of the Congress. The economic consequences are likely to be still more serious. A loan at a lower rate could surely have been raised in the London money market. Further if a sterling loan has been raised at such a high rate the treasury bills and the rupee loans in India will naturally call for a still higher rate of interest. How then will industry and commerce secure necessary finance at anything near reasonable rates?

The raising of this loan at 6 per cent with a six years' lease of life means moreover a drop in the prices of previous loans involving serious losses to the investors both in India and in England. A London press cable brought us the news that the gilt-edged market was slightly strengthened immediately

after this new issue. This has a tendency to give a rather misleading impression to holders of old securities. The foreign expert asserted that as a matter of fact Indian investor banks insurance companies trusts etc. are sure to face further losses on their so called gilt edged securities which are proved to be neither gilt nor securities.

Particular attention should be drawn to the reaction of this loan on trade and exchange. A constant increase of the rate of borrowing of the Government of India can be forecast from this high rate said the expert the only consequences of which will be further depression in trade and industrial undertakings. If capitalists can obtain a return of six per cent without any work and without facing the risks inevitable in industrial undertaking then nobody would go in for industrial activities or invest money in trade. That would cause further depression and deepen the economic crisis through which the world is passing.

As regards the bearing on exchange the expert is of opinion that although one of the reasons that have actuated the flotation of the loan is to get sterling to meet Home Charges as also to enable the Government to keep up the exchange rate at least at the lower gold point, the real effect will be something entirely different. Exchange will be weakened for the following reasons first, the disastrous economic consequences will weaken the exchange secondly it will give additional inducement to Indian and other capitalists in India to remit their money to London increasing thereby the outflow of gold from the country.

It may be roughly calculated that about a million and a half pounds or nearly two crores of rupees will be India's net loss in seven years owing to the excessive rate of interest paid on this new loan. Attention may be drawn again in this connection to the facts that the Ceylon Government has recently raised a loan in the London market at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent and the British Government at 4 per cent, while the mighty Indian Government with incalculable assets and resources could not raise it at anything less than 6 per cent.

It need hardly be said that the financial policy of the Government of India in recent years after the departure of Sir Basil Blackett, has been far from satisfactory. While the 1927 rupee loan was raised at 4 per cent, that of the following year was issued at  $4\frac{1}{2}$

per cent and as one year rolls by the rate is progressively moving upwards. Thus in 1929 the rate was 5 per cent only and in 1930 it has soared up to 6 per cent. The most curious phenomenon is that while the Government of India has had to offer as much as 6 per cent the Mysore Government has successfully raised decent sums in India in August last at 5 and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

The Congress accuses the Government that its economic policy has been and still continues to be harmful to the best interests of the country while the Government and its Anglo Indian advocates are laying all the blame on the nationalist movement for ruining the economic structure of the country. Nobody knows where this vicious circle will lead us to but one thing is clear that the organized custodians of the economic and political interests of India have hopelessly failed in the management of their trust. A deliberate attempt if any on their part to complicate economic relations and to force India to a state of bankruptcy on the eve of her attainment of self government will only lead to serious consequences. The repudiation of foreign debts that now sounds like a mere threat may become a dire necessity for the future financial administrators of India if the present financial policy of the Government of India is persisted in.

#### Inter Imperial Economic Relations

At the plenary session of the Imperial Conference which commenced its sitting in London in the beginning of October the Dominion premiers and representatives of various Governments were called upon to state what each unit in the Empire was prepared to do for the development of inter Imperial trade.

Mr T H Thomas Dominions Secretary in the British Labour Cabinet, opened the discussions observing that the difficulties each of the delegates was experiencing in the economic field were naturally uppermost in all minds on account of the present economic world blizzard. The circumstances of the last twelve months not only altered their whole conception of things but created unprecedented difficulties. In 1930 the United Kingdom imports declined 12 per cent compared with the corresponding period of 1929 and the exports declined by 19 per cent. Relatively the United Kingdom was in a more serious situation than the

Dominions where large new industries have developed that are doing the trade hitherto carried on by Great Britain. The United States had also made considerable strides mainly in motor cars and in oil.

Regarding inter Imperial trade relations it was pointed out that out of a total of £ 1,220 million worth of imports into the United Kingdom imports from the empire represented only £ 305 million while the total imports into the overseas part of the empire totalled £ 729 million of which imports valued at £ 364 million came from the rest of the empire. The United Kingdom's total imports of food, drink, tobacco and raw materials amounted to 1,737 million lbs. of which only 270 million lbs. came from the rest of the empire while imports into the overseas part of the empire of manufactured products totalled 445 million lbs. of which only 213 million lbs. come from empire sources. It is evident from the above that although a great part of empire requirements could be met from increased activities in the development of inter Imperial trade it would be almost impossible for Great Britain or for some of the Dominions to cut off relations with the rest of the world. This is more true of the supply of food products and raw materials than of manufactured goods. Mr Thomas hoped that some method of agreement might be devised so that the great potentialities of the empire at any rate may be fully used for the benefit of all concerned.

The Canadian premier Mr Bennett put forward a definite plan founded on the broad principles of empire protection based on common advantage and guided in its application by need to ensure the welfare of the home producer. He did not contemplate any move towards empire free trade which, he believed was neither desirable nor possible. All that he proposed was to offer the mother country and all other parts of the empire preference in the Canadian market in exchange of like preference in theirs based upon an addition of ten per cent increase in the prevailing general tariffs or on tariffs yet to be created. The setting up of technical committees in each country within the empire for complete inquiry into the effect upon their domestic situation of such a proposal was suggested.

Mr Scullin the Australian premier out-

lined a scheme of economic co-operation between Great Britain and Australia and thought that if the industrialists of the two countries could consult and evolve a plan of allocation of work for the supply of each other's requirements the Government of Australia would do all that it could to improve mutual trade relations.

Mr Forbes of New Zealand thought that the system of tariff preference was most effective in fostering inter Imperial trade and he advocated the utmost possible extension of tariff concessions either by general agreement or by individual agreement between two or more portions of the empire.

The South African Finance Minister Mr Havenga, strongly opposed the idea of empire free trade and said that South Africa could not afford and would not subscribe to such a policy. His country would however welcome readjustment of trade relations with different parts of the empire as may be arranged by mutual agreements.

The most important announcement, so far as we are concerned was that from Sir Geoffrey Corbett the spokesman on behalf of India. India, he said was ready to encourage the development of imperial trade but she was not prepared to depart from her present policy of discriminating protection. Therefore she was unable to commit herself to any general scheme of tariff preference within the Empire but must reserve complete freedom to deal with each case as it arose. In this connection Sir Geoffrey dwelt on the enormous possibilities of the Indian market with a total seaborne trade of more than £ 114 million. But it was pointed out that the share of India's exports purchased by Great Britain was disproportionately small being only 22 per cent while her share of India's imports was no less than 43 per cent. Moreover the gap between the price of raw material and the cost of the finished article tended to be wider in the case of British manufactures than in the case of foreign manufactures.

From all that was said at the conference it is pretty certain that the cause of Empire Free Trade is doomed. Let us wait and see what new formula is evolved after the conference to help British trade and industries from the ruin they are faced with.

NAJANAKSHA SANYAL



# NOTES

## Dr Walsh on Mr MacDonald

Dr Walter Walsh is the leader of The Free Religious Movement towards World Religion and World Brotherhood. Free Religious Discourses are delivered as part of the activities of this Movement. Two of these discourses are a Pulpit Review of Dr Sunderlands in Bondage and an address on Gandhi and India.

According to a Reuters telegram dated London October 23

Dr Walter Walsh in an open letter to Mr Ramsay MacDonald in the New Leader as an old associate in the cause of democracy declares that Mr MacDonald's fatal endorsement of the doctrine of continuity in foreign policy (of imperialistic domination) has forced him to meet India's demand for self determination by coercion instead of consent and mutual adjustment.

He adds 'You seem to have in pressed your views on an apparently unanimous Cabinet (including some who like yourself have posed as India's special friends) who seem willing to share the reproach of inglorious retreat not only from the Labour Party's public declarations but from promises repeatedly made to India. But the Prime Minister who does not resign must bear the blame. It is impossible for you to evade the choice before you. Either you must arrange a real conference on the basis of five points set down by the imprisoned leaders—liberated for that purpose—or you must intensify terrorism to the point of war and be remembered as a Minister who lost India.'

The so called Round Table Conference is a move of the Labour Ministry which lends colour to Dr Walsh's criticism. This Conference move appears to us rather mysterious in view of Mr Ramsay MacDonald's and the Labour Party's declarations relating to Dominion Status. When any British Party and its Leader are sincerely convinced that a measure is necessary just and overdue and when that Party comes into power it straightway undertakes legislation or whatever else may be necessary to carry out the reform. But in the case of India though Mr MacDonald when not in power was quite sure that India wanted, deserved and would soon have Dominion status he on

coming into power calls a conference to ascertain the wishes of India practically bringing about the exclusion from it of all those Indians who are best fitted to speak for India. And this Conference also includes representatives of the British opposition Parties who do not want political progress in India.

## All Asian Educational Conference

A sort of brief prospectus has been published in the papers to the effect that the first All Asian Educational Conference will be held at the Central Hindu High School grounds at Benares on December 26-30, 1930. Delegates are expected from nearly all the eastern countries and eminent scholars from Japan, Georgia, Philippines and Ceylon will address the conference on different topics. Indian scholars like Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose, Sir C. V. Raman and Dr Bhagavan Das will deliver public lectures of the greatest importance. Indians of all creeds and ranks interested in education will be able to attend the conference as delegates if they are deputed by educational bodies and have paid their delegation dues. They may attend the conference also by enrolling themselves as members of the reception committee by filling the prescribed form and paying Rs 2 to Pandit Ram Narain Misra, Head Master Central Hindu High School Benares. Members of the reception committee will be treated as delegates.

The object and scope of this conference are not quite clear. Some educational problems are common to all continents and countries. Similarly there may be some which are special and common to all Asian countries. But it does not seem that these peculiarly all Asian problems are to be discussed at the conference. For it is said in the prospectus 'Indians not Asian educationists who desire to read papers or deliver addresses should immediately communicate



it may be admitted to the U.S.S.R. and  
incapacitation of spirit such as the Soviet people  
(3)—Copyright

The main insinuation is that Dr Ribindia  
at Nagore appreciates that Soviet culture  
which execution of men without trial is  
part

But let that pass

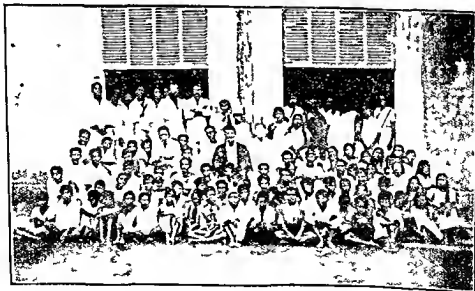
I saw here in this issue we have published  
the views of the Poet relating to Russia  
which appeared in *Parade*. In that con-  
tribution there is a clear and unambiguous  
condemnation of the methods of violence  
followed by the Soviet authorities. Whether  
the *Times* or the *Statesman* will have the  
courage to publish this condemnation one  
need not speculate. It is enough that the  
truth has been placed before the public

### Jujutsu in Santiniketan

Professor S Iikagaki teaches Jujutsu the  
Japanese art of wrestling etc in Santiniketan.  
He is one of the most distinguished teachers  
of the art to be found in Japan. In Santi-  
niketan both male and female students and  
some others learn Jujutsu. Some of the girls  
and boys have already made considerable  
progress in the art. In September there was  
a demonstration of what the students of the  
art had learnt. It was held at Sinha Bhawan



Mr S Takagaki Professor of Jujutsu  
in Santiniketan



The Professor of Jujutsu with his friends and pupils  
Prof S Takagaki in the centre Prof Jagadannath Roy to his left



A Jujutsu demonstration



A Jujutsu trick



A Jujutsu trick

Two Japanese friends of the professor had come from Calcutta to witness and take part in the demonstration. They also were experts in Jujutsu.

Jujutsu practised with due regard to its rules, gives one a good physique. As it is a defensive art it tends to promote self possession and courage and represses excitability.

#### The late Swami Niralamba

The late Swami Niralamba was not a famous man. But nevertheless, he was a remarkable personality. Born in Channa Bardwan on the 10th November 1841, he studied in the Vyastha Pathshala College Allahabad for some years when Babu Ramananda Chatterjee was its principal.

His name then was Yatinranath Bandyopadhyay. He was remarkable for his intelligence but not for diligent study of text books. Details of his subsequent career is not known in full. At one time he was in the army of the British State. At that time Aurobindo Ghose was in the British



Swami Niralamba

Education Service. It is believed that Aurobindo Ghose owed his faith in Indian Independence to the companionship of Yatinranath Bandyopadhyay. Both were among the accused in the celebrated State trial at Alipore in the first decade of this century. The former was acquitted, the latter discharged.

Niralamba Swami had travelled extensively in Tibet, Afghanistan and some neighbouring countries. He was courageous and fond of adventure. Latterly, it is said he had become a disciple of Bohm Swami alias Syamakanta Banerji, the tiger tamer. Even when Niralamba Swami had become a Sannyasin he was a staunch Nationalist. During the Kumbha Mela of 1905 he resided at the house of the writer and showed him

and his family the different camps of the *sadhus* of different sects. Almost everywhere he asked whether the books or sayings of the teachers of those sects contained any predictions relating to a free India. All the *sadhus* appeared to be quite indifferent to such a worldly topic. Only one *sadhu* of the Garibdas sect being hard pressed said that in one of their books it was written that India would be free twenty-eight years from the date of that Kumbha Mela. Twenty-eight years from 1905 gives 1933 as the date of India's emancipation. It is a weakness of human nature that even those who do not believe in prophecies are in the privacy of their hearts inclined to hope that some predictions may come true.

Niralamba Swami had his Ashram at his birth place. He died on September 5 1930.

#### Miah Abdul Bari Chaudhuri

In Miah Abdul Bari Chaudhuri Bengal has lost a distinguished captain of industry in the shipping line.

Abdul Bari Miah, Director of the Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Company, died on Saturday at 9.1 A.M. October 20 at his residence at Albion Bungalow. On receipt of the news about 2,000 Mussalmans of Chittagong gathered at Pathantooli under the auspices of the Bardar Samity and prayed for the peace of the departed soul. Half mast was flown on the steamer office the jetty and the steamers of the Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Company as a mark of mourning.

A public meeting of Hindus and Mussalmans was held at the Muslim Hall when resolutions expressing sympathy for the bereaved family of the deceased and Chittagong people's appreciation of the services of the deceased were passed—Free Press.

#### Women and War

In the last number of this Review pp. 116-148 an article from the *Asia* magazine was reproduced with the exception of some passages. It is necessary to quote one of those passages to bring out the full moral superiority of a non-violent means of winning freedom. The following sentences are to be read as occurring before the last paragraph of the article as extracted in this Review.

In war pillage is not considered wrong as often ordered and is sometimes held out as an inducement to the soldiers. In civil disobedience there is nothing of the kind. Though it was ravishment is not recommended nor enjoyed. Few campaigns of any large proportions have been free

from this odious crime and outrage on womanhood. Also an army of fallen women often accompanies bigger armies of far more sinful men to feed their lusts. Civil disobedience is entirely free from menace of either kind to womanhood.

and have not declined. Those who know Indian politics and consider the possibilities of the future will not think this a mere point of form.

### Decline in Lancashire Cotton Exports to India

According to a Free Press Bureau Service message

The publication of the monthly trade returns of Great Britain always gives occasion to the Morning Post to draw attention to the strength of the Indian Boycott and call for stern measures to end it. The figures for September last which the paper reproduces are very impressive. Compared with September of the last year cotton exports from Lancashire to India during this September show a decline of 75 per cent. The money value of this drop may be computed at £9000000.

The adversity of any foreign country does not give us pleasure. We shall be glad if Indian manufacturers of khaddar and mill cloth have increasing sales.

### French Governor General's Visit to Chandernagar

(Associated Press of India)

It is reported that the Governor General of the French territories in India will soon pay a brief visit to Chandernagar in connection with the recent trial for the arrest of certain alleged revolutionaries. It is also understood that the Colonial Minister is shortly expected from Paris.

Have these proposed visits any political significance?

It is well known that when Aurobindo Ghose and others were tried at Alipore two decades ago a Bengali gentleman who was alleged to have been their accomplice had to be let off because he was a French citizen of Chandernagar.

### Mr Spender on Invitations to Round Table Conference

Mr J. A. Spender points out in the *Navy Chronicle* that the Indian Government has not adopted the usual procedure in obtaining delegates for the so-called Round Table Conference. He writes that the normal procedure would have been to invite the leaders of all parties to the London conference and throw upon those who declined the onus of doing so and explaining why. So far as I can see it remains open to the Congress party to say that they have not been invited

### Marquis of Zetland's Objections to Indian Home Rule

There does not seem to be anything new in the objections urged against the introduction of Home Rule in India by the Marquis of Zetland in a recent address of his of which Renter has cabled the following summary:

In his presidential address at Birmingham and Midland Institute Marquis of Zetland said that formidable obstacles lay in the way of immediate introduction of complete system of parliamentary self government in India. He declared that it was impossible to create a democratic electorate by a stroke of the pen in a country in which ninety per cent of the population was illiterate and in which nearly ninety per cent lived in remote villages scattered over an immense countryside. Two matters of highest importance were the control of the Army and the position of the Native States. Obviously the latter could not be compelled to enter any All India system against their will. It was one of the merits of the Federal Scheme put forward in the Simon Report that it opened the door to the inclusion of the Native States in an All India system should they desire to enter it but their right to be consulted was fully recognized by the Government and indeed was one of the reasons for holding the Round Table Conference.

The Marquis of Zetland considered that the position of the Army in India was perhaps the most difficult problem to be solved before India could obtain complete Home Rule. Regiments composing the Indian Army did not constitute a National Army. They derived the cohesion which they possessed from the fact that they were officered by men of a single race namely British.

Altogether all these arguments have been repeatedly refuted in this *Review*. The Marquis of Zetland has been one of its subscribers and readers ever since he, as Lord Ronaldshay was Governor of Bengal. That he reads it is evident from criticisms of some of its contents in some of his books and from his attack on Dr J. T. Sunderland, because the latter contributed an article to it on the harm resulting to England from her possession of India. So, so far as his lordship is concerned we can say little which he could not have found in previous issues of this magazine.

That ninety per cent of the population of India is illiterate is a fact for which the British Government is responsible. Any objection based on this fact does not, therefore, come with good grace from any

villages The total area of the Soviet Union is 8,241,910 square miles, and that of India 1,800,332 sq. miles. And yet there are democratic representative institutions in that Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, though the rural population there is scattered over a much less extensive countryside than in India.

Nobody has wished or proposed to compel the Native States to enter an All India system against their will. But everybody knows that the politicals have means at their command to compel them *not* to enter any All India system which is not the product of British brains or which is not at least approved or tolerated by Britain. The Simon Federal scheme is not the only possible Federal System which can open the door to the inclusion of the Native States in an All India System should they desire to enter it. Indian Nationalists also recognize the right of the Native States to be consulted with this difference that whereas the British Government ignores the existence of the people of the Indian States Indian Nationalists do not do so.

That the Indian Army is not a National Army is a result of the policy pursued by the Army authorities. Details need not be repeated. The Marquis of Epsford will find them if he has not done so already in the articles on 'The Martial Races of India' published in the July and September numbers of this magazine.

None are so blind as those who will not see.

The rules of common Arithmetic set to dangerous rhyme by a Kayastha, one Savanur the (Corker of Bengal) have been chanted for a hundred and fifty years in 4000 vernacular schools. Thus the Hindus too! No lead in a practice which has since been introduced in our English infant schools.

The system of education named after Bell and Lancaster was adapted from India.

That illiteracy ought not to be a bar to self rule has been admitted even by Mr. Thompson in the following words:

From one point of view the masses in India are deplorably ignorant and degraded. There is another point of view from which it is seen that they have kept a large degree of that susceptibility to immaterial issues and loveliness, which is genuine culture. Furthermore, such a man as Akbar must be called a highly cultivated man though he could not read or write. All our brains do not lie in our eyes and fingers.

I should like to see education driven ahead with all speed. But illiteracy in itself should not be a bar to self Government, any more than it was in Britain or America. —The Reconstruction of India pp. 5, 6.

As for the difficulty of creating a democratic electorate for a predominantly rural population "scattered over an immense countryside" it is certainly not beyond the power of human ingenuity to do so. Soviet Russia according to the *Statesman's Yearbook* contains a total population of 147,013,609 of whom 120,716,341 live in

### Rabindranath Tagore's Health

The minds of the people of India were agitated at the alarming news, relating to Rabindranath Tagore's health sent by Renter from America. One message stated that owing to illness he had been obliged to cancel all his engagements and advised to go to some place where he could have rest. This was supplemented by another which was still more alarmingly worded. It was to the effect that a certain Doctor Marvin had said that he had not overestimated but rather underestimated the seriousness of the Poet's state of health. Then came a cable to Santiniketan from Dr. Timbres who is the Poet's honorary physician in attendance. It stated that though his heart weakness necessitated rest anxiety was not necessary.

Dr Timbers had considerably cabled of his own accord—we can guess why No one had cabled to him from here Next day, in reply to a cabled enquiry from Santiniketan Mr C F Andrews' cable was received to the effect that the Poet was better and that he would reach Calcutta late in December next.

It is not quite clear why Dr H M Marvin added that "he has understated rather than overstated the seriousness of the situation. Wise physicians do not frighten patients or their relatives and friends. While we certainly long for the Poet's speedy return to India in a good state of health we do not quite appreciate any stranger's strong desire to hurry him out of America. We have no desire to be unjust to anybody. But there may be persons in America who may have—say—a sub conscious desire that Rabindranath Tagore should leave America very early. As he has not taken any part in the political struggle going on in India, as he is an Internationalist and as he is capable of taking and usually does take a detached and philosophic view of the happenings even in his own country there is naturally a fear in the minds of British Imperialists and propagandists and their friends in America that, though he will not of his own accord speak on current Indian politics, anything coming from him relating to that topic through newspaper interviews and drawing room talk may prejudice British interests.

Our desire and prayer is in the first place, that he may recover completely by taking complete rest in some health resort in America, and in the second place that, if possible he may be in a position to fulfil all his engagements in America.

#### Pandit Motilal Nehru

Along with all our fellow countrymen we desire and pray that Pandit Motilal Nehru may be speedily restored to health and again be in a position to act as adviser to the self sacrificing political workers of India

#### Read Bombay Papers

For months past, week after week the Government has been publishing a weekly review of the political situation in India, so far as it

relates to the civil disobedience movement. According to those reviews that movement has been continually losing strength and popularity. At the same time Lord Irwin has been promulgating ordinance after ordinance. So it has become necessary for the *Satyagrahis* and non participating friends of the movement as well as its opponents in all parts of the country, to try to know the exact truth about it. It is not at all easy to know it, as the openly published news papers do not contain all the news necessary for forming a correct estimate. For instance in Bengal little has appeared in the newspapers of what has been happening in the Midnapore district. We have received three Reports of Enquiry Committees relating to occurrences there which have not been published in any newspaper. Moreover as the Press Ordinance has been worked by different sets of men in different provinces the papers in some provinces are more newsy than in others. Hence those who can afford it, ought to read at least one Indian paper from each province. As Bombay has taken the leading part in *satyagraha* Bombay nationalist papers in particular such as *The Bombay Chronicle* and *The Free Press Journal* ought to be read for the news they contain

#### Romain Rolland on Happenings in India

Certain proposals relating to the celebration of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore's 70th birthday having been placed before M Romain Rolland on behalf of some friends of the Poet, that great French Idealist has written a letter to the editor of this magazine relating to the celebration. The letter concludes with the sentence "I need hardly tell you with what passionate sympathy I and my sister are following the heroic happenings of your country

#### The London Conference

Before the present issue of the Review reaches London the conference between the representatives of the three British parties and the Indian nominees of the British Government from British India and the Indian States, will have begun its sittings. Some take an optimistic view of the probable results of the Conference, whilst there are others

who have declared that it cannot but end in smoke or in confusion worse confounded. Some Indians—and they are not Extremists—have gone so far as to assert that the failure of this conference will result in a revolution in India. The prophet's roll is not ours. We will just wait and see. But in the mean time we may quote the opinions of an Englishman who has been an opponent of civil disobedience and a supporter of the Round (?) Table Conference. We mean Mr Wilson, editor of *The Indian Daily Mail*, who is now in London. From there he writes to his paper (October 15) under the pen name of 'Scrutator':

If the Imperial Conference and the way in which it is being conducted are to be any measure of the way in which the Round Table Conference is to be conducted, then British Indian politicians can look forward to a grave disappointment. During the last fortnight I have made many enquiries in Whitehall and discussed the Indian situation with a host of people. I regret to report that there is almost universal ignorance as to the fundamentals of the situation or if I may put it in a more blunt fashion, the Government of India's facts have been accepted without question and all that is left to mitigate the situation is a certain amount of wistful, waxy, sentimentalism. This may not represent the inside intentions of the British Cabinet but if the British Cabinet is being misinterpreted and if Mr Wedgwood Benn in particular is not being understood by this above generalization, then the Cabinet and the Secretary of State for India have themselves to blame.

He tells us why they are to blame.

It is almost impossible to break down the barrier of officialdom which surrounds Indian affairs. The India Office pretends to be loyal to Mr Benn, but it does not take much perspicacity to detect in this loyalty a determination to persevere with traditional self defence. I am not exaggerating when I venture the opinion that there is nobody at the India Office, from the Secretary of State down to or up to the Information Officer who has the slightest comprehension as to the nature and the intensity of national feeling in India. Not only that but there is no real information in the India Office as to what has actually been happening in India. Apparently the terrible stories of Lathi charges and the innumerable police excesses have not yet been heard of in Whitehall and the general picture that is accepted there is one of reasonable kindly and well behaved authority trying its best to combat law breaking fanatics.

I have not the slightest hesitation in accusing the Government of India the official news services and all other sources of information of an elaborate conspiracy of silence about the real condition of affairs in India. The first task facing British Indian delegates when they arrive in London is to educate the British public and to tell them without flinches or any elaboration exactly how the present Government of India functions.

What Mr Wilson writes about Mr

Wedgwood Benn clarifies the situation in England relating to India still further.

This would not be so bad if the Secretary of State were willing to listen to real information. Mr Wedgwood Benn unfortunately has somewhat succumbed to the intoxication of office and to most people he is as inaccessible as Lord Birkenhead at his worst. Nor is Mr Benn over popular with the Labour Party. He appears to treat Labour Members of Parliament with the same indifference as he treats authoritative representatives from India. He may listen, he may not, but he certainly does nothing. Allegations as to the way in which the Government of India have behaved leave him incredulous and cold and his main grievance seems to be that the official Congress party have refused to adopt his policy and to take part in the Round Table Conference.

Now Mr Benn may or may not be perfectly honest in his desire to make the Round Table Conference a success. I must say that I have seen no evidence yet which would make any one reject this hypothesis. But Mr Benn cannot grumble if India's well wishers are rather doubtful through lack of evidence.

Mr Wilson then pays a well merited tribute to the Indian Civil Service.

It is a striking tribute to the ability and skill of the Indian Civil Service that it has managed more or less to muzzle even the Labour Government. If Mr Benn had been more courageous, he might have denied these services but as Mr MacDonald is determined not to take the knock on India the only thing Mr Benn can do is to shelter himself rather ignominiously behind the viceroys. The position is not fair to Lord Irwin it is not fair to India, but until the Labour Party or any other party for that matter can be forced to realize that India is the major problem now confronting the British Commonwealth of Nations some such sort of political tactics can be expected.

Having 'purposely' stated the worst about the Indian situation in England first in order that the better things might be seen in their true perspective,' Mr Wilson observes that

even the above diagnosis does not rule out the possibility that the Labour Government will do the decent thing with regard to India. It may be and this I think is a likely explanation that having gained time and having avoided awkward parliamentary situations, the Labour Party, through its Government will be prepared to give India a square deal. There are personalities and elements in the Labour Government which are prepared to go as far as the mass opinion of India and to give a real measure of self government. There will of course be strenuous opposition but if the British Indian representatives at the Round Table Conference can put up a definite and coherent plan I do not think that even Mr MacDonald and Mr Benn will idly reject such ideas and will not be prepared to do their utmost to put such proposals on the Statute Book.

What is the meaning of 'the mass

opinion of India? Is there anybody among the Government nominees from India who represents this mass opinion? Do all the nominees put together represent this mass opinion? How many among them ever attempted to bring Indian politics into the heart of the illiterate people of India? The Man who have all made the masses politically minded is in jail with thousands of his co-workers and followers.

If the British Indian representatives (?) at the Round Table Conference can put up a definite and coherent plan—Yes if But have the British selectors of these so called representatives made their selection solely with a view to securing from the Indian side such a definite and coherent plan or was there any other underlying motive?

The British delegates number thirteen and the nominees from India more than seventy we believe. In any case the Indians at the Conference will far outnumber the Britishers. One is therefore curious to know in what way decisions, in what way any measure of agreement will be arrived at. Presumably not by the process of taking votes. For in that case on many questions there is sure to be more votes on the Indian side than on the British side. So probably as we have guessed all along the Indians will discuss things among themselves with or without the help or opposition of Britishers and the British members—particularly those of the Labour Party—will be the arbiters. Briefly put, the Indians will propose and the Britishers will dispose. If so the Conference is to be another edition of the Simon Commission.

If argument be of any avail if it can carry the day there certainly are among the Indian invitees several distinguished persons who would be able to bring forward very sound and irrefutable arguments. But it was not for lack of good reasoning that India has not yet become free. Justice and reason are on our side. But something more convincing than *Dear Mother's Looking*. Will the group of Indians at the Conference be able to supply it? We trow not.

In any case if all the Indian invitees—at least a clear majority of them—can present an agreed demand that may be considered with respect by the British side. But if any minority group insist on the satisfaction of their demands first before they can join others in presenting a united national demand nothing may be gained

Let that be secured first which all Indians are to get before negotiations are started for fixing the shares of the different parties. What would be dividing the chickens before even the egg have been laid.

### The Ninth Ordinance

We do not propose to examine in detail the ninth ordinance promulgated by Lord Irwin nor the statement of the reasons which have moved him to do so. For we can only offer such comments as seem to us reasonable but of what avail would they be against *force majeure*?

The Congress has declared non violent war against the Government, which in its turn has been waging war against the Congress not excluding the use of physical force for gaining its object. That may be considered by it allowable. Such retaliation we also do not consider unnatural, though we consider it unstatesmanlike. But official documents should be scrupulously free from intentional or unintentional misrepresentation. Lord Irwin's statement unfortunately does contain some misrepresentation though personally he may not be aware of the fact. Take for example the concluding sentence of the first paragraph which runs as follows:

In view of the declared intent on the part of the Congress to cause still greater damage and suffering to the public, I have considered it my duty to take such further powers as in the opinion of my Government, will assist in checking the activities of the various organizations through which effect is being given to the mischievous programme of the civil disobedience movement and other subversive movements.

The methods and activities of the Congress may cause damage and suffering to the public as they have done but is it correct to say that it is the declared intention of that body to cause damage and suffering? Where when and by whom orally or in writing was such intention declared? All ~~these alleged by Government~~ damage and suffering to the public. The last great World War did so to the public of many countries including Great Britain. Some countries including Britain are still suffering from trade depression and unemployment partly as a result of that War. But Britain and her allies all declared rightly or wrongly that they were fighting for lasting peace world democracy and self determination for all peoples. One may not in the least



believe that the Allies were actuated by any high and altruistic motives. But even such a sceptic might hardly make the unjustifiable statement that in the World War Great Britain's declared (or even secret) intention was to cause damage and suffering to the British public. France's declared (or even secret) intention was to cause damage and suffering to the French public, and so on. Similarly when the Congress states its object to be to free the country politically and thereby do good to the country, one may doubt the truth of such a statement but it would not be correct for even such a person to assert that the declared (or even the secret) intention of the Congress is to inflict damage and suffering on the public. People who intentionally injure others generally do so for themselves benefitting thereby. What selfish gain accrues to the Congress workers who are sent to jail or are battered with *lathi* charges or are fined or have their presses or other properties seized etc?

The ordinance itself admits of much detailed criticism but as we have said already we do not intend to offer such criticism. We shall only point out that subsections (1) and (2) of section 3 do not appear to us logical and ethically justifiable. Then rule as follows:

3. (1) The Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette notify any place which in its opinion is used for the purposes of an unlawful association.

(2) The Magistrate or any officer authorized in this behalf in writing by the Magistrate may thereupon take possession of the notified place and evict therefrom any person found therein and shall forthwith make a report of the taking of possession to the Local Government.

There are some purposes of some associations which have been or may be declared to be "unlawful quite arbitrarily which even in the opinion of the Government are not unlawful. For instance the preaching and promotion of temperance and total abstinence and pushing the production and sale of khaddar and other Swadeshi goods. For this reason we think in subsection (1) above the word unlawful ought to have been inserted before purposes and before taking possession of any place used by an "unlawful association it should have been made necessary to prove that it is used for unlawful purposes. Eating, taking rest and sleeping are not unlawful purposes. Yet it is plain that a place where Congress

workers eat, rest or sleep may be taken possession of by the police.

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### The Effect of the Ninth Ordinance

The promulgation of each ordinance is said to be due to some emergency. Yet every successive weekly review of the situation contains statements to the effect that the civil disobedience movement is weakening. If that be true how do fresh emergencies arise?

The last sentence in the Viceroy's statement runs thus:

But I am persuaded that if the force of public opinion which is to an increasing extent being directed against the grave injury which the civil disobedience movement is causing to the country is exerted yet more effectively to resist its activities and to demand of those responsible for it that it shall be ended and if public opinion is supported in this resolution by the action and conduct of individual citizens each in his respective sphere of interest influence and responsibility there will be a speedy restoration of such conditions of order and tranquillity as may enable me to regard these measures as no longer necessary.

Lord Irwin's informants have probably told him that public opinion has been becoming increasingly anti-Congress. That is not our information. The Congress has been most active in Bombay and there the poorer classes have suffered the greatest loss. Therefore if the Viceroy's information were correct, Bombay merchants ought to have welcomed the ninth ordinance called the Unlawful Association Ordinance, 1930. But as a matter of fact what have the Indian Bombay merchants done? According to the *Bombay Chronicle* the Federation of Bombay Commercial Associations (the Vyapari Mahamandal) has sent the following long telegram to protest against it to Lord Irwin:

The Committee of the Vyapari Mahamandal (Federation of Bombay Commercial Associations) are amazed at the text of the Ninth Ordinance against Unlawful Associations, and still more perturbed at the reasons given by the Viceroy for the issue of such an Ordinance. The main objects of the Ordinance constitute a grave unwarrantable and indefensible invasion of the rights of private property. Commercial justice cannot but condemn such unwarrantable acts of indiscriminate repression which in their actual administration must necessarily involve the greatest possible injury to ordinary law-abiding population through the excessive administrative powers inevitably having to be entrusted to executive officers for the administration of this Ordinance.

## FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT OF CITIZENSHIP

The Ordinance, moreover, has been framed in utter ignorance of conditions in cities like Bombay where the possibility of frictions of house property owned by unoffending citizens but occupied by persons or Associations which may be considered by executive authority to be unlawful is a sure the greatest possible scope for the abuse of the extraordinary powers conferred under this Ordinance on Government servants. The scope of the Ordinance, moreover, applying as it does, to movable as well as immovable property belonging to or used by persons or Associations liable to be considered by Government as unlawful opens the gravest questions of the fundamental rights of civilized citizenship which this Ordinance most flagrantly violates. Even condemned criminals are not denied their rights of property, nor considered as civilly dead in respect of rights of property, which the present Ordinance denies to people and Associations deemed by executive fiat to be unlawful.

## GOVERNMENT'S STRANGE NOTIONS

The Ordinance empowering Local Government to afford reasonable compensation to aggrieved owners of property under conditions mentioned in its text opens up another door not only for grave injustice and financial burdens but seeks to drive a wedge amongst property-owners against the national sentiment in cities like Bombay demands for compensation under such administrative acts are bound to make the finances of Government more than ever out of joint, and the commercial community cannot but look with the gravest apprehension upon such developments and condemn them wholeheartedly. The Committee regret to note that Government betray want of impartiality coupled with strange notions as to urgent consideration of deep-rooted genuine grievances and as to open mass expression thereof. The Committee deplore that Government are doing sheer injustice to bodies and persons known for their representing frank earnest honest efforts for securing immediate better administration. The Committee emphatically observe that Government are mixing up civil disobedience with revolution confusing either of them with violence.

## GOVERNMENT DOES MORE HARM THAN CONGRESS

The Committee therefore consider the object intended by His Excellency in promulgating this Ordinance will not only not be attained but the breach between the people and the authorities will become widened beyond bridging. Commercial sentiment considers such injury as has been alleged to be wrought by Congress activities is far below that inflicted upon the country's commerce and industry by acts like this of the Government of India, and of Local Governments in giving effect to the same. The Committee record that unless Government revise in time such mistakes and misconceived and mis-applied methods of dealing with the situation, they will be bound to see several more such misdirected efforts and inflictions which result in chaos with termination of goodwill and harmonious relations. The Commercial community therefore feel convinced that given such mentality in the rulers of the country as is indicated so abundantly by the present Ordinance denying the ordinary rights of property to peaceful

law abiding citizens simply by means of executive fiat, and merely to cause individuals or Associations cannot commend themselves to the executive desires regarding the destiny of this country, and the means of working it out it makes the strongest possible proof of the impossibility of getting the present system of Government to consider the problem of the country from the correct standpoint and hence the Committee would urge upon His Excellency to note the mischief of such action upon public mind and on public peace which will only make any satisfactory settlement of the problem more than ever difficult. The Committee would therefore earnestly impress on the Government of India the unwisdom of such an Ordinance and request them to withdraw the same before they perpetrate irreparable mischief.

When we first read the Ordinance we thought it might convert the civil disobedience movement into a secret movement. We are glad it has not yet had that effect. We also guessed that, in the alternative, Congress workers might take it into their heads to have their offices under trees or in the open air. The very next day we read in the papers that in Benares a Congress Committee had established its office under a peepul tree and in Ahmedabad Congress offices had been located in the street. Another suggestion to Congress workers made by a Muslim Dictator, has been acted upon in some places namely private houses may put up Congress Committee sign boards.

The *Indian Daily Mail* of the 23rd October contains the following paragraph

A significant sign of attitude of the city public to the Congress was provided by the manner in which Bombay celebrated the Hindu New Year's Day on Wednesday.

The most striking part of the celebration was the display of the tri-coloured National flag, almost everywhere. In the crowded localities of Kharadevi, Bhuleshwar, Mandvi and Girgaum every house had a big National flag flying over it. Below in front of every shop smaller size flags were hoisted.

Besides this demonstration of loyalty to the Congress almost every house and shop in the localities mentioned above put up boards with the following words on them

Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee

Mandvi District Congress Committee

Congress House etc. etc.

These boards were very prominently put up and are to be found in large numbers in Mandvi and Bhuleshwar.

The old "Congress House" in Bombay having been taken possession of by the police and lacked a new "Congress House" was opened on October 23 in Mandvi. It is a four storied house. According to the *Indian Daily Mail*,

As soon as the police heard that a new Congress House had been opened Superintendent Tawde and Inspector Gole of the Princess Street Police Station hastened to the spot with a posse of constables entered the building broke open the locks and ruded the house.

To their great disappointment the police did not find anything in the rooms. They however removed the national flag the office board and a heap of old shoes which had been purposely kept there to be confiscated.

Realizing they had been very cleverly taken in the police left the place the crowd enjoying the fun immensely.

As soon as the police left the place, another flag was hoisted and another board put up.

The Congress Bulletin continues to appear everyday as usual the police being unable to suppress it.

We do not think it absolutely impossible for the Government if it exerts its full strength to make it impracticable for Congress workers who have homes or lodgings to carry on their work. But it is not unthinkable that in that case India may come to have a large army of non violent political *sannyasins*—homeless landless propertyless without family ties and wanderers over the face of the country.

#### Mr A H Ghuznavi given the Lie Again

In the official report of the debate on the resolution re outbreak of lawlessness at Dacca reprinted in our last issue the reader will find that Mr A H Ghuznavi, M L C read extracts from a Report alleged by him to have been sent to him with the concurrence of certain residents of Dacca. A contradiction of this allegation by one of these gentlemen i.e. Mr P K Bose Barrister at Law which had appeared in *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* was printed in our last issue p 416. Another contradiction which had appeared in *The Fast Bengal Times* of Dacca of September 20 last did not attract our attention early enough to be published in our last issue. It was by Mr Srish Chandra Chatterjee one of the gentlemen with whose concurrence Mr Ghuznavi said the Report had been sent to him. Mr Srish Chandra Chatterjee writes in that letter of contradiction.

To avoid misunderstanding, I can tell you once for all that I did not know anything about any report alleged to have been sent to some Moslem leaders to Mr Ghuznavi. It was never sent to him with my concurrence or knowledge. I have seen that report now with Mr Ghuznavi and it is an unsigned document. If anybody connects my name with that report in any way it will be a falsehood.

I had a talk with Mr Ghaznavi who told me that it was a mistake on his part to say that the report was sent to him with the concurrence of myself and that of Mr I K Bose. It was improper on his part to make such a careless statement without ascertaining the truth.

In conclusion I can assure you that I have not made any statement about the Dacca riots to anybody anywhere up till now nor do I like to make any statement about it at present.

#### Dr Tagore Mr C F Andrews and R T Conference

Mr C F Andrews has written to Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi editor *Vishal Bharat*.

Would you very kindly tell Ramananda Babu with my love that the news that came over that I had urged Congress leaders to come to the Round Table Conference was misreported. Neither I nor the Poet did so. I certainly would never do so because that is a purely political issue. The Poet only said that he hoped that some method of agreement might be found but he feared it was impossible while the police terrorism went on.

#### More Vigorous Repression

According to official reports the civil disobedience movement has been declining. But in spite of such reports an Ordinance more drastic than any promulgated before has been published and put in force and repression is going on everywhere more vigorously than ever. Repression is the only alternative to granting the demands of the Congress. As the latter policy has been thought by the Government out of the question repression need not be complained of. But why repression should become stronger as *satyagraha* becomes weaker being a mystery there is a disposition to connect that fact with the approaching sittings of the so called Round Table Conference. For instance *The Wheel* the Bombay Roman Catholic organ edited by Mr A Soares writes:

Is this the way to create a favourable atmosphere for the Round Table Conference? That is a question asked in the more moderate papers. We do not care to enquire whether this grand offensive against the Congress will create an atmosphere favourable or unfavourable for the Conference, but we suspect it is no means unconnected with the Round Table Conference. There is an impression voiced in influential organs of the British Press that the miscellaneous Indian gentlemen gathered in London are likely to pitch

their demands very high if the Congress carries on its flank attack on the British Government. The inference is that if the Congress receives its *comp de grace* before the Conference meets the British delegates will find their Indian colleagues moribund and amenable. If that is the idea at the back of this last fierce onslaught on Congress organizations and property disillusionment awaits Government. The Indian delegates those at least who have a reputation to lose are carrying their political life in their hand and they dare not abate by a jot or tittle their demands without being hounded out of public life. And that irrespective of whether the civil disobedience move is crushed by main force or not. The British have got to recognize they are faced not with a sectional or a sporadic rising but with a racial and national emergency which no amount of ordinances will succeed in putting down permanently.

### Anti Indian Propaganda in America

Much anti Indian propaganda is being carried on in America by paid and unpaid known and secret agents. During the World War, propagandist methods were carried to perfection. Many of these methods are now being turned to use in America against India. But truth and justice appear to be prevailing up till now. *The New Freeman* of New York, one of the journals taking interest in Indian affairs, writes thus on the subject:

We are in receipt of a good many printed documents tending to show that the cause of Indian independence is much misrepresented in America. Sir Henry Lunn and various other influential Englishmen are considerably exercised because the United States so largely misunderstands the English Government's attitude and intentions towards India, and also its motives for reducing the present 'insurrection'. It appears from the statements of these apologists that India is almost a liability rather than an asset to England. Great Britain is making very little money out of India, a correspondent of the London *Times* adduces figures to show that American ideas on this point are much exaggerated. British exports to India also are small especially in textiles they hardly amount to anything nowadays. Moreover according to Lord Meston at Williamstown the other day the rebellion is really not nationalist in character but arises out of a fanatical will to make one type of religion predominant—and so on.

As far as this paper is concerned while we do not take stock in a single word of all this we are not interested and we would cheerfully concede *pro forma* any of the points raised. The only thing that interests us is that a good many Indians are tired of British rule. This is enough for us. If they are wrong or acting from improper motives that is the Indians' business it is not the business of the British to play second Providence for them. We do not care a button how much or how little money England makes out of India, or what the size of her Indian trade is. Our stand towards

India is exactly what it would have been towards the American colonies in 1776 money or no money trade or no trade religion or no religion and not all the press agency, casuistry and hair splitting in the world will change it.

### Indian News in America

That Americans are somehow receiving news relating to India will also appear from the following extract from *The Nation* of New York:

Here and there tucked away in the dispatches from India are the nuggets of news which are the most significant after the non resistance itself. It is reported by Negley Farson that the British department stores are empty their customers were formerly 90 per cent Indian. British-owned news papers are losing circulation very heavily and British banks business the Bombay Indian factory-owners have voted to have no further dealings with British banks. Nearly all the British bankers and mill operators are now petitioning the Viceroy for a statement promising dominion self government. The price of cotton has fallen one-third heavy failures are expected on the next settlement day and one-half the Bombay mills will soon be on half time. The British-owned Bombay *News* declares if the trade decline continues owing to the political situation India is heading for a big economic crash. No fewer than 170,000 bales of cloth half of them sold, are lying in store-houses, none being called for. Of imported cloth hardly any is released to individual customers. The imports of piece goods dropped from 21,000,000 in April 1929 to 16,000,000 in April 1930. Boycott Week began on June 29. A Madras magistrate has actually made it a crime to wear Gandhi caps. Finally not a single ruler of an Indian state or a single Indian minister has uttered one word favouring the Simon report.

### An American View of the Simon Report

The same American journal publishes an article on the Simon Report by Mr. Richard B. Gregg. He gives an indication of the Simon Commission's sense of proportion.

An examination of the index gives an idea of the Commission's sense of proportion. Apparently Finance is the most important subject, for under that title in the index there are 41 items or subheads, occupying two full double-column pages. Defense of India apparently loomed next largest in their minds as its subheads fill one full page. Taxation occupies an additional column. Communal Representation has 34 subheads, Mohammedans 20, Europeans 23, Depressed Classes 16, Anglo-Indians 15, Christians 12, Hindus 12, Swarajist Party 10, Non-Cooperation 3, Gandhi 3. If we are struck by these last two items, we find on further examination that out of a total of 725 pages of text in both volumes of the report, Gandhi and his 1920-21 movement are given 4 pages and the history of Indian politics since 1920 occupies 12 pages.

### Lahore Conspiracy Case Judgment

In the Lahore Conspiracy case, three of the accused have been sentenced to death, seven to transportation for life and one to seven years' and one to five years' rigorous imprisonment. Three have been acquitted. The public will be justified in refusing to consider the convicted persons guilty, because the ordinary procedure with the necessary safeguards for ensuring justice was not followed by the special tribunal.

### India at the Imperial Conference

At the Imperial Conference the Maharaja of Bikaner responded to the Premier's welcome 'on behalf of India' not as of right, as he said but only by the courtesy of Mr. Bann the Secretary of State for India. The Maharaja was not sent a copy of the agenda of the Imperial Conference.

Scrutator writes in *The Indian Daily Mail*

Nobody seems to realize and nobody even includes serious political thinking people the importance of the Indian problem. On Wednesday the Maharaja of Bikaner delivered a most serious warning at the opening of the Imperial Conference. In the most careful language and with a background of the traditional loyalty of the Indian Prince he told the Empire delegates that unless the Indian problem was solved satisfactorily that is to the satisfaction of the Indian people the future would be most gloomy. *Nobody paid any heed to this warning* and the majority of the London newspapers did not even print his speech. His Highness spoke after General Hertzog and the Irish delegate had made their speeches in which there was not a single word about the British Crown or any of the stock phrases about loyalty. His Highness most carefully emphasized the loyalty of his Order and gave it as his opinion that India if treated properly would be willing to remain as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is instructive to note that the draft of His Highness' speech which was given to an Indian Civil servant to knock into shape came back to the Maharajah with these striking sentences deleted:

As the Rt. Honble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has said, there is no progress without making trouble, and loyal people do not make trouble. Englishmen think that loyal people have no grievances and therefore it is not necessary to listen to or report their speeches.

### Sacrifices Made by Bardoli Farmers

The Surat correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* gives the following account of

sacrifices made by the Bardoli farmers in pursuance of the No Land-tax campaign.

We found all the villages from Bardoli to Van-kner and Valod to Mandvi completely deserted. Houses were locked from outside. Cattle were let loose in the grazing land. Only labourers were seen in their huts full of sorrow at the absence of their masters. Some of the inhabitants had not emigrated from their village but only with a purpose. They stayed behind to reap the ready rice crop from their fields. We visited some fields on our way. In a small area of 1 acre where hardly 5 persons would be found working in normal times we saw more than 70 men, women and young children working in dead haste at 12 midnight, some were cutting the rice, some were separating the rice from the straw, some were gleaning and some were arranging the straw while others were throwing the rice in the carts and immediately the carts were filled up they were driven away to some safer territory. All the processes from cutting to disposal of the crop were taking place simultaneously and finished in a few hours.

But farmers' anxiety is not over with the despatch of the carts. At any hour of the night they are followed by the police so till they reach some non-British territory they are in constant fear of being arrested. In spite of all possible precautions a cart of a farmer from Bhimnariya village was stopped at night near Varad and taken possession of by one Jehangir new Police Patel of Varad.

In spite of such a constant fear farmers have almost removed their rice from the fields, but they cannot remove everything from the fields at this time of the season. The people have been given the last warning on the 10th October to migrate to a man within 21 hours from the Taluka. Farmers were awaiting that order from the Swami Ashram at any moment and people did not wait to argue but obeyed.

### THE SACRIFICE

In bright moonlight of 10th October crowds of men, women and children who still remained in villages, marched out and at what a great sacrifice? They own 117,000 acres of land in the Bardoli Taluka. Average value of land is Rs. 500 per acre. They have sacrificed to-day at least for the time being lands worth nearly 6 crores of rupees. Houses of Bardoli farmers are not mere huts but decent, well built *parca* buildings. In round figures they are worth Rs. 3 crores at the minimum. And the standing crops in the fields which took their whole years' labour at least Rs. 50 lacs. Thus the farmers of Bardoli are sacrificing their all in this world for the fulfilment of their pledge to Mahatma and Sardar Vallabhbhai.

And where have they gone? What idea can the outside world have of the plight of the people?

In open fields they have erected bamboo roofs with all the four sides open. Such a small place has become the abode of many a family. All the conveniences of life are not with them; they are removed still farther away. And yet, the people do not grudge these hardships and miseries. They willingly migrated from the British territory at a word of command from the Ashram authority. Those few who remained in villages to reap the rice crop have also migrated yesterday and to-day not a soul is to be seen in the villages of Bardoli Taluka.

Theodore Roosevelt was awarded the Nobel peace prize for effecting peace between Japan and Russia. And Woodrow Wilson received that award for the Versailles Treaty, that veritable travesty of justice and peace. In fact the Nobel peace prize Committee has made a bad mess out of that award. It has always sought a melodramatic political figure for its laurels without taking a long range view of the work of those men in establishing true peace.

Humanitarians had put forward the candidature of Mahatma Gandhi of India. We believe it was in 1931 as the greatest worker for true peace. From the reports current then the committee of award seems to have refused the award on the narrowest margin. The slight majority believed that it was not wise to affront the greatest of world powers Great Britain against whom Gandhi has been waging relentless war.

It seems to us that all efforts that do not aim at true peace will fail to bring about an enduring world peace. What do we mean by true peace? We mean that all the causes that give rise to oppression, greed and jealousy must be eliminated before a worthwhile peace can be established. And Mahatma Gandhi has been advocating such a peace.

### The Congress Programme

Three items of the Congress programme have been placed prominently before the country: (1) the boycott of foreign specially of British made cloth, (2) the setting up of parallel popular institutions to function side by side with if not to displace Government institutions, (3) an extension of the no tax campaign.

If carried out successfully, the third item would hit the Government the hardest. But for the success of the campaign, the people of particular areas must be perfectly non-violent and prepared for the heaviest sacrifices and great and prolonged sufferings. And as observed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the people must also be prepared to do without any of the services rendered by the Government. For it is neither just nor reasonable for those who do not pay taxes to depend on Government for the services which taxes go to purchase.

Worked vigorously the first item is likely to make the British public cognizant of the Indian point of view most quickly.

Civil arbitration boards are perfectly lawful and it is possible to work them successfully. Criminal arbitration boards also would be lawful so far as the amicable settlement of quarrels went. But they could not inflict punishments without coming into conflict with the Government.

### Release and Rejailing of Leaders

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. I. M. Sen Gupta, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Mr. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon, Mr. Sunder Lal, Mr. Jagat Narain Lal and several other leaders were recently released from jail after serving out their full terms of imprisonment. One by one they are being arrested and sent to jail again.

*Satyagraha* had gone on while they were in prison. It was expected that their presence in the midst of their comrades would give it a fillip. But the experiment of running a movement without any of the prominent leaders to guide it will probably have to be tried again and again. The result can be anticipated.

### Mahatma Gandhi and the Nobel Peace Prize

*The Negro World* of New York tells its readers why Mahatma Gandhi did not get the Nobel Peace Prize in 1923.

Political peace sums up all the awards made hitherto by the Nobel peace foundation at Oslo. In the international whirlpool only the strongest power can bring pressure to bear. And whoever brings that pressure effectively is in a position to effect a truce in any conflict. And such a truce-maker has been hailed up till now as a great worker for world peace.

### Arabs and Jews asked to follow Gandhi

At a meeting held in New York to protest against British policy in Palestine as outlined in the White Paper which has just been issued the principal speaker urged the Arabs in Palestine to follow Mr Gandhi's example and adopt a policy of passive resistance against the British.

A leader of the Jewish community in Paris at the same time said that a movement would soon be started to boycott the British in Palestine following the practice of Mr Gandhi's followers.

### Christ in Anglo India

The *Bombay Chronicle* publishes the following item of news which of course needs no comment.

According to a report officialdom at Munsoree has decided to enrich Christianity by a new commandment 'Thou shalt not pray for Indian politicians'. It appears that the chaplain of the Christ Church at Munsoree while performing the service for the sick named Pandit Motilal Nehru also and prayed for his speedy recovery. This seems to have offended the local authorities who are understood to have called upon the unfortunate chaplain to explain his conduct. Strictly speaking the authorities are justified in their action. Pandit Motilal Nehru is the leader of forces working against God's own. Englishmen's divinely ordained mission to save India from herself. Prayers for his recovery, therefore will constitute a chaplain of positive heresy.

### The Sentence on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

As we go to press the news reaches us that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs 600 (in default four months additional imprisonment) by the City Magistrate of Allahabad. This is the fifth time that he has been arrested and tried for a political offence. He took no part in these trials and desired to take none. But he made a statement this time in the court which concluded with the following words:

To the Indian people I cannot express my gratitude sufficiently for their confidence and affection. It has been the greatest joy in my life to serve in this glorious struggle and to do my little bit for the cause. I pray that my countrymen and countrywomen will carry on the good fight increasingly until success crowns their efforts and we realize the India of our dreams. Long Live Free India.

### A Special Fellowship for a Distinguished Medical Scholar

The India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie has been doing very useful work in securing educational facilities for Indian students in Germany. It has recently secured a special research fellowship for a distinguished Indian medical scholar through the co-operation of the Ministry of Education of Wurtemberg.



Dr. Khurode C. Chaudhuri

Among various applicants the choice fell upon Dr. Khurode C. Chaudhuri, M.B. of the Calcutta Medical College who has been carrying on special studies in children's diseases in Vienna. In selecting Dr. Chaudhuri his proficiency in German language was taken into consideration while he was very highly recommended by Sir Nilratan Sarkar, M.D. of Calcutta, Dr. Taraknath Das and various professors of the University of Vienna. Dr. Chaudhuri is now carrying on his research in the Children's Clinic and the Institute of Tropical Medicine of the University of Tübingen.

We wish to draw the attention of Indian medical men and women that well qualified

who has not closely studied the Indian problem for many years can possibly understand it. Moreover India is such a vast country that an interpreter is required to assist one to place in their true perspective the events of the last six or seven months. But apart from that fact the people of this country, and even the Labour movement have never realized the strength of the nationalist movement, the enormous influence of Gandhi and the constructive nature of his leadership. Perhaps these things would not much matter were it not for the fact that this ignorance may have tragic consequences. The publication of *The Indian Crisis* is an attempt to provide the knowledge that is so manifestly lacking and thus to end a condition of things which otherwise may lead to one of the world's outstanding catastrophes.

Events in India are moving fast. Already the Simon Report is out of date. Its confession that the Commission did not allow itself to be influenced by recent and current events in India is enough to condemn its recommendations. Even the first volume of the Report which sought to describe existing conditions in India revealed an astonishing lack of appreciation of the power of the nationalist movement in India, of the quality of Gandhi's leadership and of the constructive work that Gandhi and the movement he has sought to lead have attempted. Thus a good deal of filling in was needed in order to give the people of this country a true picture of the present situation in India.

In the space of 200 pages Fenner Brockway accomplishes this task exceedingly well. His book is correctly titled: it is an attempt to select all the more important features of the struggle to get behind the barrage of ignorance that exists to the actual facts and to place in their proper perspective the momentous events of the last few months.

Great care and restraint have been exercised in writing this account. The facts are fairly stated and although the author feels strongly upon his subject he has avoided the temptation to exaggerate. Naturally the book is written from the standpoint of a Socialist which means that points are brought out and emphasized which an anti-socialist for example would be tempted either to ignore or belittle. The earlier chapters of the book deal briefly with the history of the British occupation and

### The Indian Crisis and the Way out

In 1924 I ventured to write that although the Non Co operation movement in India had died down within a very few years it would rise again and that on the second occasion it would be too powerful for any alien Government to overcome or suppress. Those words have come true for I have no hesitation in saying that the movement for political freedom in India has reached its final stage and will succeed in its object before the present campaign has ended.

But to a large number of people in this country such a conclusion is far from being apparent. Even staunch Labour supporters are all at sea over the Indian question. Generally speaking the press has done everything in its power to belittle Gandhi and his movement and to make believe that the Civil Disobedience campaign was cutting no ice was of small dimensions and if firmly handled would soon fizzle out. Many are still of the opinion that such is the case. It is to disillusion these people particularly inside the Labour Movement that I joinings Fenner Brockway has published *The Indian Crisis*.\*

As a matter of fact events in India have become such a tangle that no Englishman

\* *The Indian Crisis* by A. Fenner Brockway  
V P Victor Gollancz Ltd 6d net



of the movement for political freedom on the part of the Indian people. Considerable space is devoted to Gandhi, to his great work for India, his philosophy, his leadership and his influence. All the crucial stages in the nationalist movement during the last few years are described so that from these chapters it is possible to get a clear conception of the Home Rule movement and to appreciate the recent decisions of Gandhi and the other Congress leaders with reference to the Civil Disobedience campaign and the Round Table Conference.

As this book describes the Indian situation right up to the present moment, it is safe to say that it is the best armory of facts available. It is also attractively written. The general social conditions are carefully described, and are supported by the latest statistics. An account of British financial interests in India accompanied by statements from ancient documents as to our purpose in that country leave one in no doubt as to that purpose to day.

But I imagine that it will be in that section of the book which deals with Gandhi and his influence and the present Civil Disobedience campaign, which will most interest the majority of readers. In these pages is described the effect of one of the greatest personalities, and one of the outstanding movements, of all time. I think it is true to say that no man who has ever lived has so profoundly influenced the lives and conduct of so large a number of people during his own lifetime as has Mahatma Gandhi. Not one per cent of the people of this country have more than the vaguest knowledge of Gandhi's influence in India and of what the Indian people have done along the lines of non violence since Gandhi started the present Civil Disobedience campaign last March. Nor will any one after learning that story, feel inclined to deny that a people who can do what the Indian people have done during these troubled months will *we dare no wonder what we say or do now* complete political freedom.

Here lies our responsibility. A Labour Government is in office. Its sympathy with the Indian movement is undoubted, but it is in a minority and fears a general election on the Indian issue. But is that fear reasonable? I am inclined to doubt it. What I think is needed is a broadening of the facts of the situation throughout the country. The star-figure in British politics on this issue is

Mr Lloyd George, but I sincerely doubt, were the facts known whether the bulk of the Liberal Party would follow their leader on this issue. But apart from tactics there is the question of principle and in view of the decisions of Labour Party Conferences the Party has to consider how long it is prepared to tolerate the present state of affairs in India. Lennox Brockway helps to decide that question.

WHERED WELLOCK

### The National Flag of India

In connection with the report that Gandhi instead of white has been adopted as one of the colours of the national flag by a Panjab Congress Committee, it might not be irrelevant and absolutely without interest to recall the following letter published in *The Young India* and quoted in *The Modern Review* for January 1920. In our note also we supported the claim of Gandhi.

We are grateful to you and other leaders for giving us that great jewel of self respect a national flag. Our Swami colours are now red, white and green. Various interpretations are given of these colours. The popularly accepted is that red represents Hinduism, white Hinduism and green Islam. It has also been suggested that red stands for Hinduism and white for physics and virtues of India other than Hindu and Muslim.

We beg to approach you with a suggestion about the proper colour to represent Hindu or Indo-Aryan culture and religion. We suggest the ochre colour (Tawriki, Gernu or Gerna). It is the colour of *annasa* of *Ujja* of *ahimsa* the highest ideal of our Indian civilization. It is the colour of most Hindu sects—Brahminical, Buddhist, Sikh, Shivan flag the Bhingra Jhanda, was the *Gurda* (*Gurda*) of Sri Hanurika, Rabinanath in many a magnificent poem has sung of Ganika Ujja of Bhavata, who is the great *Tajara*, the great *Acete*. We suggest that in India's national flag the Gurika of the Brahmanian and the Rik of the Jukhu and of the Yati of the Sadhu and the Variga and also of the Indian Parag-h and Pir be given its proper place.

Red is a colour we do not usually associate with Hinduism. In Bengal and elsewhere red is used by certain Hindu sects, the *baktis* specially. The red Jara flower and red sandal paste are sacred to Kahl and red silk garments are worn in dakia ritual. Red or saffron is the colour of war with Hindus. It does not strike the Hindu note of *ahimsa*.

White again is not specially associated with Hinduism. Further red, white and green are already the national colours of some other countries. Italy and Portugal for instance.

Could we not have red, ochre, and green for our Hindu and Islam Jhanda, the tri-colour banner of India? If the colours do not harmonize we could have ochre, white and green, ochre for Hinduism, green for Islam and white for other faiths and

could have believed that the whole frontier would become ablaze from one end to the other at what they believe a signal from the scheming cowardly Hindus who seek at the bidding of their Soviet inspired Brahmins to take India from the British."

These are the words of an [obviously distinguished] British military officer who contributes a highly edifying article on the frontier troubles to the London *Graphic* and condescends also to hide his English manhood under the German pseudonym of Mauser. Why dig in the superannuated German? His days of brag and sabre rattling are over. The spirit of the times would have been less offended had this warrior journalist called himself Lee Enfield. But all this is irrelevant.

The radical difference writes this Lee Enfield in Mauser's clothing in the outlook of the two points of view [that of the scheming cowardly word mongering Hindu and the simple virile clansman of the N.W. Frontier] can never make them friends but for the moment and through that same devilish Soviet cleverness which puzzles us even while it defeats us the interests of many Moslem and degenerate Hindu seem to jump together.

The breach which the Brahmins have driven in the defences of our morale has become the Pathan opportunity. The Hindu gives the signal, the tribes surge out from their crags and all but hold us to ransom. Oil and vinegar have mixed it last to the brewing of such a salad.

The Pathan is in all primitive essential a gentleman and has no truck with the shoutings of Demos for him the firm hand the personal rule and a clear level eyed love for the strong man who rules him. Uplift is not for him.

He may or again he may not prove to be the final and successful expression of the Soviet plot against India and the royal cat-spaw of a laser hand. But of all the venomous and unforgettable things which I for one make up against Soviet Russia is that it should have muddled the clear stream of border virility and set the frontier tribes man to be bedfellow with the Brahmin.

For this single crime against human decency, if for nothing else the Russian has earned the nethermost rung of the pit.

The English are known to be a strong silent breed reticent about their emotions. But when they do take it into their head to

wear their hearts on their sleeves and let it go they do it with such completeness and such self forgetting gusto that even a Brahmin, for the sake of the entertainment provided, will not find it impossible in his heart to forgive the poor demented wretch his hysteria and his atrocious manners. And as for the pride of the twice born let the man say what he may, for he lites against granite.

### Amenities at the Round Table

Whatever one may think of the other aspects of the Round Table Conference everybody will be agreed that the manners at the Round Table has changed a great deal since King Arthur's days. The latest instance is given in a Free Press Beam Service message, which was delayed by the telegraph Department for some unexplained reason. It runs as follows:

Many of the delegates were invited to witness a special Air Force display at which the Imperial Conference delegates were also asked to be present.

The Indian delegates accepted the invitation and proceeded to Croydon but on arrival at the aerodrome were relegated to a corner for two hours. They were kept apart exposed to the cold and biting winds without any seating arrangements while the representatives from the Dominions were accorded an official reception at which the Premier himself was present.

The Indian delegates strongly resented this discrimination in treatment and left the aerodrome in a body as a protest before the display even commenced.

More circumstantial details are given in a report of the *Hindu* of Madras.

For the Indians there was no food no rooms and no reception. Sandwiches were hastily procured and eaten like crows on a roof and while so engaged the Indians had a glorious glimpse of Mr Ramsay MacDonald who walked by noticing the Government's guests.

The climax of the treatment was provided by an official who asked Mr Tania if anyone spoke English.

cultures of India. Or we can have a Chauri Chandra—red white ochre and green.

We respectfully request you several Mahadmas and also other leaders of the country to give you opinion on this suggestion of ours, and if you think fit the matter may be brought before the Congress at Bikaner for discussion and final acceptance. Opinion from Hindus and others who have thought about this question is respectfully invited.

Yours Most Respectfully,

Dwajendra Nath Tagore  
Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya  
Sumit Kumar Chatterji  
Kalidas Nayak  
Nepal Chandra Das  
Bhim Rao Shastri  
J. J. Valji  
Prem Sundar Bose  
M. Chel  
N. AGRAWALA

### Two Non official Enquiries

We have received the reports of two non official enquiries into certain happenings in the Midnapore district of Bengal where there is a great deal of civil disobedience going on at the present time. Reports either official or non official are not infallible but when grave allegations are made the Government in order to escape condemnation should look into the truth of such allegations and do justice to the injured side and punish the offenders suitably. We have been informed that these reports have been submitted to the Viceroy of India as well as to the Governor of Bengal. We expect the Government to take necessary steps in this connection.

The first report deals with Complaints about several cases of severe assault and some deaths at the village of Chorepala (Police Station Targa—Sub division Contai) in the District of Midnapore said to be due to the action of the Police. The Members of the Committee signing the report are no lesser men than

Mr J N Basu M. C. (Member Round Table Conference)

Mr B N Sasmal Bar at Law  
Mr Priyaranjan Sen Lecturer

University of Calcutta. The report deals with what is alleged to have happened on the 7th September 1930 in the village of Chorepala when the report says a certain number of villagers who had come on deputation to the Circle Officer regarding payment of Chowkidari tax were charged with lathis by the Police and dispersed. In the course of the charge many villagers were driven into a tank with lathis

As a result many were severely injured and some got drowned. Five dead which were recovered the next day in the tank bore marks of lathis on their heads. These bodies were laid disposed of without any post mortem examination. The signatories of the report in conclusion

came lent in Ch. repairs showed not only a lack of human life a distance of law and order but also the pervasiveness of those concerned in an incident that would have called for action in any civilized country.

As ours is a civilized country and our people are in the midst of a civilized race we hope the action will be taken after the contents of the report have been verified.

The second report is called the Family Inquiry Report and is signed by Mr J N Basu M. C. Member Round Table Conference

Mr P Banerji M. C.  
Mr B N Sasmal Bar at Law  
Mr P R Sen Lecturer

Calcutta University

The members of the Committee say they visited Tanjil Sub division and examined 31 witnesses from 15 villages at the village of Kukulnagar on the 30th August 1930 and 32 witnesses from different villages at the village of Nankeldaha on the evening of the same day. Many of the witnesses say the report had no connection with the Civil Disobedience movement but yet complained of assault and damage to property. Generally speaking the Report summarizes the allegations made by the first group of witnesses under the following heads

- (a) Burning of houses granaries straw stack and jute stacks
- (b) Destruction of household property
- (c) Removal of household property
- (d) Personal assaults sometimes severe leaving marks
- (e) Detention without charge or justification

The allegations made by the second group of witnesses are summarized in the report as follows

- (a) Assaults and personal violence which were unprovoked and were in many cases severe
- (b) Destruction of damage to furniture household articles and stock in trade of householders and trades people breaking open or safe boxes
- (c) Desecration and destruction of a sacred shrine in the village of a room set apart for worship
- (d) Removal of ornaments and property belonging to householders
- (e) Damage to buildings

(f) Destruction of papers of a revolutionary bank

(g) Forcible use and occupation of private houses sometimes for many days excluding the owners and without their consent and without payment of food stuffs belonging to owners.

(h) Detention without charge or trial  
(i) Outraging execution of dacoits at the coercion the coercion in one case taken the hope of finally keeping a man in police custody from I.L.M. to I.A.M. when he was released on signing a bond.

In conclusion the members of the committee of enquiry say

Such acts have been driving discontent deep and are creating a abiding sense of wrong in the minds of the people

If the allegations made in the report are true the Government should at once remove from their office those responsible for such outrages as well as severely punish all such public servants as are found guilty of wanton oppression and brutality

### When Brass-hats Speak Out

On October 14 some distinguished British soldiers with long Indian experience met at the East Indian Association London to discuss the military problems of India and came to the almost foregone conclusion that they were insoluble unless of course they were left entirely in the hands of the British authorities for them to tackle the questions at their leisure and in their own way. Every speaker came forward with his own original discovery regarding the difficulties of the task but they all converged on the broad and depthless ocean of Indian military imbecility. Racial feuds communal feuds martial races non martial races Frontier defence the Afghan bogey want of military experience in Indians lack of trained Indian officers 3200 British officers of the Indian Army their threat to leave the army if the nigger was placed over their head—all these harrowing details were duly noted and dwelt upon. And it to a layman it might for a moment seem that there was a certain amount of staleness in this interminable Indo military eloquence it was more than compensated for by an extra loudness of emphasis.

Now it must not be thought for a moment as Indians might naturally be tempted to believe that these eminent brass hats were trying to convert a lie into a truth by merely shouting it from the housetops. No they

are all honourable men. Only they are so hopelessly muddle-headed.

That may sound rather extreme but it is literally true. To give one single and not wholly uninteresting example. In 1907 Captain Philip Dumas, Naval Attaché at Berlin wrote in a solemn secret and confidential despatch to the Foreign Office the way only a naval captain to be sure but I don't think the Navy would agree to be called the stupider of the two services).

Finally it is clear to the poorest of us that the martial or military spirit is passing from the mass of the (German) nation and whereas, in earlier days the wish to level it rather desired to be led now he wants to be able to pierce his trade in peace.

If this be allowed to develop (and the present great prosperity the Social Democratic propaganda and the desire for luxury provided by universal education is helping it forward by leaps and bounds) the Germans will not I think be found a nation to fear in twenty years time.

Thus exactly seven years and a half before the outbreak of the great war.

It was not for nothing that the wise but cynical Marquis of Salisbury wrote to Lord Lytton whose viceregal picnic over the Russian bogey had caused him a good deal of amusement.

You listen too much to the soldiers. No lesson seems to be so deeply inculcated by experience of life as that you should never trust experts. If you believe the doctors nothing is wholesome, if you believe the soldiers nothing is safe. They all require to have their strong wiles diluted by a very large admixture of common sense.

### The Sorrows of 'Mausers

In the case of India this scepticism suggested by common sense must be doubled and redoubled. Wish is father to the thought. And there is no British official military or civil in India who would not wish India's difficulties hundred times worse than they really are. There are besides this year's unexpected and almost unbelievable incidents to render the bitter pill bitterer. Who could have foreseen that after having pacified the frontier and made Pathan raids as much a thing of the past as the border raids across the Cievot and the Tweed by years of hard fighting and prudent administration after having made the Indian believe that the Pathan was his natural enemy and the Pathan that the plain dwelling Indian was his by years of snave persuasion after all this,—oh! the maddening exasperation of it all—who

could have believed that the whole frontier would become ablaze from one end to the other at what they believe a signal from the scheming cowardly Hindus who seek at the bidding of their Soviet inspired Brahmins to take India from the British."

These are the words of an [obviously distinguished] British military officer who contributes a highly edifying article on the frontier troubles to the London *Graphic* and condescends also to hide his English manhood under the German pseudonym of Manser. Why drag in the superannuated German. His days of brag and sabre rattling are over. The spirit of the times would have been less offended had this warrior journalist called himself Lee Felfield. But all this is irrelevant.

The radical difference writes this Lee Felfield in Manser's clothing in the outlook of the two points of view [that of the scheming cowardly word-mongering Hindu and the simple virile clansman of the N.W. Frontier] can never make them friends. But for the moment and through that same devilish Soviet cleverness which puzzles us even while it defeats us the interests of many Moslem and degenerate Hindu seem to jump together.

The breach which the Brahmins have driven in the defences of our morale has become the Pathan opportunity. The Hindu gives the signal the tribes surge out from the crags and all but hold us to ransom. Oil and vinegar have mixed at last to the brewing of such a salad.

The Pathan is in all primitive essential a gentleman and has no trick with the shoutings of Demos. For him the firm hand the personal rule and a clear level-eyed love for the strong man who rules him. Uplift is not for him.

He may or again he may not prove to be the firm and successful expression of the Soviet plot against India and the royal cat paw of a laser hand. But of all the venomous and unforgettable things which I for one mark up against Soviet Russia is that it should have muddled the clear stream of hard virility and set the frontier tribes man to be fellow with the Brahmin.

For this single crime against human decency if for nothing else the Russian has earned the northernmost rung of the pit.

The English are known to be a strong silent breed reticent about their emotions. But when they do take it into their head to

wear then hearts on their sleeves and let it go they do it with such completeness and such self forgetting gusto that even a Brahmin for the sake of the entertainment provided, will not find it impossible in his heart to forgive the poor demented wretch his hysteria and his atrocious manners. And as for the pride of the twice born let the man say what he may, for he lutes against granite.

### Amenities at the Round Table

Whatever one may think of the other aspects of the Round Table Conference everybody will be agreed that the manners at the Round Table has changed a great deal since King Arthur's days. The latest instance is given in a Free Press Beam Service message which was delayed by the Telegraph Department for some unexplained reason. It runs as follows:

Many of the delegates were invited to witness a special Air Force display at which the Imperial Conference delegates were also asked to be present.

The Indian delegates accepted the invitation and proceeded to Croydon but on arrival at the aerodrome were relegated to a corner for two hours. They were kept apart exposed to the cold and biting winds without any seating arrangements while the representatives from the Dominions were accorded an official reception at which the Premier himself was present.

The Indian delegates strongly resented this discrimination in treatment and left the aerodrome in a body as a protest before the display even commenced.

More circumstantial details are given in a report of the *Hindu* of Madras.

For the Indians there was no food no rooms and no reception. Sandwiches were hastily procured and eaten like crows on a roof and while so engaged the Indians had a glorious glimpse of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald who walked by noticing the Government's guests.

The climax of the treatment was provided by an official who asked Mr. Lamlie if anyone spoke English?